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Bachan-Persad, Indrani

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Press and politics in Trinidad and Tobago: A study of five electoral campaigns over ten years, 2000-2010

I. Bachan-Persad

Doctor of Philosophy [Media and Politics]

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Press and politics in Trinidad and Tobago: A study of five electoral campaigns over ten years, 2000-2010

By

Indrani Bachan-Persad

**A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the
requirements of the degree of Doctor of
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**The work contained within this document has been submitted
by the student in partial fulfilment of the requirement of their course and award**

ABSTRACT

This thesis analyzes the role of the press in five political campaigns in Trinidad and Tobago, over a ten year period, from 2000 to 2010. Using framing theory, it seeks to determine if the level of structural and partisan bias in the three daily newspapers in the country was a major factor in the outcome of general elections.

This thesis further examines how press coverage of national elections contributed significantly towards development of a healthy democracy in Trinidad and Tobago and this research on media and politics, especially over a defined period of electoral volatility in the country, is the first of its kind in the Caribbean and will complement existing literature written on this subject worldwide. It is also the only comprehensive study on media bias in electoral coverage of political campaigns in Trinidad and Tobago in a context in which there have been public allegations of media bias by political leaders in the country.

The two - pronged methodological approach of content analysis, and interviews with media practitioners allow for both qualitative and quantitative analysis of case studies of electoral campaigns using innovative research tools such as a bias scale and coding template, to minimize the margin of error in the analysis. In this thesis the issue of whether the press did have an influential effect on election outcome is also explored. Based on analysis and findings, this thesis proposes a new model of media and politics for countries like Trinidad and Tobago transitioning from a system of authoritarianism to liberalism called an “emerging liberal democratic model”. The evolution of this model is a work in progress which may have implications for other similar societies.

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INTRODUCTION

BACKGROUND

Trinidad and Tobago was a colony of Britain from 1783 to 1962 when it gained its Independence. The Constitution of the country recognizes a Parliamentary democracy based on the Westminster style of Government. From 1956 to 2010, the country was governed by a single party, the Peoples National Movement (PNM) for 43 years during this period and for 38 of its 50 years of Independence although a two-party system exists in the country. Traditionally, parties were drawn along ethnic lines with Africans being the major supporters of the PNM and East Indians, the main supporters of the United National Congress (UNC). There have been sporadic attempts at coalition parties such as the National Alliance for Reconstruction (NAR) in 1986 and the Peoples Partnership (PP) in 2010; however the challenge has always been how to unseat the PNM from Government and from the PNM's point of view, how to keep the Opposition forces at bay.

RESEARCH OBJECTIVES

This research was undertaken with a view to examining the interplay between press and politics in political campaigns, looking specifically at a particular period in the country's history in which five elections were called in ten years, from 2000 to 2010. In this regard, it addresses two main research questions, firstly whether the daily newspapers in Trinidad and Tobago exhibited bias in their coverage of political news during the campaign periods. Secondly whether, editors and columnists framed their editorials and commentaries to show bias towards a particular party. The objectives were to determine whether media bias was a major factor in election coverage; to gain a better understanding of the role that the print media play in political campaigns in the country; to address possible solutions to strengthen both the independent role of the media and the democratic process in a small island state such as Trinidad and Tobago; and to explore possibilities for a new model of media and politics to facilitate a better understanding of media and politics in Trinidad and Tobago and perhaps, for small island states generally, in the Caribbean.

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE PERIOD UNDER STUDY (2000-2010)

To the discerning eye, there was something amiss within the realm of media and politics in the country given that five elections were held during these ten years. General elections are constitutionally due once every five years in Trinidad and Tobago. This suggests a certain restlessness and electoral volatility in the society and polity with implications for transformations in the realm of party politics. It also raises questions about the appropriateness of the political system and election cycle under the current constitution and, perhaps, points to the need for constitutional reform, an issue which seems to persist on the national agenda in spite of review of the 1962 Independence Constitution and the establishment of a Republican Constitution in 1976.

It was also a period of steadily deteriorating relations between press and politics starting with Prime Minister Basdeo Panday in 2000 and coming to a head in 2010 under the leadership of Prime Minister Patrick Manning, and may have precipitated the early calling of elections in 2001, 2002 and 2010, and perhaps the fall of these two leaders who had dominated politics for more than a decade. These issues are discussed in chapters five, six and seven, which follow.

The 2010 election was also arguably, the first time that “race “was not a dominant factor in the coverage of elections and to a significant degree this was reflected in voting behaviour in the actual election in 2010 in Trinidad and Tobago. Both major political parties have exploited the race factor to win elections and to stay in power. For the first time in 2010, voting appeared to have been based on the need for good governance by the most promising candidates and party. The role of the media in facilitating this and the dynamic of media and politics in relation to this issue are also examined in the empirical chapters (5-7).

It was also the first time that a female, Mrs Kamla Persad-Bissessar emerged in the male-dominated profession of politics, to lead a political party and to become the first female Prime Minister of the country. Her ascendancy represented a change in party politics in terms of structure, leadership and governance style while placing gender at

the centre-stage in politics in the country and shattering preconceived views of the role of women in politics, governance and society.

THEORETICAL APPROACH

To understand the complexity of the relationship between media and politics in the country, my research was primarily concerned (though not exclusive) with framing theory (Casella and Jamieson 1997; Iyengar 1991; Mc Coombs 2004; and Price 1997) based on the observation made by theorist Robert Entman in his study of the US news treatment of two plane crashes (1991) that the manner in which global events are covered and presented can influence a dominant perception. Implicit in this observation was the element of biased media coverage. For my own purposes, I examined bias from the perspective of balanced and objective reporting (Garyantes 2006; Cenite *et al* 2008) using Westerstahl's (1983: 419) concept of balance in terms of the number of negative and positive coverage given to political parties during elections. However, as the research progressed, and the complexity in the relationship between press and politics became more apparent, other theories were drawn upon such as media effects theory (Mc Quail 2008), agenda setting theory (Entman 2004; Lang and Lang 1981; and Cohen 1983) and post-colonialism and democratic theories (Votmer 2007; and Curran 1991) to critically appraise the dynamic of media and politics in Trinidad and Tobago.

METHODOLOGY

Given the comprehensiveness of the research undertaken, it was felt that a mixed methodology approach which allowed for qualitative and quantitative analysis would facilitate more in-depth and meaningful conclusions. In this regard, two methodologies of content analysis (CA) of case studies of five electoral campaigns and interviews with select media practitioners were selected to conduct this research. Quantitative content analysis was applied to a large body of newspaper clippings comprising mostly news stories on front pages and within the newspapers while qualitative content analysis was applied to editorials and select commentaries by opinion leaders. Interviews were conducted face-to-face with nine seasoned media practitioners. To prevent cross-purposes in the application of these two methodologies, they were applied to separate units of analysis within newspapers. However, in the final analysis, the results generated were found to be similar and was

evidence of the complementarity in the deployment of these methodologies. Further, to source data in real time which was not readily available in documents, interviews were conducted with select media practitioners. This information further enhanced my research by enabling me to draw valuable insights on the journalistic profession as practiced in Trinidad and Tobago while giving me a deeper appreciation of the challenges faced by those involved in this field.

SCOPE OF RESEARCH

This study while limited to Trinidad and Tobago, a small country in the Caribbean of approximately 1.3 million people; it draws extensively from media and politics systems in other democracies worldwide. However, the rationale for limiting it to one geographical area within the Caribbean and one mainstream media (press) has to do with the development and growth of the free press, due to deregulation by the State in 1986 in Trinidad and Tobago, as well as the availability of material to support research. Many Caribbean territories have not reached Trinidad and Tobago's stage of development and the media systems are small and still very much under State control. This makes Trinidad and Tobago's situation somewhat unique and worthy of study in its own right. The challenge of the cross-cutting ethnic dimension also presents its own complexities.

WHAT IS NEW IN THIS RESEARCH

While much have been written on the subject of media and politics in democracies around the world, very little information is available on media studies and the role of the media in political campaigns in Trinidad and Tobago. Further, it is the first time that a comprehensive study is undertaken of the interplay between media and politics, in a defined period of time (2000-2010). The inclusion of the 2010 elections makes this study both timely and relevant, written only two years after the 2010 election. No known study of the 2010 election has been done so far. This coverage of five election campaigns within a decade, in the political history, of a small, Parliamentary democracy and small island State, must present new material worthy of consideration by other scholars and academics in the field.

The method of study is somewhat novel in that a two-fold methodology of qualitative and quantitative content analysis of case studies of five electoral campaigns and

interviews with media practitioners were used to analyze the press (see above). Innovations in the application of the research methodology process such as the creation of a bias scale (Fig 2.3) as well as the design of a template for inputting data based on a coding system (Appendix E) ensured that a structured approach was adhered to at all times while minimizing the margin of error in the quantitative analysis. This approach also allowed for comparative research across the five elections to facilitate general conclusions.

Thirdly, evidence based on the empirical research points to the press not only having a strong effect on electoral outcomes in the country in the manner in which they framed particular parties, politicians and issues but may also have actually precipitated the early calling of elections before they were constitutionally due. This was especially true of those Prime Ministers who were openly hostile to the media and in situations where press/politics relations had become combative as found with the Panday (2000-2002) and Manning regimes (2007-2010).

Finally, the research makes a case for a new model of media and politics entitled an 'Emerging Liberal Democratic Model' (ELDM) - an adjustment made to the liberal model created by Hallin and Mancini in 2004, in keeping with the developing status of small countries such as Trinidad and Tobago, in which the media have enjoyed considerable freedom and generally allowed to flourish under a liberal system but are constrained by a sense of social responsibility to play a developmental role in the democratic process, as the country moves forward on a development trajectory.

CHALLENGES

Two major challenges were faced during the course of this project. The first was the calling of the 2010 elections, two years before it was due posing a dilemma on whether to add to the existing number of elections being studied. Once the decision was made, it meant greater workload over a shorter period of time. The second was the unwillingness of journalists and editors to respond to the questionnaire sent to them. This problem was resolved through face-to-face interviews with select media practitioners.

STRUCTURE OF THESIS

The thesis comprises eight chapters. The empirical research on the five elections focussed on three separate case studies, with one case study being done of the first campaign period during the 2000 election (chapter 5) and another of the 2010 campaign period (chapter 7), at the end of the period. The two parameters allowed for comparative study from the start to the end of the research period. The other three elections: 2001, 2002 and 2007 (chapter 6) were done as one case study with a view to comparison within a single chapter. The three chapters, covering five elections would constitute the empirical basis on which to draw conclusions. The final chapter (chapter 8) further embarked on a comparative analysis of the five elections based on the three empirical chapters, to determine trends in electoral coverage of political campaigns in Trinidad and Tobago while engaging in a discussion based on the research questions and objectives outlined in chapter two with a view to charting a way forward for media and politics in the country. Two historical chapters (chapters 3 and 4) were also completed to give a broader understanding of the role of the media in the country as it existed in pre Independence in 1956 to 2010 when the last election was called while recounting allegations of media bias by Prime Ministers of Trinidad and Tobago, starting with the first Prime Minister as premier, Dr Eric Williams in 1956. As such, examination of the empirical data is located within a context of a history of adversarial relationships between Prime Ministers, ruling parties and the press in which accusations of media bias have been a feature.

CHAPTER 1

THEORIES OF MEDIA AND POLITICS AND THEIR IMPLICATIONS FOR THE CARIBBEAN¹

1.0 Introduction

The relationship between media and politics is a complex one and varies from country to country. To understand and appreciate the complexity of the relationship between media and politics in Trinidad and Tobago, it is essential to look at theories which have influenced various approaches to the study and assessment of the relationship between media and politics. One of these is framing theory (Cappella and Jamieson 1997; Iyengar 1991; Mc Combs 2004; and Price 1997) based on the observation made by theorist Robert Entman in his study of the US news treatment of two plane crashes (1991) that the manner in which global events are covered and presented can influence a dominant perception. Implicit in this observation was the element of biased media coverage. Related to framing theory is the concept of balance. How is framing linked to balance and objective reporting? Westerstahl's (1983: 419) concept of balance in terms of the number of negative and positive coverage given to political parties during elections has also been explored by Garyantes (2006) and Cenite *et al* (2008). However, as research progressed, and the complexity in the relationship between press and politics became more apparent, other theories have emerged such as media effects theory (Mc Quail 2008), agenda setting theory (Entman 2004; Lang and Lang 1981; and Cohen 1983) and post-colonialism and democratic theories (Vultmer 2007; and Curran 1991). All these have implications for the dynamic of media and politics in Trinidad and Tobago.

Against the background of theoretical approach identified above, literature was reviewed on the various models of media and politics such as those proposed by Siebert *et al* (1956) in *Four Theories of the Press* especially as it relates to authoritarianism in which the media were by and large, controlled by the State and used for propagating government information. I also examined Hallin and Mancini's

¹ This chapter incorporates a paper submitted for module assessment as part of initial work done on the PhD, at Coventry University.

Comparing Media Systems (2004) in which they proposed three contemporary models of media and politics. This book was very important in understanding the movement away from authoritarianism to a more liberal system of media and politics in which the free press flourished as was evident in Trinidad and Tobago from 1986 onwards when the media system was deregulated. I also reviewed scholarly papers on elections coverage, in a number of geographically dispersed countries around the world such as Britain, Sweden, Spain, United States of America, Canada, Iraq, Singapore, Malaysia, Italy, Denmark and Ecuador. These papers gave an insight into a number of models of media and politics around the world and how the operation of varied types of models was linked to framing, objectivity, balance and bias.

These books and papers made reference to models of media and politics in various countries. For example in the United States and Canada ('Party Reputations, Journalistic Expectations: How Issue Ownership Influences Election News' by Danny Hayes (2008: 377-400); 'Partisan Balance and Bias in Network Election Coverage of the 2000 and 2004 Presidential Elections' by Geri Alumnit Zeldes, Frederick Fico, Serena Carpenter and Arvind Diddi (2008:563-579); 'Getting the Picture: Airtime and Line-up Bias on Canadian Networks' by Marshar Barber (2008: 621-637), under a liberal system, media bias manifested itself on visuals, line up and airtime on national television networks. In this system we noted the manipulation and subtle use of cameras by journalists to show up one candidate over the other in the lead up to national elections. We also noted the proposal in one of the articles being reviewed of a new model of media and politics based on the level of bias practiced by the media.

In Latin America ('The Hybrid Campaign: Tradition and Modernity in Ecuador's 2006 Presidential Campaign' by Carlos de la Torre and Catherine Conaghan (2009: 335-352), we observed journalists at the beck and call of powerful men in government and business who in many instances owned the media houses and made decisions which influenced journalism as practiced by reporters. This pattern was also seen in Italy ('With the Media, Without the Media: Reasons and Implications of the Electoral Success of Silvio Berlusconi in 2001' by Gianpietro Mazzoleni (2004: 257-276) - a unique case in Europe. In other parts of Europe, we observed three different models being compared: the Democratic Corporatist Model (Sweden), the Polarized Pluralist Model (Spain) and the Liberal Model (Britain) (Structural Biases in British and

Swedish Election News Coverage’, by Jesper Stromback and Adam Shehata (2007: 798-811; Polarized Pluralist and Democratic Corporatist Models: A Comparison of Election News Coverage in Spain and Sweden’ by Jesper Stromback and Oscar G. Luengo (2008: 547-562).

In Asian countries such as Singapore and Malaysia, where the State had effective control of the media, in three articles reviewed, we noted the practice of developmental journalism under a somewhat repressive political system (Perpetual Development Journalism? Balance and Framing in the 2006 Singapore Election Coverage’ by Cenite *et al.* (2008: 280-295); ‘Asian-Based Development Journalism and Political Elections: Press Coverage of the 1999 General Elections in Malaysia’ by Kokkeong Wong (2004: 25-40); ‘Electoral Authoritarianism and the Print Media in Malaysia: Measuring Political Bias and Analyzing its cause’, by Jason P. Abbott (2011: 1-26)).

In Iraq, we acknowledged the influence of cultural bias on journalists such as their reluctance to interview women and to take their views into consideration (‘Media Coverage of the Iraqi National Elections: A Textual Analysis of Al-Jazeera and the New York Times’, by Dianne M. Garyantes (2006: 1-37).

In the Caribbean we are exposed to a perspective where, even though the media played an important role in the coverage of political campaigns, yet the significance of the media in political campaigns was not probed deeply or pursued with any vigour by local authors (‘Trinidad and Tobago General Elections 2007: One-Party Dominance and Lessons for the Long View’, by Kirk Meighoo (2007: 17-36); ‘The General Election in Jamaica, September 2007’ by Amanda Sives (2008: 363-368); and *Deadlock: Ethnicity and Electoral Competition in Trinidad and Tobago by Selwyn Ryan: 1995-2002* (2003). The relationship between media and politics was also reviewed in: ‘State and Media in the English-Speaking Caribbean: The Case of Antigua’ by Leara Rhodes and Paget Henry (1995: 655-665).

However, the general conclusion that can be drawn from the literature review is that media bias was very much a part of elections coverage around the world and the key issue which emerged from these views was not whether media bias existed but that

there were variations within the realm of bias, due to a variety of circumstances which influenced journalistic practices.

1.1 A theoretical understanding of political campaigns

There are many thoughts on how to go about studying framing as a theory. One position is that it should be studied in the wider context of media effects theory (McQuail 1994). Others insist that it should be studied as part of agenda setting theory (McCombs, Shaw and Weaver 1997). A third position is that it should be studied in terms of post-colonialism and democratic theories (Veltmer 2007; and Curran 1991). For my own purposes, this thesis takes the view that framing can stand alone as a main theory with a view to discerning bias in the coverage of political campaigns (Entman 2010). However, it recognizes the importance of these other theories in analyzing the role of the media in political campaigns over a defined period of time (ten years) in the history of Trinidad and Tobago. It is noteworthy that within the context of the ten years under review, five elections were held, each a different case study of the dynamics of media and politics in Trinidad and Tobago. Therefore reference is made to all the above theories with a view to understanding the role of the media in political campaigns in Trinidad and Tobago. This acknowledges inter-linkages among the various theoretical approaches and the likelihood of mutually reinforcing impact.

1.1.1 Media effects

Election campaigns have been one of the most studied communication forms especially since 1940. McQuail argues that elections are short and highly focussed events in which the media are intensively used by campaign teams. However, he maintains that even though huge sums are spent on media campaigns, it is difficult to find clear evidence that the media decisively influences the outcome of elections (McQuail 1994: 524). However, McQuail (2005:325) contends that during this period “there is often a more or less institutionalized collusive relationship between politicians or officials and press which may serve a range of purposes without necessarily being manipulative in its effect” (Whale, 1969; Turnstall, 1970; Sigal 1973). He further argued that even though political campaigns do not necessarily change the opinion of the voting public, they can easily influence them. However, Mc

Quail and scholars such as Scheufele (1999) have conceded that media effects on elections outcome have become stronger as the media exert considerable power over the minds of the voting public by framing events in a particular way. For example the live televising of presidential debates as well as the use of political polls worldwide have presidentialized elections (Hallin and Mancini 2004) while framing them along leadership issues as seen in consecutive USA elections especially in the 2008 and 2012 Obama campaigns. Polls conducted soon after these debates, to determine how leaders have performed are generally a good indication of leaders' popularity and likely winner in the elections. They also serve to influence opinion leaders and the voting public at large about the most likely candidate to win the elections. Media effects manifest themselves similarly in Latin America and the Caribbean by overly focussing on the main political leaders and opinion polls in the media. However, it is to be noted that Caribbean leaders are wary of political debates and generally avoid them and as a result this phenomenon has not yet emerged as a central component of the campaign process. However in a country such as Ecuador this has caught on as can be seen in the 2006 Presidential campaign in Ecuador where there was a strong focus on the leadership of political parties and the borrowing from American style of campaigning which complements the existing traditional style of campaign (Torre & Conaghan 2009).

There are few studies focused on election campaigns in the Caribbean especially on Trinidad and Tobago. One such study is 'Trinidad and Tobago General Elections 2007: One-Party Dominance and Lessons for the Long View' (Meighoo 2009). This study is important in that it gives an overview and analysis of the 2007 elections based on the election results. While the author takes the position that Trinidad and Tobago is dominated by a one-party political system and that the newly formed Congress of the People (COP) is really a "third tribe," what is lacking in his analysis, is any consideration of the role the media played during the 2007 elections. In fact, Meighoo mentions in passing, that the media played an important role in the development of Trinidad and Tobago's healthy democracy (2009: 20) but he fails to go into any deep analysis of the role of the media in the specific election which he examines and how that role might have contributed to the strengthening of the democratic tradition or deviation from it.

In contrast Ryan in his seminal book on elections in Trinidad and Tobago (2003) understands the vital importance of the media especially the press in electoral coverage, since he uses them as important sources of reference, quoting extensively from newspaper clippings from the daily and weekly press. Ryan also mentions the media as the fourth estate in the context of infighting between the political leader of the UNC in which Mr Panday described TV6 as “the most biased, prejudicial, diabolical, satanic element of the media”² (Ryan 2003:118). However Ryan’s research, though hinting at the media’s increasingly important role in general elections does not explore that particular topic to any great extent. Both of these studies, Meighoo and Ryan respectively, are important however, in that they demonstrate the gap in concrete research on media and politics in the Caribbean which I intend to bridge in my research on the five political campaigns over the last decade, from 2000 to 2010. While both Ryan and Meighoo did not focus on an examination of the role of the media in political campaigns, my research on the role of the press in political campaigns in Trinidad and Tobago, examined five elections over a ten year period (2000 – 2010) with a view to determining whether the media did have an effect on electoral outcome, in the way they framed the campaigns and whether they may have precipitated the calling of early elections in the country on several occasions. In this regard, my thesis examined the linkages between volume of coverage given to political leaders by the press and elections results with a view to finding concrete evidence that the press did heavily influence electoral results.

1.1.2 Agenda setting

The media are extremely important during campaigns because they frame particular events with a view to “promoting news that will stimulate public support, dampen opposition, and, promote the perception that that public opinion is in their corner” (Entman 2004: 126). This means that the media have the power to set the political agenda by reporting on certain issues and events while ignoring others. Trent and Friedenberg (2008) state that during this period the media are important because they draw attention to candidates while “having tremendous power in determining which news events, which candidates, and which issues are to be covered in any given day (148). Lang and Lang (1981) state that the mass media force attention to certain issues

² Express, November 22, 2001 n.p.

while constantly presenting objects to suggest what individuals should think about, know about and have feelings about (468). Cohen (1975) intimates that the media “may not be successful in telling its readers what to think, but is stunningly successful in telling its readers what to think about” (13). Mc Combs and Shaw (1972) indicate that the media may have little influence in the direction or intensity of attitudes but they set the agenda for each political campaign, influencing the salience of attitudes towards the political users (177). Harris writes that some of the things which are highly covered during campaigns include formal announcements of intent to run or withdraw from office; major blunders; any kind of colourful response to a political speech; meetings of candidates with important people; and horserace aspects of the campaign. On the other hand candidates’ qualifications and positions on issues are hardly covered (228-231).

1.1.3 Post colonialism and democratic theories

To have a full comprehension of Trinidad and Tobago’s society, one must first understand the historical context of post colonial societies struggling to become fully autonomous and independent while developing their own identity. Voltmer (2007) writes that new democracies which grew out of one-party rule inherited a unique set of problems that shape the relationship between the media and government, namely a strong State which saw itself as protector of development which had a curious relationship with its colonial past. Voltmer argues further that in many countries with deep ethnic and religious divisions “nation building is still an unfinished project so that social integration and national unity appear as primary values above individual liberties and open debate” (248). This theory is important in understanding Trinidad and Tobago as a newly democratic, post colonial society and the challenges of governance experienced by each political leader and the role which the media played as the post-colonial society evolved.

1.2. Framing as a dominant theory in political campaigns

My research is grounded in framing theory which is important since the media can exert considerable power over their audiences by the type of frames they use (Capella and Jamieson 1997; Iyengar 1991; Mc Coombs 2004; Price 1997). Media theorist Robert Entman defined framing as “selecting and highlighting some facets of events

and issues, and making connections among them so as to promote a particular interpretation, evaluation, and/or solution” (Entman 2004:5). Entman noted in his study of the US news treatment of two plane crashes (1991) that the manner in which global events were covered and presented to audiences could influence the emergence of a dominant perception. (Lilleker 2006: 82). However, McQuail (2008: 378) indicated that Tuchman (1978) cited Goffman (1974) “as the originator of the idea that a frame is needed to organize otherwise fragmentary items of experience and information.” In a recent paper written on framing in the 2008 US election, Entman (2010) demonstrated that framing effects could lead to news slant and bias and ultimately to political power (391). He stated that since power is the ability to get others to act as one wants, then exerting power to affect behaviour in a democracy requires framing – telling people what to think about – in order to influence attitudes that shape their behaviour’. Entman further stated that “what matters to successful exertion of political power is whether a frame has a decisive impact on two key audiences – undecided or swing voters and political elites” (392). This is in keeping with Scheufele (1999) exposition that framing effects must be posited in the wider media effects theory of “social constructivism” in which the mass media have a strong impact by constructing or framing social reality in a predictable and patterned way (105). He also agreed with other theorists such as Mc Combs and Ghanem (2001) who interpreted framing as working to shape and alter audience members’ interpretations and preferences through a process called priming (Entman 2011: 391).

Wong (2004: 30) in his paper on Malaysian election examines framing in the context of developmental journalism. He defines media frames as a “central organizing idea for news content that supplies a context and suggests what the issue is through the use of selection, emphasis, exclusion and elaboration (Tankard *et al.* 1991). He lists four dimensions of framing: presentation of news items, news topics, cognitive and affective attributes (Ghanen 1997).

Stromback and Luengo (2008: 554) define framing in relation to media and/or structural bias viewing both as mutually reinforcing (2008:553). They define structural bias as journalists favouring some news topics over others, advantaging some candidates and disadvantaging others (Giletin *et al.* 2004:239). They theorize that ‘if news production results in structural biases, then the framing of politics should

be different in different countries belonging to different models of media and politics' (2008: 554). They give four examples of structural bias: journalists' tendency to frame politics as a strategic game (Casella and Jamieson 1997; Patterson 1993), to favour episodic rather than thematic framing (Iyengar 1991), to focus on single events rather than processes (Lippman 1997), and news as event-centred phenomena (Hudson 2003). It is on this basis that the authors compare elections in Spain and Sweden.

1.2.1 Identifying frames

Based on the literature reviewed, there is little agreement on how to identify frames by those involved in framing research. Frames can range from game frame, horserace frame, political strategy frame, news management frame, politicians as individuals frame, conflict frame, governing frame, and episodic frames (Stromback and Shehata 2007:806). Capella and Jamieson (1997:47) suggest four criteria: they must have identifiable and linguistic characteristics; must be commonly observed in journalistic practice; easily distinguishable from other frames; and must be easily recognized or have representational validity.

De Vreese (2005) generalizes framing by grouping them as issue-specific or generic frames. Issue-specific frames he says are pertinent to specific topics or events while generic frames transcend thematic limitations and can be identified in relation to different topics, even over time and cultural contexts (54). Theorists such as Patterson (1993) have explored framing in the context of leadership challenges and strategy, the latter in many ways embracing politics as a horserace and a strategic game. This frame is mostly concerned about the manoeuvring of the candidates and the likely outcome of elections. The overuse of this frame by journalists during elections have been blamed for a "spiral of cynicism" (Capella and Jamieson: 1997) which seduces candidates into concentrating their efforts on playing the game, traps reporters into focussing even more narrowly on that game, and alienates the public from politics (Brewer and Siegelman: 25). Some of the more common frames used in journalistic research include conflict frames (Neuman, Just and Crigler 1992) and these have become important in terms of news value (Galtung and Ruge 1965).

My typology of frames focused on five specific frames: personality, issue, conflict, horserace and governing frames since these appear to be more relevant within the Caribbean context when reporting on elections in Trinidad and Tobago. Personality frame was chosen because elections in Trinidad and Tobago generally tend to be focussed on the period under study around political leaders of the two dominant parties, the United National Congress (UNC) and the Peoples National Movement (PNM), Mr. Basdeo Panday and Mr. Patrick Manning respectively, both of whom held a stranglehold over party and national politics, over the decade under study. In addition, issue specific framing is very important since recurrent issues such as scandals, corruption and the way governments handle crime, permeate the election campaigns and dog political leaders through various regimes over the ten years under study. Thirdly, the use of the horserace frame has become very prevalent given the rapid turnover of elections in Trinidad and Tobago, over the ten years of study (2000 to 2010), at a rate of one election every two years. The fight has always been between two parties, representing two major ethnic groups, the challenge being how to unseat the ruling PNM which has held the seat of government since Independence on the one hand and how to keep the Opposition at bay on the other. Conflict frame was chosen since conflict between political parties and among political leaders is prevalent during elections and has its own cultural resonance in terms of attracting crowds during political campaigns. It is expected that conflict will be much reported by journalists since they generally take centre stage during political campaigns. Governing frame was chosen because of the numerous attempts at unity and coalitions during various periods in the country's political history and are themes used extensively during political campaigns, especially in 2010 when a coalition of parties emerged victorious at the polls. In addition, the issue of good and effective governance in a small, multi-ethnic, multi-religious, ex-colonial island State remains a persistent issue.

My research determined which of the five frames were most widely used by local journalists and if in fact the frames used showed a strong bias towards any one political party in the country. The frames found in the analysis of articles in the three dailies in Trinidad and Tobago should indicate the level of structural and partisan bias, manifested within media houses and by journalists, editors and columnists, in coverage of political campaigns during the ten years under study. Whether the levels of biases are beyond the norm found in coverage of elections in other countries

around the world, to warrant concern about the democratic process in the country is an issue that was explored. Against this background, adjustments were suggested to the existing liberal democratic model of media and politics which existed in the country, to strengthen the democratic process in the country.

1.3 Media Bias in coverage of political campaigns

1.3 Media Bias in coverage of political campaigns
Bias can be defined as ‘a pattern of ...favouritism’ that ‘occurs when one candidate or party receives more news coverage and more favourable coverage over an extended period of time’ (Kenney & Simpson 2003; Wang 2003; Wesley & Colborne 2005 cited in Cenite *et al.*2008: 284). The literature under review identifies a range within the realm of bias: structural bias, partisan bias (Stromback & Shehata 2007), reputational bias (Hayes 2008), gatekeeping bias, coverage bias, statement bias (Barber 2008), agenda bias (Takens *et al.* 2008) and cultural bias (Garyantes 2006), all of which were explored and informed my own in-depth analysis of the elections coverage examined in this dissertation.

The way the media prime a particular point of view and or stress the salience of particular issues could convey a sense of bias toward a particular political party. These biases in turn could be informed by their own cultural and partisan views as well as the structural orientation of their media houses in what Entman refers to as schemas (391) stored in their brain as prior knowledge.

Framing biases can also exist through content bias and decision-making bias. Content bias refers to consistently slanted framing of mediated communication that promotes the success of a specific interest, party or ideology in competitions to determine control of government power. Regarding decision-making bias, Entman states that it influences journalists’ belief systems on the texts they produce and these are reproduced as tacit norms and routines, by news organizations (Entman 2011: 393-394).

Media bias is important in that many politicians and parties feel that the amount of coverage they receive around elections time can have an effect on the outcome of elections even though Mc Quail insists that media effects are difficult to prove (Mc

Quail 2005: 499). Politicians have often accused the press of media bias and framing of news in a manner which is uncomplimentary to them and their government. On the one hand, politicians try to control the flow of information to the press to ensure that what is reported is in keeping with their agenda and in favour of their policies and positions on issues. Additionally, the press feel that their main role is to be the “watchdog of democracy” by “independently scrutinizing government’s activities with the aim toward documenting, questioning and investigating those activities” (Bennett and Serrin 2007: 327). These differing roles have resulted in conflict and tension between politicians and media practitioners with both groups being suspicious of each other’s motives.

Balance is defined as “aiming for neutrality and requires that reporters present the views of legitimate spokespersons of the conflicting sides in any significant dispute, and provide both sides with roughly equal attention” (Entman 1989:30 cited in Cenite *et al.* 2008: 284). “Objective” on the other hand, means the “reporting of something called “news” without commenting on it, slanting it, or shaping its formulation in any way” (Schudson 2001:150 cited in Garyantes 2006: 3). Schudson further states that objectivity “guides journalists to separate facts from values and to report only the facts”. Other theorists define objectivity as “the collection and dissemination of information that describes reality as accurately as possible” (Ryan 2001:3). In my research, I used using Westerstahl’s (Westerstahl 1983) concept of balance which entails the amount of negative and positive coverage given to political parties during elections (Cenite *et al.*, 2008: 283). However, Westerstahl does suggest that some deviations from strict balance can be expected and tolerated if one party remains silent, or events “pertain to one party only” and the “character of the event may be such that the party is placed in a more positive or negative light” (Westerstahl 1983:419).

In the literature under review, two of the papers written on Iraq and Singapore respectively which explored models of media and politics used a similar approach to bias, looking at the operations of media in these countries from the perspective of objectivity and balance while linking it to framing theory. Dianne Garyantes in her paper: ‘Coverage of the Iraqi Elections. A Textual Analysis of Al-Jazeera and the New York Times’ (Garyantes 2006) in the coverage of the 2005 Iraqi elections,

contends that objectivity is the strongest remedy against news bias and framing. She defines objectivity through several philosophical constructs such as accuracy, completeness, precision and clarity of information, receptivity to new evidence, scepticism toward authority figures, initiative in researching stories, fairness and impartiality and honesty about personal idiosyncrasies and preferences (2006: 5). Framing she says, has been associated with potential bias when the coverage involves other cultures (2006: 3). She emphasizes one type of bias, cultural bias which she found prevalent among journalists in Iraq. Cultural bias was found in the omission of the views of women when reporting on news in Iraq and within the media profession since that country is an Islamist State in which women have traditionally been relegated to the background as support to their spouses and, rarely if at all are involved in politics in their country. In Trinidad and Tobago, even though the country has strong religious traditions such as Catholicism, Protestantism, Evangelical, Hindu and Moslem communities of various sects, religion is not a dominant force in election campaign. Also, although women have been traditionally viewed as support to their men, (as discussed in the 2010 elections in Chapter 7), the role of women in society has changed drastically over the decades because of education in which the participation of women outstrip their male counterparts³. Women in contemporary Trinidad have progressed in all fields especially in media and politics in 2010. In 2012 (at the time of writing), all three dailies were headed by female editors-in-chief and the country's Prime Minister was also a female. Therefore cultural bias with a negative impact on coverage of women and women's issues was hardly a factor in media and politics in the country, at that time.

Similarly, in 'Perpetual development journalism- Balance and Framing in the 2006 Singapore Election Coverage' Cenite *et al.* (2008:280-295) view the elections coverage in Singapore in a situation where there is heavy State control of the media and the role of the media is described as "developmental" (2008:281) rather than "watchdog". They cited Entman (1989:30) who stated that "balance aims for neutrality and requires reporters to present the views of both sides with roughly equal attention." They also indicated that the opposite of balance is bias: "a pattern of favouritism that occurs when one candidate or party receives more news coverage and

³ Statistical data from the Office of Planning and Development at UWI indicate the increased participation of women in higher education.

more favourable coverage over an extended period of time” (2008:284). They interpreted framing along the same lines as Entman (1993), to mean that journalists prioritize certain elements of an event and use these elements to form the report, which may induce readers to interpret the event in a certain manner (2008: 285).

Given these approaches to framing and balance, it can be concluded that the social responsibility model (Siebert *et al* 1956) of media and politics in Singapore and Malaysia ensures that media bias is very prevalent in the coverage of elections there. It would seem that in most countries, governments would like to have the media play a developmental role in their country, promoting government policies through public relations effort by the media industry.

In ‘Party Reputations, Journalistic Expectations: How Issue Ownership Influences Election News’ (2008) author Danny Hayes links media bias to media favourability on issue ownership in his study of three USA Presidential elections: 1992, 1996 and 2000. Hayes concedes that the underlying assumption of favourability is that if news is slanted in a way that benefits one candidate or party over the other, public opinion could be affected. He argues that campaign stories should not be slanted in favour of one candidate and that stories should be crafted in ways which give the appearance of balance so as to insulate reporters from charges of bias (Hayes :379). Hayes does acknowledge that the editorial position of a newspaper affects the favourability of coverage and this is linked to the business side of journalism and the political orientation of the newspaper (Druckman & Parkin 2005; Kahn & Kenney 2002). He further states that a candidate’s standing in the poll can affect coverage and that popular candidates may receive more favourable treatment from journalists. He argues that in terms of issue ownership ((Petrocik 1996) that a party’s reputational advantages in different policy domains, influences the favourability of news coverage toward candidates during campaigns (Hayes 2008: 378) resulting in a subtle type of bias or partisan reputational bias. This article is instructive since both Trinidad and Tobago and the USA share the same liberal model of media and politics. In many respects, the media and political systems share similarities in professionalization of campaign communications, presidentialization (Hallin and Mancini 2004) of elections and freedom of the press (see chapter 8). My research drew on these similarities while

taking into account the nuances in differentiation to understand the behaviour of press and politics in the country being studied – Trinidad and Tobago.

In two of the countries covered in the literature under review: Britain and Sweden, the authors added a new dimension to bias by linking structural bias to agenda setting theory. In ‘Structural Biases in British and Swedish Election News Coverage’ (Stromback & Shehata 2007), the authors define structural bias as “norms of journalism or reporter behaviour which favour news about some topics over others and that this news emphasis advantages some candidates and disadvantages others.” (Gulati *et al.* 2004). They also indicate that structural bias is identified with episodic framing ((Iyengar 1991), tends to be event centred, detached, focused on bad news as well as on politics as strategy and tactics rather than policies, and highly dependent on official viewpoints (Shudson 2003). The authors also conceptualize structural bias as involving a linkage between the system level functions and media content. They explain: “if structural bias is rooted in journalistic norms as well as in the processes and circumstances of news productions, and these are different in countries belonging to different models of media and politics, it follows that the news coverage of elections should display different characteristics in these countries (Stromback & Shehata 2007: 800). Trinidad and Tobago also share similarities with the British model in terms of the liberal model and as such similar findings were found in terms of tendency towards structural bias in sourcing information from official viewpoint while focussing on bad news.

In articles written by Canadian and Dutch writers, the researchers used similar approaches to look at media bias in their respective countries. They focussed primarily on coverage bias, statement bias and agenda/gatekeeping bias. Researcher Marsha Barber in her paper entitled: ‘Getting the picture: Airtime and Line-up Bias on Canadian Networks during the 2006 Federal Election’ (Barber 2008) examines media bias from the perspective of airtime and line up in three major television networks: ABC, CBS and NBC. She defines airtime bias as the allocation of airtime to each party and its leaders. She elaborates that her study by extension focuses on gate-keeping and coverage bias. Gate-keeping bias she defines as the preference for selecting stories from one party rather than another. Her underlying assumption is that media coverage does have the potential to influence the outcome of an election.

She focuses on measuring volume of coverage and news line-up which she argues is grounded in gate-keeping theory (624-5). A brief scan of some of the articles written on the Canadian model of media and politics reveals that articles rarely mention media bias and framing and it is worth considering whether this might reflect a greater level of objectivity in the way the media treats with elections in Canada. Additionally, Barber's article gives a picture of how bias manifests itself in other media outside of print and a broad view of media bias generally. My research also examined the linkage between volume of coverage and elections outcome with a view to making a case that the press does play an important role in the outcome of elections in an election campaign and, therefore, in Trinidad and Tobago, which is the country of focus in this thesis.

In exploring the 2006 Dutch elections (Takens *et al.* 2008⁴) the authors define "coverage bias" as "the extent to which the amount of news coverage devoted to political parties is incommensurate with the strength of their political base". "Agenda bias" they state "deal with the extent to which the media attention for different issues reflects the diversity of the issues in social reality". They describe "statement bias" as focussing "on the actual content of coverage, namely the tone of the news, or the degree to which positive and/or negative statements about the political parties and their politicians are made" (2008:3). Takens *et al.* make a strong case for how the media are able to set the agenda by their choice of what constitutes news, especially in their coverage of political news. Further if particular parties were to own certain issues, then it can be assumed that a party owning a particular issue will receive more media coverage during elections when that particular issue is dominant. In such a situation Takens *et al.* argue that the media would be guilty of bias since by choosing to highlight the issues raised by that party while downplaying the views of an opposing party on that issue, they inevitably create a context of bias. My research examined the framing of certain parties, on issues such as corruption and scandals, to determine if negative framing has affected public perception of that party, weakening that party's chances in elections.

⁴ Leaning to the Right or Leaning to the Left? Pluralism in the Dutch Press (2008: 1-27)

Zeldes *et al.* (2008: 565) shied away from defining framing and focussed on media bias and its two attributes: structural and partisan bias. They alluded to media bias as an abstract idea linked to ethics and credibility, however they maintain that no professional consensus exists on what are ethical norms that apply and, further, that there are no standards in place to ensure that these qualities are met. They sought to explain the imbalance in the 2004 USA Presidential elections by looking at both structural and partisan bias. They define structural bias as having to do with journalistic values, resources and outside influences in processing and reporting news, and partisan bias with journalists' political orientations in favour of one candidate over the other (2008:566). The USA would of course represent the prototypical liberal democratic model⁵ and as stated above shares, much similarity to Trinidad and Tobago media and politics model.

Sives in her analysis of 2007 Jamaican elections claims that there was media bias and framing in the coverage of elections by one of the leading newspapers in Jamaica (2008: 366). However, she does not indicate the methodology she used to come to that conclusion. From the footnotes in her paper, one can deduce that she focused primarily on interviews with political players and review of secondary data⁶. It is also unclear as to the period under study during election coverage. While Sives raises important points in her paper such as private sector financing, focus of advertising campaigns, use of media campaign experts (577), her methodology is not clear or strong enough to justify a decisive conclusion on the role of the media. As a case study of the elections process in an undefined period in 2007, however her article is valuable for its inclusion of pertinent details.

In five of the models under review, Italy, Ecuador, Trinidad, Jamaica and Antigua, very little is offered in terms of definition of media bias in the study of elections coverage in these countries. One is left to wonder if the authors took into consideration the role of the media in electoral coverage at all although some understanding and appreciation of the role of the media does exist in these articles. Sives (2008) offers very little in terms of explanation or definition of framing or

⁵ Hallin and Mancini three models of media and politics

⁶ Reference is made to interviews with senior members of PNP and the opposition media team; content analysis of newspapers: Jamaica Gleaner and Jamaica Observer; opinion polls in newspapers; government documents; EBC documents; and party websites.

media bias in her paper on the Jamaican election. However this paper is important as it focuses on a liberal democracy in a developing country based on the parliamentary model (similar to Trinidad and Tobago). Also Sieves focuses on elections processes rather than on the role of the media in elections campaigns. While alluding to media bias in the coverage of elections by one newspaper *The Jamaica Observer*, and examining its framing of issues such as leadership, conflict and personality (366), she offers little theoretical exploration of the subject, since the role of the media per se is not her focus. Her research results in a descriptive case analysis of the Jamaican elections. Yet this paper is important in that it is one of the few recent items written on media and politics in the Caribbean and shows the wide gap in research which exists in this area in Caribbean politics and media.

What emerges from a reading of the literature on the subject is that the authors interpret media bias and framing in different ways. In some instances, definitions are elaborate, while in others especially within the Caribbean, media bias and framing are hardly discussed as authors focus on descriptive analysis of election campaigns using case studies to analyze elections results, to make a case for bias. In several instances, the authors operate under the assumption that media bias is implicit in the coverage of elections even though they spend little time exploring the role the media actually play during the political campaign process. In many of the readings, although framing is implicit in their writings, yet this is hardly mentioned as something distinct and separate from agenda setting.

Within the context of the purpose of this thesis, media bias was explored from the perspective of balanced and objective reporting (Garyantes 2006; Cenite *et al.* 2008) of political news by reporters during elections. It was also defined within the context of framing theory with an appreciation that agenda setting and media effects can be of relevance to issues of balance and bias.

1.4 Models of media and politics

The issue of media and politics in any country must take into account the model of media and politics as an operating framework. The framework may help to determine how media function, but media practice may well determine how the operating model

evolves. While there are many scholarly works on models of media and politics as exist in developed countries, there are few available research done on models which are relevant to small island States as found in the Caribbean.

One of the earliest writings on this subject was *Four Theories of the Press* (1956) by Siebert *et al.* who developed four models based on their research on three of the most influential nations during that era – the USA, Britain and the Soviet Union. These models are the Authoritarian, Libertarian, Communist and Social Responsibility models. Under the Authoritarian model, the State was considered the highest institutionalized structure in the land and superseded the individual. The mass media generally were educators and propagandists of the State even though the press may be privately owned. The Libertarian theory dated back to the seventeenth century and stressed individual liberties in a climate of free expression. The Communist theory arose out of communism with the sole aim of propagating and expanding the socialist system. Under this model, the media were instruments of governments and integral parts of the State. The Social Responsibility model placed more emphasis on the press responsibility to society than on press freedom.

However, these models while comprehensive, giving a theoretical understanding of modeling under different regimes, did not examine the actual media/social and political systems in these three countries. As a result these models gave a broad outlook of large developed countries. In terms of the Caribbean, it did give an insight into the type of model which existed in colonial societies under authoritarian regimes and which continued to exist even after Independence in 1962 by its discussion of authoritarian models. Under a more authoritarian system for instance during the early Independence years (which although not a perfect fit for Trinidad and Tobago in any period, does have relevance for the early Independence years) of Trinidad and Tobago, the State monopolized public information by limiting licenses issued to private individuals to own radio and television stations (See chapter 3). During this period and within that context, the media generally acted as the public relations arm of the State to disseminate information to the wider population even though a small number of free press existed at that time.

Recognizing the gap in the research of Siebert *et al.* Hallin and Mancini built on these existing models and developed three more contemporary models – the Mediterranean or Polarized Pluralist Model (PPM), Democratic Corporatist Model (DCM) and the Liberal Model. The PPM is characterized by an elite-oriented press with relatively small circulation in a State which has a strong role in society. Under this system journalism is strongly aligned to political activism. Under the DCM, the media are seen as social institutions for which the State has responsibility. Press freedom coexists with relatively strong State support for and regulation of media. The Liberal model is characterized by early development of press freedom and mass circulation press. Commercial newspapers dominate and professionalization of journalism is relatively strong, resulting in relatively low political parallelism between politicians and journalists. Under this model, the role of the State is limited in the media (2004:75-77).

Again, these models focused on large developed countries in North America and Western Europe, all of which shared some similarities in history and culture and the evolution of democratic traditions. However, Hallin and Mancini have recognized the shortcomings of their research in explaining countries with less developed traditions of media research. Further, they have also acknowledged that these models which they have proposed will only apply with considerable adaptation to most other areas in the world (2004: 6). In this regard Stromback and Shehata in their comparative study of elections in Britain and Sweden were able to build on the existing model of media and politics proposed by Hallin and Mancini (2004), to develop a new model of media and politics for Europe, in which they argue that a structural bias can facilitate a linkage between the system level of media and output of content.

Both sets of models proposed by Siebert *et al.* and Hallin and Mancini did not take into account developing countries especially small island States as found in the Caribbean. However, on closer examination, the evolving model of media and politics emerging out of Trinidad and Tobago bears some resemblance to the Liberal Model found in *Comparing Media Systems* and which best describes media and politics in Britain, USA and Spain, in which the media have considerable freedom and rights, under large media systems. This model has influenced my own thinking of what might constitute an ideal system of media and politics in small island States such as

Trinidad and Tobago. However, the Liberal Model must be adapted considerably to take into account the developing status of the country's media and political systems and in such a situation both institutions must be mutually supportive of each other's roles in developing a healthy democracy, as the country evolves to strengthen institutions and to improve overall development.

Hallin and Mancini's Liberal model is important to this study of media and politics in Trinidad and Tobago because of the evolution of the media in the country from State control to an open system with multiple interests. The political system based on Parliamentary democracy and a liberal constitution is also relevant as are the growing independence of the media and the absence of direct State control of privately owned media.

One of the few available research papers on Caribbean models was done by Rhodes and Henry (1995) who spent considerable time analyzing media in relation to the State in Antigua and Barbuda. They were able to make significant progress in devising an appropriate model which they described as a "political resource model" in which the media were viewed as political resources of the State with an identity similar to political parties. However, they described this model as existing within a repressive political system in which the State owned most of the media and the free press was highly restricted by legislation in that country. They also argued that a similar media and politics model existed under similar situations in the islands of St. Kitts, Antigua, Montserrat and Anguilla. This paper is important since it gives an overall picture of media and politics in parts of the region which contrasts with the liberal democratic model which supports a free press in Trinidad and Tobago. It is worth mentioning though, that the Caribbean societies covered by Rhodes and Henry are very small islands, with small populations, in which the State is relatively dominant and Government presence is, in general, pervasive.

Wong in his paper on Asian-based development journalism looked at the 1999 Malaysian elections within a framework of an authoritarian State dominated model (2004: 28). In a similar study on Malaysia, Abbott (2011) described this model as "electoral authoritarianism" in which the state used legislative checks to "shackle" or control the media. Both researchers found that the media showed strong partisan bias

to the ruling party, the National Front (37). Their analysis and findings must be seen in the context of Malaysian media and politics in which developmental journalism is the working model. The question that arises is whether the notion of free and fair reporting can ever exist in the context of development journalism within an authoritarian, State-dominated model of government that dictates the terms of journalistic practice.

The relevance of this from the perspective of my own research would be to assess the extent to which Trinidad and Tobago's liberal democratic model might be influenced or altered by authoritarian tendencies and/or State related elements of control. While there might be similarities between Malaysia and Trinidad and Tobago in terms of the diversity of population, the existence of coalition governments, and press freedom enshrined in the Constitutions of the respective countries, the model of media and politics is very different in each of these countries. Journalists in Trinidad and Tobago enjoy tremendous freedom to practice their profession under a liberal democratic model of media and politics.

Further legislation against media practitioners are only enforced in extreme cases and generally handled with sensitivity. In June 2012 for instance, the Prime Minister of Trinidad and Tobago gave a clear commitment to repeal existing defamation laws which journalists feel constitute inhibition of journalistic freedom. Similar action was taken by the Jamaican Government in February 2012 when the Prime Minister set up a Joint-Parliament Select Committee to discuss proposals to reform Defamation Laws.⁷ In Malaysia the situation is complicated by government ownership and/or influence, as well as control of the media through party dominance and State power. The situation is different in Trinidad and Tobago in which most of the media is owned by the private sector and there are strong lines of delineation between the privately-owned and State-owned media. In these models we see that freedom of press is directly related to private ownership and independence from direct government influences. Although under the liberal system, governments have been known to exert pressure on the free press through other means such as legislation, withholding of

⁷ http://www.trinidadexpress.com/commentaries/Defamation_and_responsible_journalism-115402709.html sourced on 29.6.12

advertising revenues and forcing self censorship by editors in press establishments (see chapter 3).

In the study of 2006 Singapore elections Cenite *et al.* conducted their research on the most popular broadsheet in Singapore: *Straits Times*. The study is important in that it highlights an instance where the media and the State enter into an accommodation in which the media view their role as developmental and supportive of government policies and generally reports positively about their activities in the press. While this system may be beneficial to the State, on the other hand it calls into question the role of the media in the democratic process because in democratic societies it is assumed that the media would act as a watchdog over matters of national interest if and when required. Under this system, in times of elections, when the State has a tight hold over the media, and the media feel that their role is to be the public relations arm of government, it is highly likely that an opposing party would hardly be given equal amounts of coverage during the campaign period. In such instances, the media will exhibit strong structural and partisan bias in favour of the State party during elections. This gives an insight into what could happen in Trinidad and Tobago if the media were to give in to the State and succumb to threats of being regulated and controlled by the government.⁸ The issue of governance model, media and politics model, role of the press and their impact on democracy are strongly aligned and interconnected and worthy of serious investigation and study.

Gianpietro Mazzoleni's: 'With the Media, Without the Media: Reasons and Implications of the Electoral Success of Silvio Berlusconi in 2001' (Mazzoleni 2004) is a startling contrast to all the research articles discussed above, on media and politics. The author presents a model of media and politics which seems to be unique to Italy and which is a model which can hardly be replicated or exported to other countries. Although the author does not define media bias in the coverage of elections, it is assumed that given the uniqueness of this particular case in which most of the media were owned or concentrated in the hands of the main Presidential candidate, Silvio Berlusconi, that there was strong partisan and structural bias in the

⁸ The State has its own public relations machinery called the Government Information Services (GIS) formerly called Ministry of Information. The GIS is a full-house, communications office which comprise television, radio, public relations and photographic units all dedicated to the dissemination of government information to the national public.

coverage of the 2001 Italian election campaign. Mazzoleni makes a strong case for the mediatization of political campaigns. Lilleker (2006) has argued that it is the media which shapes and frames the processes and discourse of political communication as well as the society in which that communication takes place. He surmises that “it is legitimate to assume that if a mogul of this kind enters politics, he has a big advantage over his adversaries, in terms of financial and strategic resources to be employed in marketing his ideas”(Mazzoleni 2004: 269). This paper, therefore, strengthens the case for a close examination of ownership and control of media and the implications for bias in coverage and ultimately election outcome. Elements of this model exist in the social responsibility model found in Asian countries and some of the small islands in the Caribbean in which the State has majority share holding on media in their respective countries. Therefore one might conclude that for democracies to truly evolve, the free media must be allowed to carry out their responsibilities as both information brokers and watchdog.

Based on the literature review of existing models of media and politics, I propose a model more in keeping with small island States as exist in the Caribbean. This model takes into account the movement away from an authoritarian regime as a result of deregulation to a more liberal system in which the free press has proliferated. Secondly, it also takes into account the existing small media system which is highly dependent on State advertising for its survival. Thirdly, the geographic location of the country in terms of proximity and influence of the USA is considered. Additionally, the culture of the people and the use of familial and business networks which permeate the entire country have implications in terms of how the media operate and on their ability to be objective and balanced. This model also acknowledges that there might be a developmental aspect of the media as well as the fact that they have a social responsibility role to play as the country moves towards a trajectory of developed status.

1.5 Conclusion

This literature review has encompassed a broad range of literature covering election campaigns around the world including the Latin America and the Caribbean region. In most, but not all of these articles, the issues of framing and media bias are discussed

and in some instances conclusions drawn. This chapter draws critically on these articles written by researchers from different parts of the world namely, North America, Central America, South America, Canada, England, North Europe, the Mediterranean and Arab world, as well as the Caribbean. It is interesting to note that most of the articles referred to more or less reached the same conclusions that is, media bias, framing and/or agenda setting were prevalent in the coverage of electoral campaigns by journalists, in most countries, however, the degree to which they are practiced, varied somewhat depending on the model of media and politics which existed in that country as well as on a number of rather country-specific issues. Additionally that there is a link between the political system and the way the media behaves in each country studied. Media bias, framing and agenda setting, therefore, do not occur in the same way in all countries nor are their results likely to be the same in all contexts. The political model of governance, the corresponding model of media and politics do have a bearing on how these matters are actualized and how they impact.

CHAPTER 2

RESEARCH PROJECT DESIGN

2.0 Introduction

Trinidad and Tobago was a colony of Britain from 1783-1962 (Brereton 1991). It became an independent State with a Governor-General in 1962 and in 1976 it became a Republic with a non-executive President and a Westminster style parliamentary democracy. The Constitution of Trinidad and Tobago recognizes a Parliamentary democracy with a Prime Minister as Head of State, an Attorney-General essential to Cabinet, an independent judiciary and a free media in a secular State which holds parliamentary elections every five years⁹. It would be reasonable to claim that the Constitution of Trinidad and Tobago provides for the operation of a liberal democracy. However, between the period 1956 when Trinidad and Tobago achieved self-government (the country was granted Independence in 1962) and 2010 when the last general election was held, Trinidad and Tobago would have been governed by a single party, the Peoples National Movement (PNM) for thirty-seven of its fifty years of Independence except for three five year terms between 1986-1991 when the National Alliance for Reconstruction (NAR) defeated the PNM; 1995-2000 when the United National Congress (UNC) formed the government (although they received another term they were only able to govern for two of the five years); and in 2010 when the Peoples Partnership (PP) emerged victorious at the polls (Tables 2.1 and 2.2).

Although the country has had a history of a two-party political system with smaller parties emerging from time to time, it can be argued that in reality the country has been dominated by a single party, the PNM since Independence. Authors Barrow-Giles and Joseph argue that from 1956 to 1981, Trinidad and Tobago has had a hegemonic party system dominated by a single party, the PNM (Barrow-Giles and Joseph 2006:118). Coalition parties only emerged in an effort to remove the long standing PNM government in office, when the National Alliance for Reconstruction

⁹ The Constitution of the Republic of Trinidad and Tobago

(NAR) and the PP formed the government in 1986 and 2010 respectively. Also in 1995 when the elections had resulted in a tie of 17/17 with the NAR gaining two seats in Tobago, a coalition was formed between the UNC and the NAR to form the government. However, while the Opposition parties have made attempts to form coalitions, on the other hand, the PNM remained for the most part in its original form as a single party within the existing political system.

From 1976 to 2010, national politics have been dominated by two political leaders, Mr Basdeo Panday and Mr Patrick Manning, leaders of the UNC and PNM respectively. Mr Basdeo Panday headed the ULF/UNC from 1976 to 2010 as opposition leader except for the period 1995 to 2002 when he was elected Prime Minister. Simultaneously, the PNM was led by Mr Patrick Manning from 1986 to 2010, during which time he was also Prime Minister for two and a half terms (13 years). In this context, elections were viewed as a contest between these two political leaders and long-standing rivals and the challenge has always been how to remove the PNM, which is the party which has been most in government over the last five decades.

State ownership of the media was dominant in the period after Independence (1962) to 1986, which was also a period of State expansion across the economic sectors as well. During that period the State owned the only television station, Trinidad and Tobago Television (TTT) and two radio stations. The daily newspapers, however, were privately owned and in the mid 60s and after, weekly and monthly newspapers also emerged.

Media opportunities opened up considerably with a change of government for the first time in 1986 and the media houses, radio stations, television stations and newspapers have proliferated since that time. The process has proved to be irreversible and in the contemporary period with the advent of internet, cable and satellite technologies, there have been positive changes in availability and access to media. In 2012, there were eleven newspapers, thirty-eight radio stations¹⁰ and nine television stations¹¹ in a

¹⁰ Available at <http://www.tatt.org.tt/Broadcasting/ListofRadioBroadcasters.aspx>

¹¹ Available at <http://www.tatt.org.tt/Broadcasting/ListofTelevisionBroadcasters.aspx>

Country of just over 1.3 million people with a media advertising market estimated at \$699 million in 2008 of which TT\$399 million was expected to be spent on press.¹²

Table 2.1

Trinidad and Tobago: Electoral Outcomes and Party Fortunes, 1956 - 1991

(Giles & Joseph 2006: 120)

This item has been removed due to third party copyright. The unabridged version of the thesis can be viewed at the Lanchester Library, Coventry University.

Source: Emmanuel 1992

It would be reasonable to claim that in the period of direct State control over the media the State, through the Telecommunications Authority, maintained a more or less regulatory role and essentially the condition of the press could be described as

¹² Available at <http://www.tatt.org.tt/Broadcasting/ListofRadioBroadcasters.aspx>

relatively free although the State could exert a significant measure of control if and when it wanted to.¹³

With the expansion of the media, the cadre of professional journalists has grown, as has the number of columnists, commentators of various kinds and opinion makers and leaders. Again, it is reasonable to claim that there is opportunity for a greater variety of voices and a greater diversity of views in the media. This can be seen as a contributor to democracy.

However, given the smallness of Trinidad and Tobago's society, some media professionals are sometimes closely linked to political parties and individual political personalities. Others have moved from the media into lucrative government public relations and State media positions.¹⁴ As a result, strong political parallelism (Hallin and Mancini 2004) is sometimes reflected in the reporting and slant of the media houses with some of them being strongly aligned to a particular political party or point of view without any kind of declaration of partisanship¹⁵.

2.1 Overview of 2000, 2001, 2002, 2007 and 2010 elections

In 2000, the United National Congress (UNC) won the national elections with 307,791 votes (51.7%) gaining 19 of the 36 seats (Table 2.2). It was only the second time in the history of Trinidad and Tobago that a political party other than the People's National Movement (PNM) had won the national elections on its own (in 1995 the PNM was replaced in office only because the UNC and the NAR were able to form a coalition) This was historic since the PNM had governed the country continuously for 30 years from 1956 - 1986 (Table 2:1) and for thirty-four years up to year 2000, since party government came to Trinidad and Tobago. More so, that party had dominated the post Independence period by far.

¹³ For instance between 1962 and 1986 the state granted no licenses to any new radio stations or television stations from the private sector and as chairman of the state owned television for many years James Alva Bain exerted a great deal of influence over political coverage and political broadcasts.

¹⁴ Jones P. Madeira, Editor of *Trinidad Guardian* now works as the press officer in the Ministry of National Security

¹⁵ Both Gideon Hanoomansingh and Harry Partap, journalists became government ministers under the UNC regime.

Secondly, it was the first time that a political party led by a person of East Indian descent, Mr Basdeo Panday had won an outright victory at the polls on its own (as mentioned earlier Mr Panday became Prime Minister in 1995 by forming a coalition with Mr ANR Robinson). The defeated PNM party was astounded by this development but was astute enough to capitalize on internal fighting within the UNC to regain an advantage over the UNC. The UNC, after the election of 2000, had become very fractious internally over battles for leadership succession. This subsequently evolved into factionalism and charges against the sitting Prime Minister for failure to act against corruption by party members and supporters. The end result was that one year, more or less, into the UNC government, the ruling party was forced to call fresh elections.

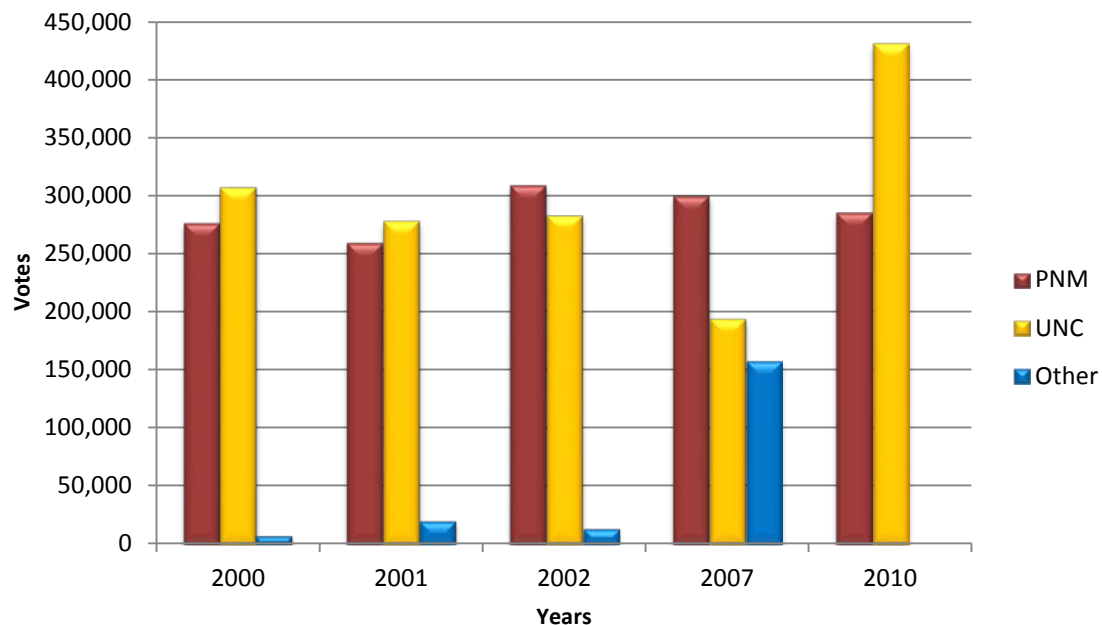
December 11, 2001 was an historic moment in the history of Trinidad and Tobago since it was the third time that the ruling party, the PNM, was trounced at the election and the first time that the UNC would receive a mandate for a second consecutive term from the electorate. On November 9, 2001, exactly one year into the UNC's term in office, fresh elections were called because of internal party bickering¹⁶. This resulted in an 18/18 tie with both PNM and UNC securing an equal number of seats. The decision of the President Mr Arthur N.R. Robinson to ask the opposition PNM to form the government did not sit well with the incumbent UNC and their supporters and by 2002, unable to govern in a hung Parliament, Prime Minister Manning set the date of August 28, 2002 as the day that the two major contending parties would go back to the polls. This election yielded a PNM victory of 20 seats with 50.7 percent of the votes (Table 2.2)

By 2007 when election was called again as was constitutionally due, the PNM was able to retain power with a significant victory of 26 seats. The UNC had lost considerably gaining only 29.73 percent of the votes (Table 2.2). Much of the fall out in votes seemed to have come from a split in the UNC, and emergence of the

¹⁶ Three party members namely Ramesh Lawrence Maharaj, Trevor Sudama and Ralph Maraj charged the UNC leader with not wanting to deal with corruption in the party resulting in name calling and open quarrel. Eventually the trio was expelled from the UNC and went on to form a new organisation called "Team Unity".

Congress of the People (COP)¹⁷ which gained 22.64 percent of the votes in the national election of that year (2007), even though they did not win any seats in Parliament (see Figure 2.1).

Figure 2.1: Electoral outcomes from 2000 to 2010



Less than two and a half years (2yrs 5mths) into his term of government, however, Prime Minister Patrick Manning called fresh elections on May 24, 2010. This proved to be unfortunate for the Manning-led government since it resulted in a united force of opposition parties and civic groups consisting of the United National Congress (UNC), Congress of the People (COP), National Joint Action Committee (NJAC), Movement for Social Justice (MSJ) and Tobago Opposition Party (TOP) forming a coalition to fight the elections. The coalition or “Peoples Partnership” (PP) won 29 of the 41 seats to form the 2010 government of the country (a constitutional majority) with the PNM forming the Opposition with 12 seats (Table 2.2).

¹⁷ A fallout between UNC party leader Basdeo Panday and Winston Dookeran over the role of the Leader (Dookeran was leader, Panday, party chairman) of the Opposition in Parliament resulted in Dookeran leaving the UNC and forming the COP.

Table 2.2
Trinidad and Tobago Elections Results: 2000, 2001, 2002, 2007 & 2010

DATE OF ELECTIONS	DATE CALLED	PARTIES CONTESTING ELECTIONS	WON	SEATS WON	VOTES	% OF VOTES	TOTAL VOTER TURNOUT
1. 2000 (Dec 11) ¹⁸	Nov. 2, 2000	UNC PNM NAR INDEPENDENTS PEP THE MECRCY SOCIETY	UNC	19 16 0 0 0	307,791 276,334 7,409	51.7% 46.4% 1.2% .2% .3%	594,875
2. 2001 (Dec.10) ¹⁹	Nov. 9, 2000	UNC PNM TEAM UNITY NAR	TIE	18 18 0 0	278,781 259,450 14,165 5,925	49.9% 46.5% 2.5% 1.1%	558,321
3. 2002 (Oct. 7) ²⁰	Aug 28, 2002	PNM UNC NAR CITIZENS' ALLIANCE DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF T&T	PNM	20 16 0 0 0	308,807 283,656 6,856 5,955 664	50.7% 46.6% .01% .01% .0001%	608,830
4. 2007 (Nov. 5) ²¹	Sept. 28, 2007	PNM UNC COP DAC DNA INDEPENDENTS	PNM	26 15 0 0 0 0	299,813 194,425 148,041 8,801 376 120	45.85% 29.73% 22.64% 1.35% .01%	653,882
5. 2010 (May 24) ²²		Peoples' Partnership (Coalition of UNC COP, NJAC, TOP) PNM	Coalition	29 21 6 2 12	432,026 108,143 15,342 285,354	59.8% 14.97% 2.12% 39.5%	722,322

The Peoples' Partnership gained 432,026 or 59.8 percent of the votes with the PNM gaining only 285,354 or 39.5 percent of the votes. 2010 recorded the highest voter turnout of 722,322 over the ten year period and in the history of Trinidad and Tobago elections. Interestingly, the PNM although losing the election was still able to

¹⁸ Adam Carr's Election Archive (<http://psephos.adam-carr.net/countries/t/trinidad/trinidad2000.txt>)

¹⁹ Adam Carr's Election Archive (<http://psephos.adam-carr.net/countries/t/trinidad/trinidad2001.txt>)

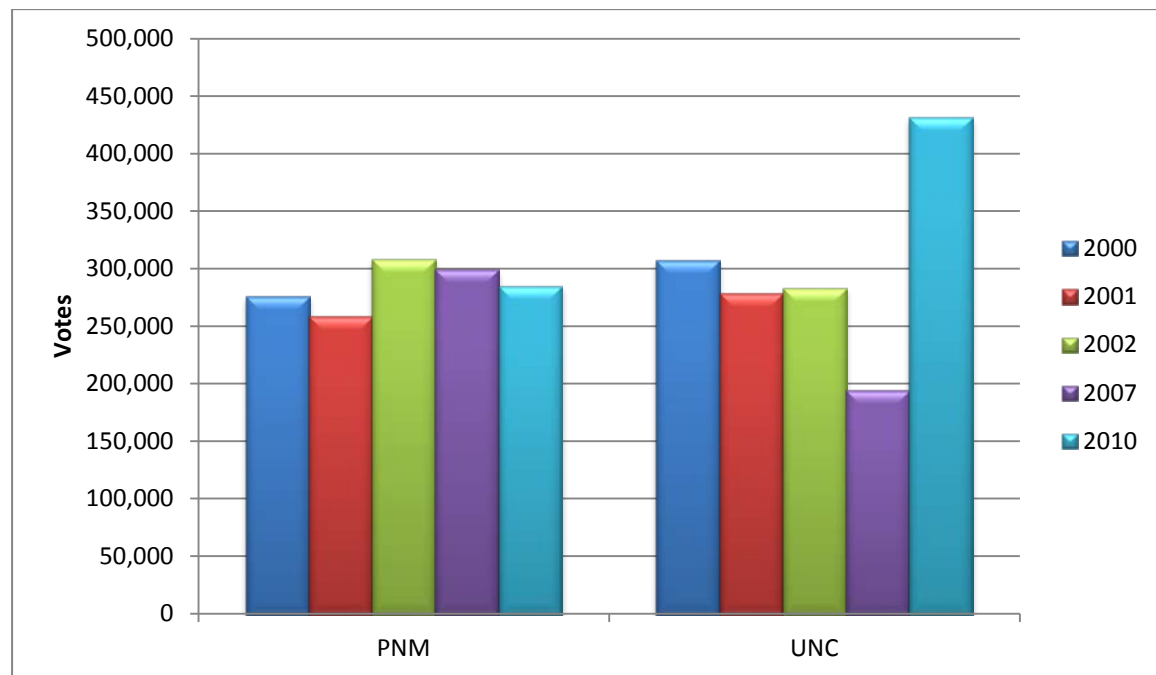
²⁰ Retrieved from http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Trinidad_and_Tobago_general_election_2002

²¹ http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Trinidad_and_Tobago_general_election_2002

²² Data from Elections and Boundaries Commission published in the Trinidad Express on 26th May, 2010

maintain their core constituency base losing less than 15,000 (14,459) votes less than the previous election. Clearly, the coalition was not able to woo a substantial number of PNM voters but rather gained support from new or undecided voters.

Figure 2.2: Votes cast for PNM and UNC from 2000 to 2010



2.2 Relations between the press and politicians

Relations between the media and political parties have always been interspersed with moments of drama in Trinidad and Tobago but within the recent past, especially since 1995 such relations have been especially contentious. Mr Basdeo Panday became the first Indian Prime Minister and only Prime Minister from a political party with absolutely no connection with the PNM, whatsoever, to lead the country. Mr ANR Robinson who became Prime Minister in 1986 had served in various high offices in PNM administrations from 1956 to 1970. Mr Panday had from the very beginning been an opposition politician. In the 1995 to 2000 period, Mr Panday had a running row with the *Guardian* which led to the dismissal of an editor and several journalists. In 2001 Mr Panday “complained about unfair treatment by a media house which he said was vindictive toward his administration and had an ethnic agenda aligned to the interest of the PNM. Mr Panday spent much of his time feuding with the media.”²³

²³http://www.freemedia.at/cms/ipi/freedom_detail.html?country=/KW0001/KW0202/KW005

But in 1995, when Mr Panday became Prime Minister for the first time, he emerged in a context in which relations between the press and the PNM led government had also soured considerably over the 1991-1995 period. In 1997, a major conflict emerged between the UNC government and the Trinidad *Guardian*.²⁴ In the 1994-1995 periods, the press was generally very critical of Patrick Manning's style of government as leader of the PNM.²⁵

The period 2000-2010 has resulted in a steady deterioration of relations between the press and both governing parties in their turn. By 2010, when then Prime Minister Patrick Manning called election prematurely there was a full blown combative relationship and open hostility between the PNM administration and the press. During the 2010 campaign, the government openly accused the media of biased reporting against the PNM government. Prime Minister Manning went as far as to accuse the daily press of being anti-government.²⁶

The opposition forces of the Peoples Partnership were able to take advantage of this open hostility situation between the PNM and the media by championing the cause of the media during its campaign. Mrs Persad-Bissessar had already won the goodwill of the media, during the UNC's internal party elections, in which she received extensive coverage from the media which catapulted her to national celebrity status and positioned her to become the Leader of the UNC and opposition leader as well as the first female Prime Minister of the country.

The facts would indicate that both political parties (UNC and PNM) have used the power of the State while in government, to curb press freedom, whenever they

/15/2009

²⁴ The *Guardian* ran a front page photo of Prime Minister Panday with a glass (drink) in his hand under the headline "Chutney Rising"; chutney is a spicy form of Indian music; Panday became incensed and charged that the headline was racist. Heated meetings ensued between the *Guardian* and the Prime Minister and other members of the Government, culminating with the Editor, Jones P. Madeira and a number of journalists walking out of the *Guardian*. Jones P. Madeira eventually formed another newspaper called "*The Independent*" and in 2009 was hired by the PNM regime as Press Officer in the Ministry of National Security

²⁵ The media was very critical of Manning placing the Speaker of the House, Mrs. Occah Seapaul under house arrest; the firing by fax of the Minister of Foreign Affairs; and the sidelining and eventual firing of his Minister of Trade, Brian Kuei Tung over allegations that he leaked the election date to the UNC prior to the election

²⁶ Reported in the *Guardian* on April 28, 2010 and May 6, 2010

thought that the press was especially critical of their government (This topic was explored in more detail in chapter three).

2.3 Research Questions

Against the background outlined above, this study examined the role of the media over these five elections: 2000, 2001, 2002, 2007 and 2010 looking specifically at the following research questions:

1. Whether the daily newspapers in Trinidad and Tobago exhibited bias in their coverage of political news during the campaign periods;
2. Whether news editors and columnists framed their editorials and commentaries to show bias towards a particular party

2.3.1 Research Objectives

1. To determine whether media bias in the press was a major factor in the outcome of national elections in Trinidad and Tobago.
2. To gain a better understanding of the role that the print media play in political campaigns in Trinidad and Tobago.
3. To address possible solutions to strengthen both the independent role of the media and the democratic process in a small island State such as Trinidad and Tobago.
4. To explore possibilities for a new model of media and politics to facilitate a better understanding of media and politics in Trinidad and Tobago and perhaps, for small island States generally, in the Caribbean.

The first objective explored whether the daily newspapers exhibited bias in the reporting of political news during campaigns. The choice of news items as well as the way they are framed can easily influence public perception through agenda setting (Cohen 1963, and Lazarsfield 1948) and convey a sense of favourability to particular parties and candidates. Further, “coverage can influence or even create a public mood that may or may not be favourable to a certain issue or policy proposal by giving a sense of favourability” (Cook 1998: 234). News items in Trinidad and Tobago usually appear on the front pages or at the beginning of newspapers, and are reported by journalists in the employ of newspapers. Although over the ten years under review,

the dailies have begun to use their front pages, to feature large, full-colour photos of politicians with accompanying headlines while placing news stories inside the covers. In this regard, photos of politicians especially political leaders were counted to determine the number of times they appeared alone, together and overall on covers of newspapers. Hall suggests that although editors may select a photograph for its formal news values, they are also judged on how these values are best treated or 'angled' so as to anchor the intended interpretation (Hall 1981:232-4).

Headlines were read and scaled to determine if they were positive, negative or balanced towards either the political directorate or opposition party. Front pages are usually the responsibility of editors of newspapers and indicate if editorial bias existed within any or all of the three dailies especially on covers of newspapers. News stories on the other hand were analyzed using content analysis to determine the most prevalent frames used by journalists when reporting on political news during campaigns. Since news stories are reported factually based on what is said during campaigns, it is anticipated that bias will be more structural than partisan in reporting news stories.

The second objective focused on bias in editorials and columns to discern if news editors and columnists framed editorials and commentaries to show partisan bias toward any political party. Editorials are usually written by either in-house editors or independent writers who are knowledgeable on particular issues. They are also a good indication of editorial policy and opinion regarding politics, politicians and governance styles of political leaders. A study by Kapoor and Kang (1993) indicates that editors were free to present divergent political views in their editorials which are in contrast to that of newspapers. However Song (2003) found that the ideological orientations of news media guided their choice of editorials. This question sought to unveil editorial policy while making a distinction between editorial and ownership policies with the latter being more concerned with the commercial aspects of running newspapers as businesses.

Question two attempted to find out if there was consistent bias among the diverse views of independent columnists regarding political parties. Newspaper columns are mostly written by opinion leaders or so-called "punditocracy" (Duff 2008: 230) and

are considered journalism's aristocracy (Shrimsley 2003:29). According to Duff "political columnists are instrumental in the development of public knowledge and they may help to determine the ethical and political calibre of the societies in which we live" (230). In Trinidad and Tobago, they represent the opinions of disenfranchised groups or opinion shaping individuals in society such as trade unions, religious sects, nongovernmental organizations, academics from the universities, and commentators with various view points. A very small portion of columnists are also seasoned journalists in the employ of newspapers, although in most instances their opinions are independent of those expressed by editors. One noticeable trend over the decade under review has been the tendency to allocate columns to political parties as well. These have not been analyzed since because of their stated partisanship. Qualitative content analysis was applied to samples of editorials and columns, to determine common themes and issues discussed during political campaigns and was a good indicator of whether columnists knowingly and/or unknowingly tried to influence the thinking of the populace in the way they framed certain issues or sought to set the political agenda over the electoral periods through their choice of topics to be discussed.

The third research objective determined if the level of bias found in the content analysis of front pages, news stories, editorials and columns of the three newspapers was a major factor in the outcome of national elections based on the evidence from the empirical research from the coverage of the five political campaigns (See chapter 8).

The fourth objective allowed for a better understanding of the role of the print media in political campaigns in Trinidad and Tobago while recommending solutions to strengthen the independent role of the media and the democratic process in a small island State, through a process of collaboration respectful of roles.

In addition, the final research question explored possibilities for a new model of media and politics for emerging democracies, moving away from an authoritarian model (Siebert *et al* 1963) inherited during colonialism in which the State controlled the media, to a liberal democratic model (Hallin and Mancini 2004) more reflective of the reality of Trinidad and Tobago and more appropriate to small island States in the

Caribbean, bearing in mind that all evidence points to local media enjoying a tremendous amount of freedom, under the existing constitution in which Freedom of the Press is enshrined (See chapter eight).

2.4 Research Strategy: Mixed Methodology

My research involved a mixed methodology consisting of qualitative and quantitative content analysis of case studies of five elections with interviews with select journalists using a structured questionnaire. Content analysis was applied to three daily newspapers: The *Guardian*, *Express* and *Newsday* to explore whether there was bias in the framing of media coverage of the five campaign periods, in Trinidad and Tobago: 2000, 2001, 2002, 2007 and 2010. Quantitative content analysis is ideal for researching newspapers since it allows for quantitative analysis of the content of the papers such as the number of articles published on the elections contest during the campaign periods. This method also allows for framing of articles through a process of coding and scaling to determine the extent of structural and/or partisan bias in the coverage of politics during political campaigns. It is also the one of the most popular methods used to study newspapers.

Qualitative content analysis took the research a step further through thematic analysis of major issues embedded in the text and sub text of select editorials and commentaries. Further, the analysis was contextualized within the broader issues taking place in the country at that time. According to Philo, what has emerged is ‘an illusion of balance...in that we are systematically given the information necessary to understand the explanations and policies they represent’ (Philo *et al.* 1977:13). He further stated that “ultimately what is reproduced are the assumptions of the powerful about what is necessary and possible in society” (Philo 2007: 177).

A third method of face-to-face interviews was used to support my research on media bias during the campaign periods. Interviews were conducted with select journalists and media personnel using a structured questionnaire.

Additionally, these methodologies were complimented by three case studies of the five elections, with one case study done of the 2000 election at the start of the period

under review, and another of the 2010 election, at the end of the period under study. A third case analysis of the other three elections, 2001, 2002 and 2007 was done in between. The comparative case analysis of these three elections in the middle, and the case analysis of the first and last elections of this decade facilitated an assessment of trends and tendencies and gave a strong picture of the role of press in campaigns over the decade. Further, how this role might be affected by evolving relations between media and politicians. These overall trends were discussed comprehensively in the final chapter (chapter 8), to get a better understanding of the role of the press in political campaigns in Trinidad and Tobago while suggesting a way forward for media and politics in Trinidad and Tobago.

2.4.1 Content Analysis of Newspapers

Content analysis was first applied to front pages and news stories in the three daily newspapers: the *Trinidad Express*, *Newsday* and the *Guardian*. All three newspapers are owned by the private sector and target different segments of the society although these segments do overlap. The three dailies represent the mainstream views of different segments of the population: from academia to business and working class in society to the so-called man in the street and are highly read by these varied publics. However there is much overlapping of styles and target audiences, given the smallness of Trinidad and Tobago in which there are only three dailies and generally nationals from all walks of life read all three papers during the course of a day. An analysis of these three newspapers indicated whether deliberately or unconsciously the press exhibited structural and/or partisan bias in their political coverage during elections and gave a good indication of the level of bias practiced by journalists in the print media in Trinidad and Tobago and whether the bias is outside the norm found in democracies globally so as to warrant concern about its effect on the country's democratic tradition of free and fair elections.

a. The Trinidad Guardian

The oldest and most conservative of the three dailies, the *Trinidad Guardian* started as a broadsheet in 1917 by the Trinidad Publishing Company and during that the period under review for the conduct of this study had a circulation of 40,000²⁷ newspapers

²⁷ <http://www.pressreference.com/Sw-Ur/Trinidad-and-Tobago.html>

per day. The *Guardian* is generally supportive of the “status quo” and has a loyal, older, more conservative readership and is preferred by the middle to high income group. Their readership comes from the age group 45 years and over. A survey conducted by Market Facts and Opinions in 2012 revealed that the readership of both the weekday and weekend *Guardian* is down by up to eight percent, capturing only fifteen percent of the market. The paper is generally supportive of business and private sector interests. Originally started as a broadsheet, the newspaper has been converted to a tabloid in order to compete with its main rival the “*Express*”. The *Guardian* is owned by the ANSA McAl Group of Companies; a private company with diverse business interests involving real estate, finance, car dealerships, manufacturing to name a few. The company is also involved in other media such as radio and television and therefore, this company has become a full media house.

b. The Express

The *Express* started on June 6, 1967 (this newspaper started as the *Mirror* and evolved into the *Express*) by a group of Trinidadian journalists in order to compete with the then British-owned *Trinidad Guardian*. It is now published by the Caribbean Communications Network and provides a balanced format spread which includes coverage of news as well as investigative reporting. The *Express* is considered to be a newspaper more independent of interests than the *Guardian* and has the largest market share with a circulation of 75,000²⁸. The *Express* has 53 percent of the reading public which comes from the age group 15 to 34 years²⁹ and targets both national and regional readerships. As the most widely read newspaper in the country, it goes beyond business readership and reaches the middle class as well as lower income groups in the society. A recent survey by Market Facts and Opinion (MFO) conducted in March 2012, revealed that the *Express* is the number one choice of readers with daily readership (Monday to Friday) increasing by six percent from the last survey conducted in 2009, while weekend readership especially *Sunday Express* has increased by eleven percent, dominating the market especially in the young age group of 15 to 19 years.³⁰

²⁸ <http://www.pressreference.com/Sw-Ur/Trinidad-and-Tobago.html>

²⁹ <http://www.mfo2000.com/publications/15.6.12>

³⁰ http://www.trinidadexpress.com/news/Express_tops_all_in_readership-155553825.html <15.6.12>

c. Newsday

The third daily, the *Newsday* is the newest paper on the market and was founded by Therese Mills in 1993, by former editor-in-chief of the *Guardian*. The format of the newspaper is similar to the tabloid size of the *Express*. It is also similar in layout and design. However its content is focused more on news reporting rather than columns. The paper has been accused of having a strong Catholic bias. This paper reaches lower income groups within the age of 35 to 55 years. According to Therese Mills “*Newsday* offers businesses and readers outside of the borders of the country's two oldest daily newspapers, a voice.”³¹ This newspaper is privately owned by individual investors and has a circulation of approximately 60,000 daily. The MFO (March 2012) survey also revealed a decline in readership of up to eight percent.

2.4.2 Period of study

The period under study are the campaign periods for each of the five elections, beginning from the date each election was called to the day of election for each of the periods under review when winners were announced. The political campaigns are very important since they are periods of the most intensive media coverage during election seasons comprised of writings from news journalists, editors and a range of columnists with diverse political views. The multiplicity and diversity of views make for good study of the model of media and politics in Trinidad and Tobago. It is a time when political parties use every means at their disposal to mount intensive media campaigns to ensure that their parties are in the spotlight and visible to the voting public. The symbiotic relationship between the media and politicians is such that politicians often manipulate journalists to frame news so that they get the most coverage in the media while on the other hand the media rely extensively on politicians as their main source of information.

³¹ http://www.nalis.gov.tt/Biography/bio_ThereseMills.html

Table 2.3
Newspapers covered over the five election periods

Election Year	Campaign Period	No. of days	of Dailies	Number of newspapers
2000	Nov 2-Dec 11	39	3	117
2001	Nov 9-Dec 10	30	3	90
2002	Aug 28-Oct 7	39	3	117
2007	Sept. 28-Nov 5	38	3	114
2010	April 9- May 24	48	3	144
		194		582

A total of 582 editions of the three dailies will be studied covering a period of 194 days. These periods are identified as follows:

- 2000 election - November 2 - December 11, 2000 (39 days);
- 2001 election - November 9 - December 10, 2001(30 days);
- 2002 election - August 28 - October 7, 2002 (39 days)
- 2007 election - September 28 - November 5, 2007 (38 days).
- 2010 election - April 9 - May 24 (48 days)

The number of newspapers to be studied will be as follows:

- 2000 election - 39 days(3 dailies) = 117
- 2001 election - 30 days(3 dailies) = 90
- 2002 election - 39 days(3 dailies) = 117
- 2007 election - 38 days (3 dailies) = 114
- 2010 election - 48 days (3 dailies) = 144

Given that the campaign periods are generally short for each of the five elections, quantitative content analysis was applied to all front pages and a sample of news stories over the ten years, to determine the most prevalent frames used by journalists, to report on the elections. These frames were coded and measured for bias using a bias scale (Fig. 2.3). Further qualitative content analysis was applied to sample editorials and commentaries for inherent bias within the text and subtext of the main issues and themes which emerged out of the political discussions by editors and columnists.

2.4.3 Units of Analysis

Initially units of analysis included all front pages with accompanying photos, headlines and political news stories starting on the front page of the newspapers and continuing inside the papers, sample editorials and commentaries from select independent columnists. Articles were manually sorted and counted to determine the volume of coverage given to the main political parties over each campaign period. Articles were analyzed as indicated below.

a. Front pages

The front page news articles were chosen since they were the most widely read pages in newspapers and focus on the most important issue of the day. The choice of front page stories and headlines together with the use of photographs also indicated the slant of that paper and whether they practiced bias by highlighting one party over another. Front pages of all three newspapers were analyzed in terms of headlines and photographs published. Headlines were measured for bias indicating positive, negative or balance using a bias scale (Fig 2.3). The photos were counted to determine the number of times the political leader and/or the opposition leader were featured; the number of times they appeared together; and whether newspapers preferred to feature other politicians in political parties instead of the political leaders on the front pages.

b. Political news stories

All political news articles starting on the front pages and/or continued inside the newspaper were analyzed using five specific frames: issue, politician as personality, governing, conflict and horserace. For each campaign period, the research generated the number of front page articles from each newspaper, from which it was possible to determine balance or bias toward the ruling party on the one hand or the opposition parties on the other.

2.4.4 Frames

The following five frames were examined to determine which were the ones more widely used by journalists and how these frames were manipulated to show bias towards political parties during elections,

1. *Personality frame*

This frame was chosen because elections in Trinidad and Tobago generally focus on leaders of political parties namely the two dominant parties, the United National Congress (UNC) and the Peoples National Movement (PNM), Mr Basdeo Panday and Mr Patrick Manning respectively, both of whom held a stranglehold over party and national politics, over the decade under study. In 2010, a third leader, Mrs Kamla Persad-Bissessar emerged leading a new coalition movement breaking the deadlock on politics held by these two gentlemen while shattering the “glass ceiling” in a male dominated profession. How these three leaders were profiled over a decade of politics by the press should give invaluable insights into the role of the media in political communication during elections and whether bias was a major factor in the choice of leaders when elections were called.

2. *Issue frame*

This frame was very important since recurrent issues such as scandals, corruption and the way governments handle crime, permeate the election campaigns and follow political leaders through various regimes over the ten years under study. However, issues relating to governance such as healthcare, social security, education, planning and development, finance to name a few were generally given low priority by the media. It is important to explore whether the media inadvertently focussed too highly on negative issues at the expense of other issues resulting in negative framing of all governments creating an “incumbency effect”. Further, the identification of particular issues with certain parties or politicians could convey a sense of “issue bias” (Hayes 2008) towards certain parties giving them an unfair advantage over their opponent.

3. *Horserace frame*

This frame has become very prevalent given the rapid turnover of elections in Trinidad and Tobago, over the ten years of study (2000 to 2010), at a rate of one election every two years. The fight has always been between two parties, representing two major ethnic groups, the challenge being how to unseat the ruling PNM which has held the seat of government since Independence on the

one hand and how to keep the opposition at bay on the other. It is important to examine the manner in which the press reported on these elections especially the use of language and whether it was done in such a way so as to influence public opinion and ultimately their choice of candidates.

4. *Conflict frame*

This frame was chosen since conflicts between political parties and among political leaders were prevalent during elections and have been much reported by journalists since they generally take centre stage during political campaigns. The way the conflict frame was applied could give the impression that a particular party or politician was conflict-prone and therefore unsuitable for governing the country as a result giving his/her opponent an advantage in the election.

5. *Governing frame*

This frame was chosen because of the numerous attempts at unity and coalitions during various periods in the country's political history and was a theme used extensively during political campaigns, especially in 2010 when a coalition of parties emerged victorious at the polls. In addition, the issue of good and effective governance in a small, multi-ethnic, multi-religious, ex-colonial island State remains a persistent issue. This frame is also important in the context of the call for "changed" or "new" politics by political parties and the yearning of the population at large including the media for new forms of governance and whether this in fact gave new political parties an advantage over incumbent governments.

To determine whether an article was biased towards a particular political party, a coding system was developed in accordance with the above five frames. The codes plotted were as follows:

- Issue frame - stories which refer to issues relating to governance by political parties. Key words or phrases included: constitution, citizenship, government, independence, legislation, law, public policy issues such as crime, education, health etc.,

- Politicians as individual frames - Use of words and phrases which frame political leaders as personalities in the media. Key words included names of political leaders and other persons easily identified with a particular party.
- Governing frame - Focus on opportunities to form coalitions, or cooperation between different political entities.
- Conflict frame - The tendency of the media to focus on conflicts between various parties and party members within the same party. Also the intent of the media to overemphasize conflict in one particular party as compared to another and its implications for media bias.
- Horse race frame - Focus on winning and losing elections for example words such as battle, fight, race etc.,

2.4.5 Bias Scale

To determine media bias, a scale measuring negative, positive and balanced reporting was developed by this researcher. The balance scale showed the balance between the governing party and the opposition and the location of balance and objectivity as equilibrium on the scale to offset biased reporting (see figure 2.3 below).

Figure 2.3: Bias scale

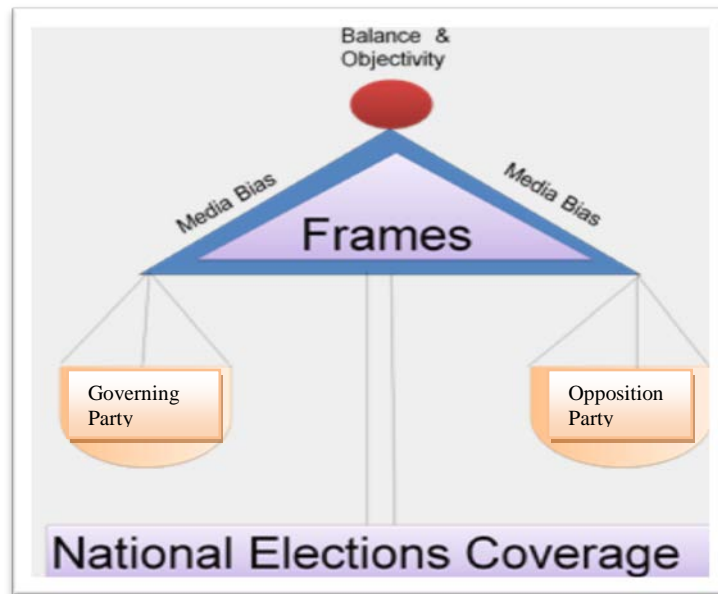


Table 2.4
Sample Scale - 2000 Elections: News page

News Item 1(date)	Governing Party			Main Opposition Parties		
<i>Headline</i>	<i>Positive</i>	<i>Negative</i>	<i>Balance</i>	<i>Positive</i>	<i>Negative</i>	<i>Balanced</i>
	+	-	<i>B</i>	+	-	<i>B</i>
<i>Photo</i>	+	-	<i>B</i>	+	-	<i>B</i>
<i>Issue</i>	+	-	<i>B</i>	+	-	<i>B</i>

If the article was more focused on the issue of the day and presented objectively the views of contending parties, then it was taken that this was a balanced article since it did not focus on political parties or personalities of either governing party or opposition (see Table 2.4). This scaling was administered to all front pages and political news stories during the five campaign periods. To some extent, the scaling relied on the objectivity of the researcher in applying elements of the scale even-handedly and classifying the articles appropriately.

2.4.6 Coding Template

To input data based on the frames and bias scale, a template (see Appendix F) was designed by this researcher to ensure that the data was not corrupted and consistency of information recorded over the five electoral campaigns. Each template included the campaign year, the names of newspapers, the units of analysis, the five frames, and the balance scale indicating positive, negative and balance. These sheets also recorded the headlines of articles being analyzed and the numbers of pages. A numerical value was allocated to codes and these values totalled and averaged at the end of each period. Based on this methodology, quantitative content analysis was conducted of news items and complemented the qualitative analysis done of editorials and columns.

2.4.6 Reliability test

To ensure the reliability of the quantitative data obtained from the content analysis and the scaling of articles for bias, two separate coders were employed to code at least two of the five elections, to determine whether similar conclusions can be drawn in terms of bias of coverage of national elections over the campaign periods. The test also ensured that the sampling frame was adequate and did not compromise the integrity of the research. Coders (students) were drawn from the University of the West Indies and instructed on how to code the press clippings manually, using clearly defined coding rules and a template to input data (see appendix E & F).

2.5 Qualitative Content Analysis:

Qualitative content analysis was applied to a smaller sample of writings by editors and columnists as identified below, to show how bias was manifested in the political discourse through themes and issues, for each campaign period. This was followed by a comparative analysis of the five elections, to determine whether the nature of the discourse had changed over the five campaigns and to find out what were the common themes emerging over the ten years under study.

2.5.1 Units of Analysis

The units of analysis included sample editorials and commentaries by select columnists. Editorials were chosen since they represented the views and position of the newspapers while columns were written by a number of independent writers representing pluralistic views of diverse groups in society.

2.5.2 Editorials of the Daily Newspapers

Editorials are extremely important since they represent a newspaper's "political identity" and at any given time, the collective voice of the people as well as the thinking of editors and proprietors of the newspapers (McNair 2003: 77-78). Moreover, editorials focus on selected issues and draw the attention of the reading public to them. Following on the content analysis above, all editorials considered biased from the three dailies: the *Express*, *Guardian* and *Newsday* were examined for evidence of partisan and ideological bias in terms of political affiliation to particular parties. An attempt was made to determine whether structural bias within media houses was a determining factor in the stance of the particular newspaper under scrutiny.

2.5.3 Columnists of all three newspapers

A select number of authors who wrote consistently on political matters were chosen and their articles examined over the campaign periods. This helped determine whether a particular columnist was balanced either in each article or over time or whether he or she consistently showed a pattern of bias towards the government or towards the opposition over the election period. This type of analysis allowed not only for conclusions of individual bias but for conclusions to be drawn as well on structural or partisan bias of particular newspapers. The editorials and columns were thematically analyzed for dominant and not so obvious meanings in the language used by editors and columnists during the five electoral campaigns.

2.5.4 Thematic analysis

Each campaign period was analyzed to determine the dominant themes which emerged from each election and whether these themes were common throughout the ten years under study or whether they changed over time. The sample of articles

identified were analyzed to determine how the themes might be aligned to a party's agenda and how by focusing on such themes and helping to frame the agenda, they supported one party as opposed to another. A comparative analysis was undertaken to determine the extent to which the three dailies tended to support the existing status quo.

2.5.5 Textual analysis

The discourse of the articles were analyzed to show how the language re words, phrases, metaphors, similes and descriptions in sentences were used to support the ideology of a particular group or party and so propagate a particular type of thinking among readers. The conscious use of language by editors and columnists could reveal a deliberate attempt to manipulate its readership in a particular way. The unconscious use of language on the other hand would inevitably reveal the inherent bias of that author which becomes manifest in their writing.

2.5.6 Social analysis

The language of each election was posited in that period and within the wider context of the society at large during that time. A socio-political analysis was done of the five periods to gain a better understanding of the dynamics which contributed to that election period. For example, the 2007 elections took place within the context of an oil boom when the price of oil had risen to unprecedented high levels per barrel and when the price of natural gas and commodities in the energy sector was also high. As a result, Trinidad and Tobago experienced a second oil boom which resulted in more money being spent by the governing party in infrastructural development.

2.6 Interviews with Journalists/Editors

To support the investigation of structural and partisan bias in the newspapers, interviews using a structured questionnaire were conducted with key journalists and media practitioners in the *Guardian*, *Express* and *Newsday* (see Appendix A). The questionnaire was designed using a combination of open-ended and closed-ended questions and was administered directly in a mutually agreed location and/ or emailed to interviewees. The interviews focused on the following:

- Ownership - who controlled the media in Trinidad and Tobago? Ownership generally determined what drove news: advertising, politics, ideology
- Structure - How the media were structured and news management styles and approaches
- Training - What level of training were journalists and other media personnel exposed to over the course of their career?
- Resources - Did journalists have the resources to carry out their job such as laptops, computers, cameras, recorders, writing material, adequate transport?
- Ideology - What were the political leanings of most journalists and media houses?
- Sources of information - Where did journalists get their information for writing up their stories?
- Bias - Whether they felt that bias was prevalent among their colleagues especially during the 2010 election.
- Gender - To determine if they felt that gender was important during the 2010 election
- To solicit their views on how to improve the practice of journalism in the country

2.7 Data Analysis

Data for this thesis was sourced primarily from newspaper clippings from the three newspapers identified: The *Guardian*, *Express* and *Newsday* (Appendix D). These clippings were sorted accorded to year, period and type of articles. The news articles, editorials, and features by columnists were manually coded and scaled by this author together with the assistance of two research students.

Interviews were conducted face-to-face with the interviewees by this researcher and recorded manually on the questionnaire sheet. They were conducted at a mutually agreed time and place and lasted in some instances for up to two hours. The questionnaires were analyzed statistically using Microsoft word, to design charts and tables (chapter 4) and to determine the percentile of respondents on a Likert scale using at least three categories (agree, strongly agree, disagree). The open-ended questions were analyzed for consistency of meaning across respondents in order to

come to conclusions based on questions asked. The conclusions derived from the questionnaires based on firsthand account of bias by practitioners in the field were compared with historical data on allegations of bias by Prime Ministers, dating from Independence to present day and public perception of bias by members of the public based on two published polls (4.5).

2.8 Conclusion

The scope of this research was comprehensive in that it used a combination of methodologies namely quantitative and qualitative content analysis of case studies of electoral campaigns and interviews using structured questionnaires, to analyze select newspaper clippings over five campaign periods, in order to gain a better understanding of the role that the print media played in political campaigns in Trinidad and Tobago, over the last ten years. It is anticipated that this research will create some level of discomfort among the main contenders: political parties and media personnel, since it seeks to address sensitive issues such as objectivity, balance and bias practiced by journalists while reporting for the media on elections issues on the one hand and politicians use of the media to frame issues and set the agenda during the highly charged atmosphere of political campaigns, on the other. However, the aim of this research is to document and analyze election campaigns during a specific period of Trinidad and Tobago's history, to draw conclusions and to find solutions to strengthen both the role of the media and functioning of the democratic process in a small island State such as Trinidad and Tobago, at a time when both democracy and freedom of the press on the one hand and independence of the media on the other are being tested worldwide. The findings of the research may well challenge existing assumptions about the liberal democratic model as obtains in a parliamentary democracy such as Trinidad and Tobago and perhaps other countries in the region as well and it may well force a rethinking of the practice of media and politics in these Caribbean States.

CHAPTER 3

HIGHLIGHTS OF THE EVOLUTION OF MEDIA IN TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO³²

3.0 Media in new democracies

For new democracies such as Trinidad and Tobago, transitioning from an authoritarian system (Siebert, Paterson and Schramm 1956) with heavy control of State media to a liberal democratic system (Hallin and Mancini 2004) in which the free press can flourish requires not just opening up of the system and a restructuring among media players themselves but also a recalibration of relations between government and the media. This requires a change in disposition on the part of both entities and perhaps the evolution of a framework of protocols of engagement which become habits of practice which help to define the boundaries of the relationship between government and media, space for the carving out of an independent role for the media and opportunity for the growth and strengthening of democracy and the enhancement of public opinion.

Although Trinidad and Tobago boasts of a Parliamentary democracy with a political system based on the Westminster Model and a media system which parallels its political system, as seemingly open, democratic and liberal yet each political leader of the country's main parties and successive governments have shown strong authoritarian tendencies, sometimes at the expense of press freedom, including infringement of rights of media practitioners to practice their profession. However, this authoritarianism has not veered to the extreme as found in democracies such as Singapore where electoral authoritarianism has resulted in developmental journalism performed by a compliant media 'shackled' by oppressive state legislation and extreme self-censorship (Abbott 2011).

Voltmer (2007) writes that new democracies which grew out of one-party rule inherited a unique set of problems that shape the relationship between the media and government, namely a strong State which saw itself as protector of development

³² This chapter incorporates parts of a paper submitted for module assessment as part of initial work done on the PhD, at Coventry University.

which had a curious relationship with its colonial past. Voltmer argues further that in many countries with deep ethnic and religious divisions “nation building is still an unfinished project so that social integration and national unity appear as primary values above individual liberties and open debate” (248). Unlike Singapore, the government of Trinidad and Tobago has been kept in check by a fiercely independent private media with journalists who are willing to fight for their right to free expression even at the expense of being castigated as being anti-government. But, still, one has to take into account that the State was in fact in control of one political party for thirty years and that a significant part of the media was controlled by the State during that period.

The context of the emergence and evolution of the role and function of the media in new democracies is of considerable importance. For the system of media and politics to be reformed in Trinidad and Tobago, the State must first embrace the media as an important stakeholder and acknowledge their importance as the ‘fourth estate’ (Curran 1991:273) in the country’s development process and not view them as adversarial and antithetical to nation building. Acknowledging this would mean recognizing the role of the media to provide and disseminate information to enlighten citizens in the public sphere (Habermas 1962; Soules 2010), about their democratic rights so that they as citizens can make informed decisions, especially during elections. The media is also a ‘market place of ideas’ in which those who feel disenfranchised and alienated can voice their opinions especially on matters of governance (Mill 1859, reprinted 1974).

Further, the media have adopted more than a passive mediating role between those who govern and those being governed in Trinidad and Tobago. They are now active players in the mediatization of the political communication process (Mazzoleni and Shutz 1999), between political directorate and citizens; and within which framework the role of the media as ‘watch-dog’ has emerged. This means holding those in positions of power accountable for managing the affairs of a country which constitute matters of great importance to the citizenry. It is argued that this process places considerable power in the hands of the media forcing professionals involved in the process to respond to the media’s rules, aims, production logics and constraints (Altheide & Snow 1979) while interfering in the political process. A more conclusive

diagnosis was made in the final chapter (Chapter 8) based on the empirical research on campaign communications in Trinidad and Tobago (chapters 5, 6 and 7).

On the other hand there are those who view the media as playing a dual role for the elite by strengthening what is essentially democratic mystification and serving as the propaganda arm of the State. Further that this mystification can be successful only if they are 'independent' and 'free from influence and control'. Mystification here refers to news reportage as reflecting the dominant ideas of the bourgeoisie and mouthpiece of the ruling class (International Communist Current 2008). So there are those who see government as a challenge for the press, the press as a challenge for government and both presenting challenges for democracy itself.

In Trinidad and Tobago, the media must recognize the important role of a free press in the democratic process and must act responsibly by adhering to strong professional ideals and ethics, to maintain the trust of citizens and in representing and protecting them and their interests from those who wield power and become part of the power structure. Towards this end, the media have a responsibility and an obligation to develop as a professional organization which can withstand the pressures of a strong government with a disposition to wield considerable control over the nation's populace using government public relations in what has been described as "controlling the public mind" (Chomsky 2002:23). In extreme cases, such governments can become patriarchal centers of power and government public relations can morph into the systematic output of propaganda with effective machinery to support it.

This chapter looks at the evolution, growth and development of the press and press freedom in Trinidad and Tobago and the parallel development of the system of media and its implications for media and politics in the country. This period covered is post-colonial, during which first self-government and then Independence and Republicanism came to Trinidad and Tobago. During this period, roughly speaking there was a decisive movement from authoritarianism to greater liberalism, more press freedom and stronger democratic traditions. We also see not just major changes in the structure of media in the country but the rise of women to the top positions in the leadership of press and media in the country. In addition, the professionalization

of the field through local, regional and international networks and the ability to self-regulate have been positive developments. Yet the media have been consistently at odds with the State and with successive governments over control mechanisms such as censorship while at the same time seeking to maintain balance and objectivity in the face of media concentration in the hands of a few powerful business elites.

3.1 Media and Political system in Trinidad and Tobago

3.1.1 Developmental role of media under authoritarian system of governance

Historically, the Government of Trinidad and Tobago has had a monopoly over broadcast media with State ownership of the only national television, Trinidad and Tobago Television (TTT) and National Broadcasting Service (NBS), State owned radio stations respectively. TTT started as a private company, The Trinidad and Tobago Television Company on November 1, 1962 and was acquired by the State in 1969 and became the State broadcaster for over 30 years. Prior to this, electronic media was mainly by radio with full time broadcasting starting in 1947 with the establishment of Radio Trinidad by Trinidad Broadcasting Limited and was the main form of communication used by the State to reach the national population (The Task Force on Telecommunications 1989). In our early history, both radio and television played a developmental role in the country and generally propagated government's policies through the dissemination of information to the wider public. In the early days of Independence in Trinidad and Tobago, the State media including the Government Information Ministry was used by the government to disseminate information about government policies to the wider population, and it would not be unfair to describe the role of these institutions as public relations and communications agents of the government.

Traditionally the print media especially the national newspapers, the *Trinidad Guardian* and *Express* were owned solely by the private sector. The former was owned by a foreign company, Lord Thompson International Network which was sold to the ANSA McAl Group of Companies (Brown 2002). During the pre-independence and early Independence period, the *Guardian* which had a history of supporting the

elite class in society and the status quo developed a reputation for being anti-government because it did not support Dr Eric Williams who was leading a nationalist movement, during the 1956 election. Dr Williams won the 1956 election to become Trinidad and Tobago's first premier but never forgave the newspaper for its lack of support and this set the tone of the relationship between the first Prime Minister of this country and the country's leading newspaper, during his twenty-four years of governance, from 1956 to 1980.

The *Express* emerged out of the collapse of the *Daily Mirror*, on June 6 1967 with Mr Patrick Chokoling being its first general manager and Owen Baptiste its founding editor. George John, one of its earliest editors, in his memoirs hinted at a strong pro-business slant and anti-PNM bias facilitated by Mr Ken Gordon who had succeeded Mr Chokoling as General Manager. He stated that on the eve of the 1981 election in which the Organisation for National Reconstruction (ONR) came up against the PNM, "the Managing Director's Office was converted into an election war room" (John 2002:127). But generally, in the 1960s, both the State-owned broadcast media and the private media had an amicable relationship, with the media generally propagating the government's position while relying on the State as an authority and as its main source of information on matters of importance.

3.1.2 Deregulation and expansion of media under liberal system of Government

By 1986, with the change in government from the Peoples National Movement (PNM) to the National Alliance for Reconstruction (NAR)³³, a Cabinet committee was appointed on June 17, 1987, to develop a national policy on telecommunications in Trinidad and Tobago³⁴. The mandate of the committee was to study the use of the airwaves especially with regard to satellites; the granting of radio and television licences; and all sound and visual broadcasting. Among other things, this committee recommended the creation of a new regulatory body in the country called the Telecommunications Authority as well as the establishment of an appropriate telecommunications regulatory framework which would "promote greater private

³³ The first change in party government in 30 years

³⁴ Cabinet Minute No. 1481 of June 12 1997

sector participation in the sector as well as support a multiple network operator and service provider environment”³⁵. In terms of broadcasting, the group also recommended that government “identify the number of available frequencies and establish a transparent and non-discriminatory procedure for allocation of licences.”³⁶ Further that licences were not required by authorized network providers for internet services. The Committee recommended for immediate action the introduction of new cellular technology and the award of a second mobile phone operator (The Task Force on Telecommunications 1989).

As a result, the monopolistic communications system which existed from pre – independence through thirty years of one-party rule was opened up and more licences were granted to private individuals and companies to own radio and television stations. It also created a cellular revolution in the country while allowing a second provider, Irish based cellular company Digicel to enter the market. Together with local producer Telecommunications Service of Trinidad and Tobago (TSTT) cellular phones would become the most popular form of communication in the country. The amendment to the Telecommunications Authority Act (Act 40 of 1991) was finally passed in Parliament on July 5, 2001.

By 2012, in the context of a population of 1.3 million people, there were 20 television stations of which eight were free-to-air, one via cable, and nine subscription television broadcasters. There were 38 radio stations of which only one was AM broadcasting the rest being FM stations.³⁷ There were also 11 newspapers³⁸. In a time of deregulation of the media, the authoritarian system of governance which existed in Trinidad and Tobago, gave way to a more democratic liberal model of media and politics in which the print and electronic media considered themselves to be a free press modelled after the BBC in Britain and CNN in the USA. The press took their role as watchdogs of democracy very seriously, striving to be fair and objective in their reporting as the “fourth estate” while maintaining close links with government as a major source of information. It should be noted that access to CNN became available in Trinidad and Tobago with the advent of cable television in 1999, and the

³⁵ Ibid

³⁶ Ibid

³⁷ <http://www.tatt/RadioTV.aspx> [29.2.12]

³⁸ Telecommunications Act of Trinidad and Tobago

internet had become the most popular and accessible source of news information around the world. These facts together with the opening of the media at home had an effect on the media's perception of its role and journalists' perception of their roles too.

3.1.3 Strong political parallelism between media and politics

However, given the peculiarities of Trinidad and Tobago's society with a current population of only 1.3 million, in which most people in media, politics and business know each other, there continues to be strong political parallelism (Hallin and Mancini 2004) between journalists and politicians with the latter being considered the most important source of political information. In interviews conducted by this researcher with nine seasoned media practitioners in Trinidad and Tobago, in November 2011, most of the journalists indicated that one of their primary sources of information was politicians and that relationships with politicians were important for this purpose. So that in addition to normal sources of information such as press conferences, private individuals and other media, the politician himself was a major source of information and so cultivation of relationships with politicians by journalists was an important consideration and journalistic competitive edge. Chesney contends that this dependence on a source which represents the status quo or bourgeoisie in society creates an "establishment bias" in reportage since it represents the views of one particular group of people (Chesney 2002).

This closeness between politicians and media professionals in Trinidad and Tobago is demonstrated in the crossing over of media professionals into the realm of politics especially at the end of an election campaign. Following an election journalists sometimes end up with senior positions on State boards, Ministries and especially in State-owned media. With changes in party power, journalists in government often time return to the media as well. In fact several PNM and UNC politicians were former journalists while a number of journalists have taken up careers as government information officers in the public service. In the aftermath of the PNM victory at the polls in 2007, Neil Parsanlal, a journalist with the *Guardian* newspaper was named Minister of Information while former editor of the *Express* Maxie Cuffie was employed as Chief Executive Officer of Government Information Services Limited

(GISL). Similarly, after the 2010 election several journalists such as Ken Ali of the *Guardian* and Andy Johnson of CCNTV6 were employed in senior positions in state owned media, as CEOs of Caribbean New Media Group (CNMG) and Government Information Service (GIS) respectively.

The movement of media practitioners from privately owned media houses to State owned media in the aftermath of elections is not an unusual phenomenon in Trinidad and Tobago. Depending on the government in power, these positions usually last for five years or longer as was the case of the PNM government which has been the longest serving government in the country. In some instances, politicians who have been at the losing end of politics have entered the media domain as columnists becoming opinion leaders in the country and writing extensively on issues relating to governance and politics. For example Lloyd Best and Raffique Shah were heavily involved in politics in their early career and Lennox Grant was a member for years of a political organization which at one point became a political party. Both Best and Grant were involved in the TAPIA movement; a political party founded by Best which fought 1976 election but failed to win a seat. Raffique Shah was a member of the United Labour Front (ULF). In many instances, those who have lost their career in the State media in the aftermath of failed elections returned to private media as was the case of Maxi Cuffie in 2010 who subsequently became the publisher and CEO of the *TNT Mirror*, a weekly newspaper. Mr. Lloyd Best also founded the *T&T Review*: a monthly supplement inserted in the *Express* newspaper to facilitate wide circulation.

The strong political parallelism which exists between the State and media which generally employ persons of different political orientations have blurred the lines between politicians and media practitioners. On one hand politicians are confused because they feel that their close alliances with certain individuals in the media can influence the media agenda of newspapers in favor of their party. The media on the other hand, even while working with allies in government to provide scoops and to source information, insist on maintaining their professionalism, independence and right to press freedom enshrined in the Constitution of Trinidad and Tobago. However, this close relationship cultivated over time by media professionals and politicians have made journalists vulnerable to allegations of bias by the citizenry who also view the media with considerable suspicion and cynicism.

On the positive side, it has created more aggressive self-censorship by editors and media managers in the newsroom. Editors and other media professionals who have compromised the profession are themselves the brunt of media censure by their own colleagues and forced to desist from these practices. For example senior journalist Sasha Mohammed who was part of Prime Minister Kamala Persad-Bissessar's communications team soon after winning the 2010 election was accused of using an alias to terrorize her colleagues in the media via emails. Even though the former journalist was relieved of her position in the Prime Minister's Office, this matter became public scandal causing the Prime Minister to squander the goodwill of the media which she had previously enjoyed while souring ongoing relations with the press considerably. It would also be used by her political opponents in a vote of no confidence which was filed against her in the Parliament by the Opposition Leader, Dr Keith Rowley and which was debated on March 2, 2012 in the Parliament of Trinidad and Tobago. The motion of no confidence was defeated and the Prime Minister triumphed. This incident demonstrates the close relationship between press and politics in Trinidad and Tobago and the heavy influence of the media in key decision making at the highest level. In fact the politics of this country exist in a highly mediated environment (Bennett &Entman 2001) in which both the policy and public sphere are intricately interwoven to form a complex system of media and politics.

3.2 Regulatory mechanism

3.2.1 State Regulation:

The opening up of the monopolistic regulatory system after 1986 resulted in renewed problems of regulating media content from cable, satellite and national television as well as radio and print media. In 2001, the Government established the Telecommunications Act of Trinidad and Tobago to regulate the telephone system in the country in which local telephone company, Trinidad and Tobago Telephone Company (TSTT) had a stranglehold. As an ancillary to the Act, a draft Broadcast Code (2004) was introduced to regulate the radio and television stations which had grown tremendously because of deregulation and open competition and which were

generally freer. The Code was specifically focussed on mainstream electronic media only.

The Code among other things provided guidelines to regulate programme content. Regarding news content it stated that news in whatever form must be reported with due accuracy and impartiality. In terms of electoral coverage, it also stated that citizens must receive a sufficient range of information, views and opinions, as well as facts, so that they can make well-informed choices and that broadcasters must avoid unjust treatment of individuals or organisations.

The Broadcast Code which was put out for public comment received a mixed review from the Trinidad and Tobago Broadcasters Association (TTBA), which represented media personnel involved in radio and television fields, forewarned that the main challenge of the Code was how to set standards for the industry without interfering with the guaranteed freedom of expression of thought and opinion within the operation. It also stated that it was unfair to regulate only one arm of the media while ignoring the others³⁹ (TTBA 2008). The Code was due to be enacted in 2012.

3.2.2 Soft control mechanism

Successive governments have tried to find ‘soft’ means by which to regulate the free press and this was generally done through the introduction of legislation in which the media were given ample opportunity to comment and to be part of the process. In a situation in which freedom of the press is enshrined in the Constitution, this was generally met with much antagonism. For instance, in 1997, the UNC government introduced a Green Paper on the reform of media law entitled “Towards a Free and Responsible Media”, in which the government tried to reform the archaic colonial laws affecting the media in Trinidad and Tobago and regulate the media by developing a Code of Ethics for the press. Interestingly, in attempting to reform the laws relating to media, one of the clauses would have ensured “special protection for journalists against punishment for contempt for refusing to disclose their sources of information” (Attorney General 1997: 8) and contempt of Parliament which under Parliamentary Privilege, they could be jailed (p 10).

³⁹ http://www.ttpba.org.tt/pdf/Broadcast_Code.pdf accessed on 14.5.12

Mr. Ken Gordon⁴⁰, former Chief Executive Officer of Caribbean Communications Network (CCN) the parent company of the *Express* and who was considered one of the most influential persons in the local and regional media in the Caribbean, responded negatively on behalf of the media fraternity stating that:

“The Green Paper is a combination of irrelevancies, such as licensing of the important checks and balances for our country’s journalists, which has never been an issue in Trinidad and Tobago, pious statements clearly designed to create a false sense of security, inaccuracies, giving assurances about clauses in Jamaican Code of Ethics which do not exist, and cleverly designed machination. It is philosophically wrong. Machievellian in contempt and designed to insiduously erode one of the important checks and balances in our country” (Gordon 1999:171)

His response resulted in a public outcry over attempts at eroding press freedom while eliciting a livid response from Prime Minister Basdeo Panday. Given the furore that resulted, the UNC Government was forced to withdraw the Green Paper (1997) but not before Mr Panday displayed his displeasure and attacked Mr Gordon publicly, accusing him of being “a pseudo-racist...to maintain his monopolistic advantage over his competitors in the media” (Gordon: 168). The end result was that a long drawn out court battle ensued in which Mr Gordon sued Mr Panday for libel and defamation of character. The court ordered Mr Panday to pay Mr Gordon over TT\$600,000 in damages⁴¹. Similarly, in 2008, Prime Minister Patrick Manning tried to coerce the media into agreeing to set up a joint media and government body to agree on what should be printed by the press.⁴² This was also not met with much favour and was soon abandoned.

⁴⁰ Mr Gordon was also a former Government Minister under the National Alliance for Reconstruction Government (NAR) and is considered one of the most influential media personalities in the country

⁴¹ <http://trinicenter.com/TrinidadandTobagoNews/pseudoracist.htm>

⁴² Mr. Patrick Manning was embroiled in an imbroglio with the media when he became incensed over statements made by reporters, Kevin Baker and David Murray on air, about his government and stormed into the 94.1 FM radio station to chastise the reporters who were suspended from their jobs. They were eventually reinstated.

3.2.3 Withholding State advertising

But there were other more subtle and not too subtle ways in which governments have tried to keep the free press in this country under control. One of the most popular means was by starving media houses of State advertising and in one case of foreign currency to purchase paper for printing. The other side of this is the “bribing” of newspapers with heavy advertising. In a country where, the State is the largest advertiser this can be highly problematic. The *TnT Mirror* which had a tradition of being highly critical of each successive government, whether UNC or PNM, has paid a heavy price for the slant, tone and content of its newspaper. In February 2012, its publisher complained that State boards have stopped advertising with them for what he termed “Cabinet’s attempt to punish the newspaper for independent reporting” (*TnT Mirror* 2012: 10). In fact this country has been littered with newspapers which have had short life spans because of inadequate advertising revenues such as the *Daily Mirror*, the *Probe* and the *Independent*.

3.2.4 Spying on journalists

Additionally, the Patrick Manning regime (2007-2010) was accused of highly unorthodox method of spying on journalists by illegally intercepting information through wiretapping. The illegal wiretapping of phones of certain journalists, opposition politicians and prominent citizens was discovered to have been conducted by the Special Intelligence Unit (SIA) with a direct link to the Office of the Prime Minister (Bagoo 2010). It was also discovered that the Special Anti Crime Unit of Trinidad and Tobago (SAUTT) under the aegis of the Office of the Prime Minister was also involved in wiretapping phones as part of its routine surveillance function. In the aftermath of the 2010 election, legislation was enacted in the Parliament entitled ‘Interception of Communications Bill’, to reduce the illegal practice of wiretapping of phones to safeguard the privacy of nationals of this country. The Act was passed on December 17, 2010 making illegal wiretapping punishable by TT\$300,000 and five years imprisonment (Interception of Communication Act 2010). Simultaneously, the Government informed that any information needed by the public could be accessed

legally through the Freedom of Information Act (1999). The Act became effective on April 30, 2001 and gave the people of the country the right to any official documented information held by public authorities.

However, this incident has negatively affected the country's international reputation as a place in which the media enjoy a high level of press freedom in doing their job. In February 2012, Reporters Without Borders ranked Trinidad and Tobago 50th in its World Press Freedom Index 2011 - 2012 down twenty places "as a result of a scandal involving spying on journalists, as well as moves to boycott radio and television stations on procedural abuses" (Reporters Without Borders 2012). This is especially difficult for the local media's regional standing, given that Jamaica has been ranked 16th, way higher than Trinidad and Tobago while the Organisation of Eastern Caribbean States (OECS) was ranked 25th.⁴³

3.2.5 Strong arm tactics to regulate the free press

However, by 2012 regulating the free press took a dramatic turn in this country when a key agent of the State abandoned its soft approach to forcibly bring the press into line when it was perceived that they had broken the law in sourcing information and publishing/ airing stories. In October 2011, the police enforced the Broadcast Code to enter CCNTV6 television station and ceased a video clip showing a child being raped which was aired on one of its programmes called 'Crime Watch'. This resulted in a public uproar over the heavy hand of the State and the use of strong arm tactics in regulating media content on television. A similar situation occurred on February 9 2012 when the Police from the Anti-Corruption Bureau of Trinidad and Tobago, stormed into the *Newsday* and seized a computer, two flash drives and two cell phones belonging to senior investigative reporter Andre Bagoo because he refused to reveal his source of information in an article relating to the Integrity Commission in the country. This Commission insisted that it was bound by confidentiality and felt that important information was leaked to the press by one of its members. The Police

⁴³ Reporters Without Borders is an international non-profit organisation based in France and among other things, defends journalists imprisoned or persecuted for doing their job as well as fights against censorship.

stated that they were acting lawfully and just doing their job as stipulated in the Integrity in Public Life Act.

For all intents and purposes the police seemed to have acted independently of Government even though a State body. Although both the Attorney General and the Prime Minister issued statements distancing the Peoples Partnership government from the incident, the damage had already been done with perhaps a majority of citizens disbelieving that the government did not have a hand in this incident. Describing the incident as an “extreme act” Prime Minister Kamla Persad-Bissessar stated:

“The Government believes in and respects the reporter’s right to protect the source of his/her information unless it would not be in the public’s interest to do so...The Government reaffirms its deep commitment to the protection and preservation of the independence and freedom of the media...we believe in open access of information to journalists rather than obstruction of the process” (Ramdass 2012).

Both incidents have brought to bear, the use of strong arm tactics to control the free press in the country. While this country has had a history of combative relationships between politicians and the local media, especially around elections, the relationship has seldom descended to the use of police force. The only recorded incident of the use of strong-arm tactics against the media occurred on July 7, 1990 when the radical Muslim group, the Jamaat-al-Muslimeen stormed local television station TTT and forcibly took over the station for six days as they attempted to overthrow the democratically elected National Alliance for Reconstruction Government (NAR). The experience of being held up at gunpoint would leave veteran journalists such as Raoul Pantin traumatized for the rest of their lives (Pantin 2007). These incidents have had a deleterious effect on the psyche of the country accustomed to a high level of press freedom while lowering the country’s standing within the region. An article in the *Jamaica Observer* which was reprinted in the *Express* stated:

“These acts of discrimination against the media in our sister country are especially disturbing as this is perhaps the only country in the English-speaking region whose constitution specifically includes a clause that

acknowledges “freedom of the press”, a reality that many Trinidadians have rightly pointed with pride over the years” (Forrester, 2010)

The International Press Institute (IPI) openly condemned the action calling it “acts of intimidation” by the authorities and “a clear violation of the press freedom and an insult to anyone who values democracy” (Express 2012). They demanded an immediate apology from the Chief of Police. The Press Association of Jamaica also issued a statement denouncing the actions of the police. Similar statements were issued by the Association of Caribbean Media Workers, the Trinidad and Tobago Publishers and Broadcasters Association (TTPBA) and One Caribbean Media Limited.

While the responses from local, regional and international press bodies were quick in defending the rights of the press in Trinidad and Tobago, yet the responses from civic society, nationals and other interest groups were slow in coming, if at all. This does not auger well for the media in the country since it implies that they do not have the mass support of the national population and one could discern a certain amount of cynicism towards the free press of this country by persons accustomed to being at the wrong end of the journalist’s pen with little form of redress.

This is especially disturbing in light of the violence meted out to journalists around the world with several of them having died in line of duty as reported by the International Press Institute at its annual meeting in Trinidad in 2012. . While it was expected that there would be some risks and danger for certain journalists such as war correspondents, it appears that more journalists are now in greater danger, as the unwritten immunity which they previously enjoyed is fast being eroded, as the fight for democracy by citizens becomes fiercer and the lines between State and media becomes blurrier. UNESCO recently concluded “A Report on the Safety of Journalists and the Danger of Impunity” which noted that there were 127 killings of journalists over the period 2010-2011. Further that “in most cases, these journalists were reporting on local conflicts, corruption and other illegal activities.”⁴⁴

⁴⁴ UNESCO (1995) Communication and Information [online]
<http://www.unesco.org/new/en/communication-and-information/resources/news-and-in-focus-articles/all-news/news/impunity_for_violence_against_journalists_and_gender_balance_in_the_media_on_agenda_for_unescos_international_programme_for_the_development_of_communication/> [16.3.12]

3.3 Self-regulation

The local press has always enjoyed tremendous freedom based on Section 4 of the Constitution of Trinidad and Tobago which lists freedom of the press as one of the fundamental rights of the people of the country while the Freedom of Information Act (1999) which was effected in 2001 made it possible for any national to access information from government and or its institutions. The Government was also a signatory to the Chapultepec Declaration adopted by the hemispheric conference on free speech, held in Mexico City on March 11, 1994. The declaration which listed ten principles on press freedom was signed by Prime Minister Patrick Manning on September 12, 2002⁴⁵ (IAPA 1994). Among other things, the Agreement stated that freedom of expression is an individual right of the people; every person has the right to seek and receive information, express opinions and disseminate them freely; public sector information should be made available to journalists on a timely basis and no journalist should be forced to reveal their sources; the media and journalists should neither be discriminated against nor favoured because of what they write or say; and no news media or journalist may be punished for publishing the truth or criticizing or denouncing a government.

In an environment in which the press has enjoyed a tremendous amount of freedom with little interference from government and the police, it is now difficult for them to accept government censorship or control in any guise. However, the media have organized themselves into professional organizations in which mechanisms have been put in place for self regulation. A Media Complaints Council (MCC) was established in 1997 following the infamous green paper on “Towards a Free and Responsible Media” specifically

“ to help maintain public trust and confidence in the news media by promoting fairness, courtesy and balance and by creating a forum where the public and the news media can engage each other in examining standards of journalistic fairness”(MCC n.d.).

⁴⁵ <http://www.sipiapa.com/projects/chapul-declaration.cfm> accessed on 14.5.12

Also the media now has its own professional organisation, the Media Association of Trinidad and Tobago which represents the interest of all media workers in the country (MATT 2006). Others include the Independent Media Producers of Trinidad and Tobago (IMPATT), and Trinidad and Tobago Publishers and Broadcasting Association (TTBA). They are also part of a global network in which journalism standards and norms are taken into account. These include regional, commonwealth and international organizations such as the Canadian Journalists for Free Expression, International Federation of Journalists, the International Press Institute, National Union of Journalists and Reporters Without Borders.

While local professional media organizations have been set up by the media to regulate the profession, these seem to be done somewhat loosely with little buy-in from the media fraternity. In light of these developments, the media would have to strengthen these self regulatory mechanisms in order to withstand the proactive and aggressive stance being taken by the State against them.

3.4 Restructuring of Trinidad and Tobago's media

3.4.1 Media concentration

During the period since Independence especially since 1986, the media have undergone changes in its structure and ownership expanding from foreign ownership to ownership by private individuals and large multi-media companies owned by conglomerates. Both the *Express* and *Guardian* are subsidiaries of larger companies whose business interests extend beyond media into other entrepreneurial activities such as the Trinidad Publishing Company (TPC), Caribbean Communications Network (CCN) and World Indian Network (WIN). The TPC had traditionally owned the *Trinidad Guardian* but has expanded to include radio and television (CNC3). This newspaper belongs to privately owned family company but which is also publicly traded, is part of the ANSA McAl group of companies with businesses in real estate, insurance, mortgages and car dealership spread out throughout the region. Similarly, *The Express* has expanded from newspaper to satellite (DirecTV) and national television (TV6) and radio. This newspaper is now part of a large conglomerate called One Caribbean Media (OCM) with media houses in Barbados and Grenada. The other newspapers: the *Newsday*, *Bomb* and *Mirror*, *Catholic News* and *Tobago News* are all

owned by individuals or groups and represent the views of certain segments, religious bodies and private interest groups in the country.

To a large extent radio continues to be owned by private individuals and cater for the diverse population through niche marketing so that certain stations play only East Indian music while some focus mostly on religious content. Others are dedicated to local, cultural content such as calypso and soca music. The State media have also been restructured along the lines of the local private media in an attempt to compete for niche markets. They have consolidated under the Caribbean News Media Group (CNMG) and Government Information Services (GIS). Media concentration in the hands of a few continues with the purchase of Citadel radio by OCM in April 2012.

Ownership of media houses by large businesses also raises the issue of whether the media can truly be independent of business interest in a small country such as ours in which the business community is relatively small and well connected, and which generally are highly dependent on government support through advertising, contracts and subsidies. Conglomerates are more concerned about profit margins and the bottom line and would hardly incur the wrath of government in the name of media integrity, professionalism and ethics. Neither would they be willing to subvert good relations in their business networks by publishing information which could be harmful to their colleagues and their companies. This is especially relevant in the context of Trinidad and Tobago in which the population is relatively small. The inter-networks between the different sectors include deep familial ties, making it difficult for the media to operate independent of these interests.

Chesney (2010) argues that media systems operate to serve the needs of owners, and what is most profitable for media corporations is not what is best for a democratic society. Further that the craft of journalism has declined because of commercial pressures. Similar to Latin American countries, media concentration in Trinidad and Tobago is occurring at a slower pace than found in countries such as the USA where the media is controlled by large oligopolies such as Time Warner. Further it needs to be noted that media concentration in different political regimes has different consequences for public life (Waisbord 2002). Concentration in small society in

which civil society capacity is not fully developed and concentration in a large society with strong countervailing institutions can be very different.

According to author and journalist Raymond Ramcharitar, this alignment to business has resulted in a pro-business bias and is demonstrated in the pro business articles published as well as the editorial policy of the press (Ramcharitar 2005). George John in his memoirs wrote about the conflict in interest between editorial policy and ownership policy in the *Express* newspaper which he claimed were at odds with each other, during his early career. Similarly, Ramcharitar also recounted his experiences at the *Guardian* in which the editor-in-chief had a regular column in the *Business Guardian* writing specifically about businesses in the country. Ramcharitar (2005) also wrote about the disdain and contempt in which most people in the country held towards the local banks because of their disrespect for the way they managed ordinary citizens' accounts, stating that one hardly ever saw any negative information printed about them in the press.

This situation makes the media vulnerable to politicians who ultimately decide on who gets the largest chunk of advertising from government. In such a situation, there appears to be an unwritten agreement by both the State and media to support each other so that they can coexist. The *Independent* newspaper which enjoyed a short life span in Trinidad (1998-2001) was forced to shut down because it was starved of State advertising because it was perceived as anti-UNC (Cruikshand 2005). The *TnT Mirror* had been subject to similar treatment by successive government since its inception because it tended to take an opposition stance and focused on underground reporting and exposes, areas generally not covered by the daily press.

3.4.2 Press moves towards online newspapers

This situation is exasperated by global trends in fall in readership of hard copies of newsprint in favor of online newspaper, making it even more difficult for newspapers to survive. As a result many media houses have embraced new internet technologies to achieve economies of scale to stay competitive to reach a wider spread of readers. Most of them have now converted their printed newspapers into online papers such as <http://www.trinidadexpress.com> (*Express*), <http://www.guardian.co.tt/> (*Guardian*),

and <http://www.newsday.co.tt/> (*Newsday*) with multiple functionalities such as accessibility to radio and television and links to international sites. For local media practitioners, this means doubling up without the added benefit of additional remuneration in a profession which is highly competitive yet under-resourced. Mainstream media are also facing competition from new media technologies including online blogs such as jahajeeDesi2005@yahoo.com, the unitedvoice@yahoo.com and Caribbeantalk@yahoo.com and social networking sites such as Facebook and twitter as more persons are using these public forums to have their voices heard.

3.4.3 More female journalists

The composition of staff in media houses has also gone through dramatic changes with more females hired in newsrooms and in senior positions. George John wrote about the lack of females in the newsroom in the 1970s at the *Trinidad Guardian* and *Express* and how females were “regarded as almost too precious to handle the tough assignments” (John 2002: 26). However, over the years, female journalists have risen to the challenge and in some instances outnumber males in the newsroom. Several females have held editorial positions in the press in the past such as Sunity Maharaj-Best of the *Express*. Currently (2012), all three dailies have females as their editor-in-chief: Omatee Lyder of the *Express*, Judy Raymond of the *Guardian* and Therese Mills of the *Newsday*. Many female journalists have gained recognition for their work such as investigative journalist Camini Maharaj who was awarded an honorary doctorate from the University of the West Indies in 2006.

This is an important development for Caribbean media given that global trends indicate that males continue to dominate the media profession. A survey released by female media network group “Women in Journalism” on March 8, 2012 indicated that women made up only 30 percent of all newspaper journalists in Britain while 74 percent of males dominated political and business journalism.⁴⁶ Gender sensitive issues relating to females in the media profession were discussed at international fora such as UNESCO’s International Programme for the Development of Communication Council (IPDC), in March 2012 in Paris. UNESCO recently concluded a gender

⁴⁶ The Guardian (2012) Greenslade Blog [online] available <<http://www.guardian.co.uk/media/greenslade/2011/mar/04/women-national-newspapers>>[16.3.12]

sensitive measurement tool for media content and staffing entitled “Gender Sensitive Indicators for Media”⁴⁷.

3.5 Globalization: Multi-channel approach

The development of the media in Trinidad and Tobago while slow in comparison to the rest of the world has been to a large degree influenced by external changes occurring outside of Trinidad and Tobago. With the advent of satellite and cable technologies, there have been drastic increases in the number of foreign channels on television, dominantly with heavy American content and formats. The Cable Company of Trinidad and Tobago (CCTT) rebranded CCTT Flow has over 300 video and audio channels while DirecTV - a multinational Latin American company has 132, all consisting of international programmes. This multi-channel approach which is common in Latin America (Walsbord 2002) and India (Sundaram 2005) has provided choice to the viewing public and raised standards in terms of expectations of locally produced programmes. Additionally, reporters on both electronic and print media exhibit a high degree of professionalism in conducting their duties. For example presenters on all television news programmes now model their reporting and presentation of news along the lines of both the BBC and CNN. Also global trends such as dwindling sales in print newspapers due to competition from online newspapers exacerbated by the global recession have had a similar effect on local press forcing them to become more competitive to maintain market share and attract advertising. *The Guardian* has been changed from a broadsheet to a tabloid to compete with the other two dailies while the *Express* has developed a new layout in keeping with international trends. All three newspapers have launched their own websites⁴⁸ and are fast becoming popular among West Indians living abroad. Most of the radio stations have also gone online and broadcast live to audiences around the world and is in keeping with international trends found in similar radio stations in Britain such as the BBC radio⁴⁹ and CNN radio⁵⁰ in the USA. In addition new cable

⁴⁷UNESCO (1995) International Programme for the Development of Communication [online] available from < http://www.unesco.org/new/en/communication-and-information/resources/news-and-in-focus-articles/all-news/news/impunity_for_violence_against_journalists_and_gender_balance_in_the_media_on_agenda_for_unescos_international_programme_for_the_development_of_communication/>[16.3.12]

⁴⁸ <http://www.trinidadexpress.com/>; <http://www.guardian.co.tt/>; <http://www.newsday.co.tt/>

⁴⁹ <http://www.bbc.co.uk/radio/>

⁵⁰ <http://radiator7.com/radio/CNN.html>

channels have emerged on national television promoting Caribbean content, by and large, especially local and regional music, for example “Synergy TV”.

3.6 Foreign influence on local programming

On the other hand, the multi-channel approach (Walsbord 2002) has resulted in heavy American content and programming which have penetrated and influenced the local culture. Added to this is the fact that the Caribbean by mere proximity to the USA has been susceptible to mass consumption of foreign programmes with Trinidadians being willing consumers (Dunn 1995). Through ‘CCTV Flow’ and ‘DirecTV’ nationals have been exposed to a number of channels which carry programmes exclusive to media giants Disney, Media Corp and a host of others. Influence by HGTV is evident in American design of our homes and gardens; the Food Channels show us how to cook American food; and MTV and BET influence music tastes. According to Hallin and Mancini “It is reasonable to say that homogenization is to a significant degree a convergence of worldwide media toward forms that first evolved in the USA...the idea that media system change can be understood as a process of ‘Americanization’ is still alive” (Hallin, Mancini 2004). The influence of American culture on Trinidad and Tobago society is also partly as a result of the heavy presence of multi-national companies such as Pricesmart, KFC, Burger King, and Mc Donald’s as well as a number of oil drilling companies such as British Petroleum (BP) to name a few. In fact Trinidad and Tobago had both European and American presence from inception because of its colonial past, because of an oil economy, and because of the openness of society and economy traditionally.

But Trinidadians have not embraced Americanization wholly, they continue to hold on to their indigenous cultures brought from the lands of their ancestors in India, Africa, Europe and the Middle East- a fusion of which has emerged to create a creolized society (Mohammed 2006). The ‘multi-racial’ composition of the society has resulted in acculturation which has facilitated sexual comingling and has created a distinctive Caribbean culture (Braithwaite 1971). Miller views the society as “dualistic” stating that while there is a movement towards modernity, there is also a simultaneous pull to retain the traditions of the past (Miller 1994). For this reason, there is a strong connection between the various ethnicities and their heritage as

demonstrated by the high popularity of Bollywood Indian television programming on local television stations. In addition “Gayelle” is a television station where the tag line is “At last we own TV” and which specializes in local programming and also brokers programmes from developing countries and celebrates inter-acculturation. To a large degree creolization has superseded heterogenization or hybridization effect of globalization (Rantanen 2005). For a multi-ethnic country like Trinidad and Tobago, there has been renewed African, Indian and all-round national consciousness amongst the two largest ethnic groups: East Indians and Africans. There are now radio stations which play exclusively East Indian songs from Bollywood movies and local “chutney”⁵¹ music; Trinidad genres such as soca and calypso; television stations which target the Muslim community exclusively such as IBN; and media such as *Tobago News* and Radio Tambrin which focus on the island of Tobago and its rural communities. Most of the content of the local media, both print and electronic, are generally concerned with events occurring in the country first rather than with global events. At the same time there is reasonable coverage of important issues and world affairs.

3.7 Conclusion

One of the most important developments in media history in Trinidad and Tobago has been the deregulation of the monopolistic system of media under the NAR regime (between 1987 to 1991) resulting in the growth and development of the media as a result of privatization and open competition. This open system of communication has facilitated the transformation from an authoritarian system of media and politics to a more liberal democratic system with the free flow of opinions and ideas by the masses in the public domain. It has also led to the desire to contain media freedom and the emergence of institutions for regulating and censoring media contents by governments who have become highly unpopular with the media as they are forced to account to the national population for managing the country’s affairs. As government and media fight for their space in the media and political landscape, they have to take into consideration, globalization and the heavy influence of Americanization of culture through satellite and cable television and multi channelling of foreign content on national television, while trying to preserve the local indigenous culture. The media

⁵¹ A local form of Trinidadian Indian music used for partying and played at East Indian weddings

have to be careful that they maintain strong journalistic and ethical principles in balancing freedom of the press with the rights of individuals and entities to their privacy. Crossing these lines have veered the press towards the wrong side of the law and created opportunities for agencies of the State, if not the State itself, to use strong arm tactics to censor the media thus creating a highly volatile and combustible relationship between the two. However, two positives can be discerned in media and politics in Trinidad and Tobago to date (2012). Firstly, the ascendancy of females to the top editorial and political positions in the country as is the case with the three dailies: *The Express*, *Guardian* and *Newsday* are all headed by females. The country's Prime Minister is also a female and this has the potential for creating a spirit of open dialogue and compromise between press and politics. It is possible, probably likely, but not inevitable. Secondly, the continued commitment of the State to uphold the Constitution as it relates to a free media has created an environment conducive to the development and growth of media and politics in Trinidad and Tobago, in spite of what might seem sometimes as the temptation to curb and contain, and in spite of rows which have brewed over the years between key political figures and the press and press leadership.

CHAPTER 4

ALLEGATIONS OF MEDIA BIAS IN TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO BY PRIME MINISTERS DURING POLITICAL CAMPAIGNS

4.0 Political campaigns as mediatized events

Political campaigns are very important in a country's democratic process since it determines which party wins an election and the way a political campaign is conducted for results is vital in close races (Kenski and Kenski 2005). Fournier (2006) in his study of Canadian Federal Elections found that campaigns make a difference and helped voters make enlightened choices. Political campaigns are usually short periods of high media intensity (Brady, Johnson and Sides 2006:2) in which politicians employ professional marketers and public relations/media specialists to develop communication strategies with a view to reaching the electorate. The degree of professionalization of political communication is dependent on a country's social and political structure and processes (Negrine *et al* 2007). Trent and Friedenberg (2008) state that during this period the media is important because they draw attention to candidates while "having tremendous power in determining which news events, which candidates, and which issues are to be covered in any given day (148). It is a time when politicians both in government and opposition stage 'pseudo-events', a term coined by author Daniel Boorstein in 1962 which he has explained as events for the purpose of manufacturing consent. Mc Nair states that an important source of pseudo-events has been the political process-interviews with government leaders, news leaks and press conferences (2003:27). However with the modernization of political campaigns, traditional forms of communication such as press conferences and the issuing of press releases are fast losing popularity in the face of modern technology and the advent of social media sites such as facebook, twitter as well as blogs (Wring, Mortimore and Atkinson 2010: 263-267).

4.1 Media in agenda setting theory

The media are extremely important during campaigns because they frame particular events with a view to "promoting news that will stimulate public support, dampen opposition, and, promote the perception that that public opinion is in their corner" (Entman 2004: 126). This means that the media have the power to set the political

agenda by reporting on certain issues and events while ignoring others. Lang and Lang (1981) state that the mass media force attention to certain issues while constantly presenting objects to suggest what individuals should think about, know about and have feelings about (468). Cohen (1975) intimates that the media “may not be successful in telling its readers what to think, but is stunningly successful in telling its readers what to think about” (13). Mc Combs and Shaw (1972) indicate that the media may have little influence in the direction or intensity of attitudes but they set the agenda for each political campaign, influencing the salience of attitudes towards the political users (177). Harris writes that some of the things which are highly covered during campaigns include formal announcements of intent to run or withdraw from office; major blunders; any kind of colourful response to a political speech; meetings of candidates with important people; and horserace aspects of the campaign. On the other hand candidates’ qualifications and positions on issues are hardly covered (228-231).

However Mc Quail (2005:325) contends that during this period “there is often a more or less institutionalized collusive relationship between politicians or officials and press which may serve a range of purposes without necessarily being manipulative in its effect” (Whale, 1969; Turnstall, 1970; Sigal 1973). Mc Quail further states that even though political campaigns do not necessarily change the opinion of the voting public, they can easily influence them. He also argues “it would be easy to lose an election by not campaigning or campaigning badly” (2005:524-526). Similarly Willis writes about the ‘symbiotic relationship’ between politicians and journalists indicating that politics has a “built-in drama’ of a close election campaign and the “theatre of politics” which are highly attractive to readers and viewers. He says that “without media coverage, a candidate is dead in the water for State and national elections. With it, the hopeful stands a fighting chance” (Willis 2007: 93-97).

In Trinidad and Tobago as in other democracies worldwide, political campaigns are highly mediatized events (Bennett and Entman 2001) in which professional campaigners and communications experts are hired to manage the flow of information and this usually means framing events and setting particular agendas to campaign for what Brader describes as the “hearts and minds” of the voting public, in the free and paid media (Brader 2006). According to Brader “the downside of free media for

politicians is that they cannot control the press”(2006:19). Tension occurs when media practitioners refuse to be manipulated by the machinations of politicians and professional campaign/communications managers, insisting on maintaining their independence, integrity and professionalism in conducting their duties. This usually lead to politicians accusing the media of not being objective and/or biased against them when they are not featured prominently and positively, in the media, especially if they perceive that the media is giving equal or more coverage to the Opposition, in the run up to elections.

4.2 Regulating electoral campaigns in Trinidad and Tobago

Electoral campaigns while highly mediatized events are to a large degree still unregulated in Trinidad and Tobago with the media generally being left on their own to develop in-house guidelines for covering political campaigns. Additionally the media have been totally against any form of government intervention in their domain, even if well intentioned. In most instances, perceiving it as an attempt to control and manipulate the free press through censorship.

The Constitution of Trinidad and Tobago, the Elections and Boundaries Commission (EBC), and the Draft Broadcast Code (2004) provide some rules and regulations for conducting free and fair elections in the country. However, not much guidance is provided by the State on media coverage of political campaigns. Section IV of the Constitution provides guidelines for the registration of voters under the supervision of the EBC; the boundaries of the various constituencies; and the system of balloting. However no mention is made of media coverage of campaigns during elections. The Draft Broadcast Code (2004) is more specific, stating that citizens should receive a sufficient range of information, views and opinions, as well as facts, so that they can make well-informed choices and that broadcasters avoid unjust treatment of individuals or organisations.

To protect themselves from allegations of bias, the media owners and chief executive officers in Trinidad and Tobago have established a self-monitoring agency called the Media Complaints Council which has developed its own Code of Practice "To help maintain public trust and confidence in the news media by promoting fairness,

courtesy and balance and by creating a forum where the public and the news media can engage each other in examining standards of journalistic fairness" (TTPBA 2009). Further, to ensure that national elections are reported fairly by the local media, the Association of Caribbean Media Workers (ACM) in collaboration with UNESCO developed "*An Election Handbook for Caribbean Journalists*" (ACM 2009) to provide guidelines to journalists covering elections. Among other things the handbook outlines guidelines for covering political campaigns in terms of fairness, reader interest, clarity and accuracy. In terms of fairness, it states "Reporting, in words and images, must be seen to be fair and unbiased. Especially at election season, opinions must also be seen to reflect balance" (Grant and Gibbings 2009: 17). Additionally, it states that it was necessary to give exposure to all contesting parties. Similar self regulating mechanisms for the conduct of free and fair elections were established by the regional media in Guyana and Jamaica. In January 2006, a Code of Conduct entitled "*Code of Conduct for the Media for Reporting and Coverage of Guyana Elections 2006 for Owners, Publishers, Editors and Journalists, including Guidelines*" was signed by 39 media leaders in Guyana (Grant and Gibbings 2009:47). A Code of Ethics exists for Caribbean workers who are members of the ACM while Jamaica has designed its own Code both of which have been modelled after the "*Code of Practice of the Press Complaints Commission of the United Kingdom.*"

This chapter traces allegations of media bias levelled against the media in Trinidad and Tobago including State-owned media by Prime Ministers of the country during political campaigns since the period of self-government. Much similarity exists in these allegations of bias and lack of objectivity in political reporting then and now. However no hard evidence has been found to substantiate these allegations. This chapter will examine media bias in Trinidad and Tobago as it has emerged, in the period since independence.

4.3 Allegations of media bias during election

Allegations of media bias have been levelled against the local media by politicians especially Prime Ministers of the country beginning with this country's first premier and later Prime Minister Dr Eric Williams as far back as the late 1950s, pre-

independence years. Dr Williams felt that the established press as represented in the *Trinidad Guardian*, the only daily at that time, was biased against him and his brand of politics and favourable to the colonial status quo. At that time, the PNM was viewed as a revolutionary party representing the black working class, in a society in which power was held by the wealthy business sector who were mainly affluent white men. The *Trinidad Guardian* was owned by wealthy private individuals, indeed, who represented the status quo. Similarly, every political leader of the country, thereafter, had their conflicts with the press and at certain points during their career accused them of bias on various occasions.

This chapter consists of two parts - it gives an historical review of documented incidents of accusations of biased reporting levelled at the media by various Prime Ministers in the country from its pre-independence days of self-government up to present time. Additionally, it examines perception of bias by nationals of Trinidad and Tobago based on two independent polls conducted by MORI⁵² and UWI⁵³ in 2009 and 2010 respectively. The second part of the chapter recounts what certain stalwarts of the media profession think about bias within their own profession based on interviews conducted with nine senior journalists and editors from the three daily newspapers, in November 2011, by the author of this thesis. The interviews with senior journalists explore the issue of whether bias exists and what level of prevalence might exist amongst journalists especially during the 2010 (the most recent) elections when bias had become a key issue on the PNM platform during the campaign.

4.4 History of allegations of media bias from Prime Ministers

4.4.1 Prime Minister Eric E. Williams:

In April 1960, Dr Eric Williams, first Prime Minister of the country, marched in the rain together with thousands of nationals to Woodford Square and ritualistically burned documents described as “the seven deadly sins” (Ryan 2009: 196), one of which was the *Trinidad Guardian*. According to political scientist Selwyn Ryan, the *Guardian* and Williams were virtually at war from 1955 onwards. Ryan claims that

⁵² Market Opinion Research International (MORI) is a British firm commissioned by the PNM government in 2009

⁵³ The UWI poll was conducted by the ANSA MC AI Psychological Center located on the St. Augustine Campus

before the arrival of Williams on the political scene, the *Guardian* was “the major influence moulding public opinion” (Ryan 2009: 136). Ryan traces this open war between the established press at that time and the first Prime Minister to the *Guardian*’s bias towards Albert Gomes, a local politician of Portuguese ancestry. Ryan argues that from the perspective of the *Guardian*, Gomes provided the ideal type of leadership which was needed at that time. On the eve of the 1956 election, the paper attacked Dr Williams as “a dictator” and carried a portrait of him next to that of Adolph Hitler. Nevertheless, Ryan points out that the paper did endorse Dr Williams together with two of his colleagues on the eve of that election (Ryan 2009: 137).

Although Dr Williams won the general election of 1956, he never forgave the *Guardian*. Relations were considerably strained between the Prime Minister and that newspaper for most of his 24 years of leadership of Trinidad and Tobago. Veteran journalist George John described the *Guardian* as “a subscriber to the politics of the Chamber of Commerce” (John 2002:183) stating that the *Guardian* was out of sympathy with Williams and just would not come to terms with his rise to power. John further argues that the newspaper fought a monumental battle on behalf of the conservatives and more or less upper business class elements of society who were suspicious of Dr Williams’s politics. He also said that the newspaper’s tactics were often unfair and hinted at a Catholic bias in its writing as well as a bias towards foreign news mainly from England (John 2002:23). Catholics constitute the largest religious minority in Trinidad and Tobago which is a multi-religious, multi-ethnic society. During this period the *Guardian* was owned by an English foreign company, Lord Thompson International Network and was staffed mostly by English journalists or middle class locals who belonged to the status quo and mainly local whites (John 2002: 24).

Local media mogul Ken Gordon also recounts an incident with former Prime Minister Williams in which he was also branded “anti-PNM” in his early career at the Chamber of Commerce and later at the *Express* newspaper. He indicated that while attending a press conference in 1974, in his capacity as programme director of Radio Trinidad, he insisted that Dr Williams answer a question which was not tabled prior to the press conference. The Prime Minister accused him of being impertinent and abruptly terminated the press conference. Mr Gordon described the relationship between the

Express and Dr Williams as one of “ongoing conflict” (Gordon 1999:27) inferring that this had to a large degree been because of that single incident in which he had gotten on the wrong side of the Prime Minister. The fact that Mr Gordon was a member of the Chamber of Commerce might have served to worsen the situation. The Chamber comprised the business leadership and the status quo of society at that time and became one of the Prime Minister’s favourite “whipping boys” (Gordon 1999: 27).

4.4.2 Prime Minister George Chambers:

When Dr. Williams died in office in 1980, he was succeeded by George Chambers. Elections were held, as due in 1981. Chambers led his Party to the largest ever majority by the PNM party in Parliament. Chambers was seen as presenting an opportunity for renewal of party and government which had served continuously since 1956 and consequently a possible change in approach to governance. However during Chambers five-year term as Prime Minister (1981-1986), relations soured between the Prime Minister and the press. During the election campaign of 1986, which saw the convergence of a number of parties into a united opposition against the Chambers led PNM, against the background of an economic recession triggered by a dramatic fall in oil prices which cut the country’s per capita income by half, Chambers got into a direct confrontation with the media. This proved to be the turning point in the relationship between Prime Minister Chambers and the press. On November 23, 1981 at the PNM’s presentation of candidates in Arima, the Prime Minister refused to speak until State-owned Trinidad and Tobago Television (TTT) moved its light and microphone resulting in reporters from both the print and electronic media being verbally and physically threatened by supporters of the PNM party. TTT led by Jones P. Madeira was forced to leave the political meeting⁵⁴

Express political reporter Ria Taitt who was covering the event (the 1986 presentation of candidates by Chambers) reported that she was “pelted with ice, red-mango seeds, tamarind seeds and paper cups” (Taitt: 1986:3). Prime Minister Chambers stated that he was reacting to what he perceived as biased reporting of his stewardship during the 1986 political campaign. Francis Prevatt, Chairman of the PNM wrote to Chairman of

⁵⁴ Mr. Madeira again found himself in controversy during the UNC government’s term of office while editor-in-chief of the *Guardian*

TTT, Frank Barsotti complaining that the PNM had “publicly drawn attention and objected on more than one occasion to the bias against the PNM your organisation has been showing” (Johnson 1986: 1). On November 19, 1986, the *Daily Express* also reported on its front page entitled “Static follows the PM’s attack on 610” that employees of State owned NBS Radio asked management to issue a public statement in response to statements made by the Prime Minister that the station was biased against the PNM in the 1986 election and that the station was “one of four arms of the local media which were opposing the People’s National Movement in the coming election” (*Express* 1986:1). On November 25, 1986, the *Express* in its front page entitled “Absolutely no excuse for Mr Chambers’ behaviour”, condemned the Prime Minister’s attack against both the State owned media and the *Express* stating it was “tantamount to a declaration of war against the media.” The newspaper further stated that it was a “direct threat to independence of thought and action in society.” Two days later, on November 27 the *Express* published an half apology by Mr Chambers on its front page in which he stated that “nobody had defended the press in Trinidad and Tobago as he had” and that he was upset over the disrespect shown to his office and the people of the country, rather than to him personally.⁵⁵

4.4.3 Prime Minister Basdeo Panday

In 1996 Mr Basdeo Panday, UNC political leader and Prime Minister of the country, turned on the media and directed his Cabinet not to speak to the *Guardian* because he thought that its editor-in chief Jones P Madeira was “racist and spiteful”. Mr Panday was responding to a front page *Guardian* headline entitled “Chutney Rising” which featured a photo of him with a drink in his hand. Chutney is descriptive of a spicy version of East Indian music which is associated with heavy alcohol consumption. The coded message which was inferred through association between the headline and the Prime Minister who was of East Indian descent and the drink in his hand offended Mr Panday. His livid public reaction set off a chain of events which would eventually lead to the owners of the *Guardian* firing Mr Madeira. It also led to an historic march by journalists and other media personnel for “Democracy, Human Rights and Free Press” which attracted popular support from the opposition parties, trade unions and nationals of the country.

⁵⁵ Anon (1986) ‘Chambers: Yes, I’m a defender of the Press’. *Express* 27 November

In 1997, open conflict flared up between Prime Minister Panday and head of the *Express*, Mr Ken Gordon over Mr Gordon's disagreement with and condemnation of the contents of the Green Paper entitled "Reform of Media Law - Towards a Free and Responsible Media" which Mr Gordon felt was an attempt by the UNC led government, to curb media freedom and to regulate the free press in the country (see chapter 3). Mr Panday was not pleased with Mr Gordon's statements and accused Mr Gordon of being a pseudo-racist "to maintain his monopolistic advantage over his competitors in the media" (Gordon 1999:168). This incident would further erode the relationship between the *Express* and Mr Panday and would result in a long drawn out battle between the two in the courts. This incident would deeply affect the relationship between Mr Panday and the *Express* even after his Prime Ministership had come to an end and has been explored in detail in chapters five to seven.

In 1998, Mr Panday again declared war on the media during a political rally at Mid Center Mall in Chaguanas calling on supporters to treat the media as "enemies". The rally ended with reporters being assaulted by supporters of the party. In 1999, Mr Panday lost his temper and screamed at former TV6 reporter Natalie Williams "That's insulting" when asked a provocative question about whether he would unduly favour his friends of Incogen, during a ground-breaking ceremony for the Incogen power plant (Hassanali 2008:A8-A9). Mr Panday again had a run in with the media in 2001 when he publicly attacked the *Express* for investigating corruption. Mr Panday described the newspaper as the "enemy" and told supporters "to train their guns on that house" (*Express* 2001). Mr Panday also accused that newspaper of being bias towards the PNM. Mr Panday's relationship with the media will be dealt with in more detail in chapter six.

4.4.4 Prime Minister Patrick Manning

PNM political leader and Prime Minister, Mr Patrick Manning too had his fair share of battles with the media in Trinidad and Tobago, in which he felt that the media was being unduly hard on his government. In 2004 Mr Manning accused State owned TTT of attempting to show the PNM government as "dictatorial". He called on media

houses to act responsibly since there was “considerable amount of bias, character assassination and slander which passes for journalism” (Hassanali 2008:A8-A9).

Relations between Mr Manning and the media reached an all time low on November 6, 2008 when Mr Manning in angry response to two radio broadcasters on 94.1 FM on the issue of government’s decision to raise the cost of premium gas and the high cost of converting vehicles to CNG use, stormed into the radio station to chastise the two broadcasters Kevin Baker and David Murray, for their lack of professionalism. This led to the two employees being suspended. His action also resulted in open warfare between the media and the Prime Minister with government ministers Colm Imbert and Conrad Enill openly condemning the media’s action and accusing them of biased reporting (Balroop 2008: A18). It also started a series of articles including editorials, news stories and commentaries on press freedom and the role of the press in a democracy. Both the TPBA and MATT openly condemned the Prime Minister’s actions and this even became a topic of discussion in Parliament. This matter seemed to have been resolved behind closed doors and the issue temporarily disappeared from the public domain in 2008. The suspended journalists at the radio station were reinstated (Ramnarine 2008 n. p.).⁵⁶

However, two years later, the issue of media bias against the PNM and the Prime Minister reared its head during the campaign of the 2010 elections. At a PNM political meeting on May 21, Minister Colm Imbert called on supporters “to deal with the media” over coverage of the 2010 general election, stating that “they are not with us”, suggesting that the media was conspiring against the PNM (Lord 2010:10). Imbert continued to accuse the media of not being balanced in their reporting during an interview with the *Guardian* (Rambally 2010 n.p.). A similar view was taken by Minister Conrad Enill during an interview conducted by the *Express* with Andy Johnson in which he reiterated that the media was hostile to the PNM and most of the achievements were lost to the population because of biased reporting (Johnson 2010:12). Prime Minister Manning also lashed out at the media during a political meeting alleging that the media was plotting against him and his party (Lord 2010: A5). In response to these allegations, Mr Manning was asked to reconsider his

⁵⁶ *Express* 15 November, 2008

position by *Guardian* editor Tony Fraser who reiterated the role of the fourth estate and the professionalism by which journalists conducted their duties (Fraser 2010:A28). The public fighting between the Prime Minister and the media, during the 2010 elections would lead to dire consequences for the PNM party and its political leader and this has been explored more deeply in the chapter on the 2010 elections (chapter 7).

4.5 Perception of media bias by nationals of Trinidad and Tobago

In 2009, a government commissioned survey conducted by British firm Market Opinion Research International (MORI) indicated that the public considered the media generally neutral when reporting about government but where there was a perception of bias, more people considered them to be pro-government rather than anti-government (MORI 2009). The MORI survey was commissioned by the PNM government and was based on 689 in-house interviews with nationals representative of a sampling of the population of Trinidad and Tobago. The findings of the MORI survey were in contradiction to the allegations of bias being made by Prime Minister Patrick Manning and the PNM party. A similar survey was conducted by The University of the West Indies (UWI) ANSA McAl Psychological Centre in May 2010 and their findings were also similar to that found by the MORI survey. Over 64 percent of respondents stated that they did not think that the media were biased to any of the political parties. Only ten percent said that the media was biased towards the PNM while six percent felt that they were biased towards the UNC. Eleven percent of respondents said that they were bias towards both UNC and PNM. The ANSA McAl survey was done on the eve of the 2010 election when Prime Minister Manning and some members of his Cabinet had accused the media of biased reporting during the 2010 campaign. Both surveys which were independently commissioned during the PNM reign, covering a period of two years and leading up to the 2010 elections, have demonstrated that while the PNM strongly believed that the media was biased against them, the general perception by nationals was that the media were not biased and in fact tended to lean more in favour of the ruling PNM party.

There is no known survey about perceptions of bias by the national population prior to 2009. However, a study of ethnicity and the media in Trinidad and Tobago conducted by the Centre for Ethnic Studies at UWI in 1995, of how various ethnic groups

perceive the various media regarding the reporting of news and cultural and social events indicated the following: a large majority of East Indians (66%) and Africans (63%) thought that the *Express* was fair in their reporting of news. Similarly, 68 percent of the Indian population and 67 percent of the African population also thought the *Guardian* was fair in their reporting of news. Similar trends were found with the other ethnic groups in the country (Centre for Ethnic Studies 1995:37-38). While the study was in keeping with perceptions of news reporting in 2009 and 2010, the study concluded that the media in Trinidad and Tobago did exhibit three forms of bias: creole, urban and class in favour of the lighter-skinned, middle class part of the society (11-13).

4.6 Media's perception of bias during electoral coverage of national elections

To get a first hand perspective of what the media practitioners themselves thought about bias and objectivity especially as it related to the coverage of elections over the last ten years, interviews using a structured questionnaire were conducted with nine senior media practitioners (Appendix A). All nine worked in the press and would have covered elections at various points in their career during the period under review. The majority of those interviewed, had over 30 years experience as practising journalists and would be considered seasoned journalists having spent most of their lives, in some cases, over 50 years in the field. Seven out of the nine journalists interviewed were males, five of whom were East Indians, three mixed and one of African descent. The group also comprised one editor and seven columnists most of whom had also worked as reporters during their career. Most of them have worked in various media apart from the press and have at least an undergraduate degree. Two of them have since moved into top positions at State-owned media since the victory of the People's Partnership in May 2010 elections.

4.6.1 Whether bias can occur during elections

In response to a question asked on whether bias in political coverage can occur during elections, all nine journalists and editors interviewed unanimously agreed that media bias could occur in political coverage. Some of the respondents felt that bias could be as a result of partisanship on the part of journalists, media managers and/or owners of

media houses, in terms of their personal preferences for a particular political party. A small portion felt that bias could be as a result of a personal problem between journalists and politicians in which certain journalists felt slighted or ill-treated, and this could affect media performance or personal likes or dislikes and lead to a particular position taken by them (Johnson 2011). Some felt that bias could occur because of lack of proper training on the part of journalists. The issue of journalistic integrity was also cited as a possible reason why bias might occur. However, most of them agreed that bias occurred because of poor supervision by editors who may be weak, untrained or themselves the victim of their own personal bias (Maharaj-Best 2011). It was expressed that editors should be more conscious of the number of stories placed in newspapers as well as the use of photographs since this could lead to uncoordinated management of content with possibly unintended consequences (Gibbings 2011).

4.6.2 Can bias be sustained by particular journalists?

When asked whether bias could be sustained consistently over a long period of time by particular journalists who covered elections, 75 percent said yes while a quarter of the respondents disagreed with the statement. Of those who said yes, one person said that it occurred under conditions in which journalists had been politically aligned or where media houses had definite political preferences and journalists were rewarded for toeing the line (Johnson 2011). Also one journalist indicated that should journalists become too familiar with individual politicians, this could result in them losing their cutting edge as well as the tempering of their critical analysis skills which could lead to partisan reporting (Ali 2011). One journalist stated that sustained bias occurred mostly among columnists since they had the power to make politicians into heroes or victims based on how they were framed (Mathur 2011). Another stated that sustained bias could be against politicians and political systems since the longer journalists covered elections, the more disenchanted they became of the system (Gibbings 2011). Sunity Maharaj-Best, a former editor of the *Express* said that sustained bias occurred when there was poor management and/or editor supervision as well as shared biases between journalists, editors and management. Also bias can occur, according to her, when media houses were unable to resist the “scoop” even when it had been acquired under compromised circumstances (Maharaj-Best).

Two persons did not agree that sustained bias could occur over long periods by certain journalists. One opinion was that if bias was glaring, the reporter would most likely be taken off the beat; while the other said that he was not aware of any newspaper taking a hard position strong enough to sustain bias at any time since if a position is taken at election, this is usually for a short period only and then the paper reverts to its original position (Shah 2011).

4.6.3 Have they seen bias practised by colleagues?

When asked if they had seen bias exhibited by their colleagues in the media during elections, the majority said yes. One view was that it occurred when some journalists preferred or disliked a particular candidate or if they had become too familiar with certain people in political parties (Johnson 2011). Another view was that there was a lot at stake in terms of political patronage as it related to both money and especially accessibility to politicians for personal favours (Mathur 2011). Another philosophically stated that it was the nature of society since the spoils of government went with political parties in government. He described it as cultural authentication so that if Indians are in power then the Indian population felt authenticated. Likewise, when Africans are in power Africans felt authenticated in an ethnic sense (Fraser 2011). One person said that few journalists had allegiances to contending parties. Those who do so liberally cannot disguise their bias and it was up to the editor in his/her opinion to regulate coverage. However, if the editor was lazy, or had allegiances, he/she could allow unwelcome bias to permeate the publication (Shah 2011). A reporter from the *Newsday* indicated low morality, offer of benefits - financial or otherwise, as well as unprofessionalism and the exhilaration of the hustings as all factors that could trigger or influence bias.

4.6.4 Objectivity within the journalistic profession

Regarding whether journalists and journalism in Trinidad and Tobago generally strived to be objective and non partisan in their coverage of elections campaign, four persons said yes while three said most of the times. Two persons disagreed outright with the statement.

Those who agreed said that journalists did strive to be objective, and where there was bias, it was difficult to detect. There were however, journalists who were fully aware of the partisan nature of their reporting for the political party that they supported (Maharaj-Best 2011). Ken Ali a former journalist at the *Guardian* said that journalists generally took the profession seriously and tried to abide by unwritten code of ethics. He indicated that there was a high level of professionalism in local media (Ali 2011).

For those who said most of the times, one opinion was that journalists acknowledged that their credibility was one of the major assets which they had as a guarantee success in the profession. In his opinion, most of them made strong attempts to be objective and non partisan (Gibbings 2011). Tony Fraser, a *Guardian* columnist indicated that the profession needed to look at the state and character of media bias. Some have built in bias for example radio was moving towards interest groups ownership and management. He indicated that a few of the Indian stations have a disposition to support a political party which was inclined toward certain religious, cultural and ethnic positions. Even though most of the time these might strive for objectivity, he felt that they don't always achieve this (Fraser 2011). *Express* columnist Raffique Shah stated that some journalists have political allegiances that they tried to mask during political campaigns. In the immediate aftermath of elections, they are exposed. If they support the party that won, they exit the media and take up plum positions with the new government. On the other side, those who had been public relations persons to the losing party, lose their jobs. From his point of view the pattern followed a five-year election cycle (Shah 2011).

For those who disagreed with the statement, it was felt that a number of journalists allowed their biases to influence their coverage with many of them taking up lucrative jobs with the party in power afterwards. *Guardian* columnist Ira Mathura said that journalists who were aligned to particular political parties did so in subtle ways. (Mathur 2011).

4.6.5 Media's perception of bias during 2010 elections

When asked if the media exhibited bias towards any political party during the 2010 elections in the country, there were mixed views in which four agreed; three neither agreed nor disagreed; while two strongly disagreed with the statement.

For those who agreed with the statement, it was felt that various elements of the media reflected divergent positions. Some sections of the media were open to persuasion by the major opposition party. Biased media had been commenting on governance in which Mr Manning stood out as a figure. The media was critical of his stubbornness, self-opinionated disposition and disinclination towards consultation. During the nine years in which the PNM governed the country, enough material had been stacked up against them for journalists to be critical (Fraser 2011).

Also during consecutive election campaigns, not exclusive to 2010, an unhealthy close relationship between certain journalists and politicians created fertile conditions for orchestration in the release of information as news stories and for political manipulation of the media (Maharaj-Best 2011).

For those who neither agreed nor disagreed, they felt that if you used the editorial and opinion pages as a guide then one may conclude that there was bias in favour of the Peoples Partnership (PP). However, most journalists attempted to do their work independently (Gibbins 2011). Another said that he felt that there was some bias in one particular newspaper in favour of the PP. He said that columnists, who expressed views, would have shown their preferences for certain parties (Shah 2011).

Those who strongly disagreed with the statement said that the media played it down the center. Andy Johnson who was a columnist at the *Express* and also hosted a morning breakfast show on TV6, said that the culture inherited and perpetuated in Trinidad and Tobago went to great lengths to show that the media did not favour one political party over the next. According him, media houses did not endorse political candidates or parties, neither did they oppose them (Johnson 2011). Another said that he thought that the media generally acquitted itself fairly and gave equitable coverage to major political contenders (Ali 2011). Both Mr Johnson and Mr Ali have since

taken up positions in State-owned media in the aftermath of the 2010 elections in which the PP emerged victorious.

4.6.6 Favourability towards Opposition Peoples Partnership during 2010 elections

When asked their opinion that stories leading up to and during the 2010 election campaign were more favourable to UNC/PP than PNM, there were also mixed views: Four said yes and three said they were not sure.

For those who said yes, they felt that the PNM was the incumbent and had a track record to criticize (Baldeosingh 2011). Also from another standpoint - there was heavy coverage of the failings of the PNM and just as much coverage of the Peoples Partnership (Gibbins 2011). One view was that the PP excited the electorate with their ideas and their personalities and vision, whereas the PNM was continuously made to defend its chequered tenure (Ali 2011).

Those who were not sure said that they felt that the negative stories which came out from government justified the slant of reporting (Fraser 2011). Also, because it rode on a tide of discontent on the part of the electorate with the PNM, coverage of the PP's perspectives got more favourable coverage (Shah 2011). Andy Johnson said that sometimes there were cases of stories coming from one side or other which appeared to be dramatized more because of the nature of the stories but by and large same issues affecting the PNM were highlighted. Further, there were those stories meant to cast doubt about the leadership capabilities in UNC/PP that were reported, he said.

One person said that she would not describe it in terms of favourable or not, but in terms of serving the interest of the opposition rather than government. This she said was not exclusive to the 2010 elections but had occurred in every campaign in her working experience (Maharaj-Best 2011).

4.6.7 Gender bias in 2010 elections

When asked how important in determining the slant of reporting was the fact that the leader of the UNC/PP was a woman, surprisingly only two said that it was very

important while one person did not see it as important at all. However most persons interviewed agreed that it was somewhat important.

For those who said that it was very important, one person said that Mrs Kamla Persad-Bissessar personified those qualities which the country wanted in a Prime Minister and which were in direct contrast to those things which the country had started to dislike about the PNM political leader, Mr Patrick Manning.

For those who said that it was somewhat important, one person said that she presented a novelty in terms of the timing in which she won the leadership of the UNC, together with the fact that she was heading a coalition (Johnson 2011). Another said that Mrs Persad-Bissessar benefitted from significant goodwill among reporters as the first woman leading a major party into a highly contentious election (Shah 2011). One person felt that it was something new and would inevitably feature in the coverage of the campaign (Gibbings 2011).

For those who did not feel that it was important, their rationale was that she excited the populace because of her vision and because there was a freshness to political leadership in the country. He said that to suggest gender would be to minimize and cheapen the leadership acumen she brought to Trinidad and Tobago (Ali 2011).

4.6.8 Concerted media bias against the incumbent Prime Minister and the PNM during 2010 elections

Regarding allegations that the media came together to band against the incumbent Prime Minister Mr Patrick Manning and the PNM and that the PNM's achievements were lost to the national population during 2010 elections; seven out of the nine respondents disagreed with the statement while one neither agreed nor disagreed.

For those who strongly disagreed, the views expressed were that the media houses in Trinidad and Tobago were generally much too nervous about being seen as taking sides on political issues because of fear of what the political/business realities were in the country, in that whichever side won the election they would have enormous power in terms of their ability to provide financial support through advertising and so forth (Johnson 2011). Secondly, although there were achievements by the PNM; the non-

achievements and absolute bad decision making by the political leader far overwhelmed the good decisions. The media responded to the bad decisions made by the government during its eight or nine years in office. In addition to the media taking a position in columns, there was an overwhelming sense from the population that government had gone wrong and was reflected in TV/print media. The media was reflecting citizen's sense of unease and dissatisfaction with the performance of government.

For those who disagreed, one person said that it was outlandish to claim that there was a cohesive effort by the media to bury the achievements of the PNM (Gibbins 2011); Even if there were no media in existence, the PNM would have lost the elections (Shah 2011). It was also felt that this was a position adopted by every government where they felt overwhelmed by negative reporting as a result of the media/opposition dynamic (Maharaj-Best 2011).

For those who agreed somewhat, some didn't think there were many achievements to boast about apart from the construction of new buildings.

4.6.9 Allegations by Prime Minister Manning that the Guardian was biased against the PNM and PM in 2010

Two thirds of the respondents disagreed with this statement with three feeling more strongly than the others, while two persons neither agreed nor disagreed. Only one person agreed with the statement.

Those who strongly disagreed felt that this was always the case with governments in power and which was heightened around elections time. Fraser indicated that this was the same newspaper that the Prime Minister who preceded Mr Manning (Mr Panday) had virtually gone to war with saying that the *Guardian* was biased against him and the UNC. He said that while working at the CCN (*Express*) he discerned no substantive difference in the way the *Guardian* covered the issue. It was also felt that this was typical of a government in office, holding on to power and hitting out at every media. All media were critical of government and had good reason for being so (Fraser 2011).

For those who disagreed, some didn't think it was possible to make that kind of assessment about any political party or to make generalization about news coverage (Gibbings 2011). One view was that both the *Guardian* and *Express* gave both parties equal treatment (Shah 2011).

For the journalist who agreed with the statement, it was felt that journalists and editors were a reflection of society. There was overwhelming disappointment with the PNM: their financial management of the system had failed; there were gaps between poor and rich; autocratic approach to governance by leader; and people did not feel part of the process. The general consensus was that the media wanted change (Mathur 2011).

For those who neither agreed or disagreed, it was felt that in a newsroom environment of poorly trained reporters and editors, a dynamic of mutual interest and collusion in some cases developed between journalism and opposition politics (regardless of party) on the common ground of public interest. In these circumstances, much of the information that made its way into the public domain under the guise of investigative journalism was actually provided by opposition politicians who used the media as an "independent" forum for mass dissemination of information against the government. As a result, every government (regardless of party) had always considered itself a victim of media bias.

4.6.10 Media create their own agenda during 2010 elections

Regarding allegations by the PNM that "journalists create their own agenda" during 2010 elections, although there were mixed views most of them disagreeing with the statement. Only one person agreed.

For those who strongly disagreed, one view was that oftentimes journalists followed leads that were provided either by sources directly or by persons who sometimes have their own agenda, in most cases the leads were followed if they promised the possibility of a good story (Johnson 2011).

Another view was that journalists needed to find their own unique angles in practising good journalism and if the agenda was to get to the heart of stories, then, to that extent journalists did create their own stories to support a personal/professional agenda strategy (Gibbings 2011). While another argued that there was no evidence of concocting stories, journalists did write about what was current in the political environment. Ali said that some of what the media reported was the result of intense investigation including talking to people in the know. This background knowledge could sometimes affect the slant of a journalist, he said. (Ali 2011).

Those who neither agreed nor disagreed said that for reasons that vary, certain topics and issues became lightning rods for great public controversy. In such cases, and in order to respond to the public's appetite for stories on the given issue, journalists sometimes push these stories into grey areas of accuracy and ethics which could lead to charges of "agenda serving" and bias (Maharaj-Best 2011).

Those who agreed said that the proof was in the number of media people who were called in to government to serve top public relations/government information propaganda and who served the government. Mathur said that the role of the media was to be a watchdog, an essential pillar of democracy. If the media failed to report what was wrong or failed to report perspectives on both sides, then they were not doing their job. The media in the Westminster system is to maintain balance of power, she said (Mathur 2011).

4.6.11 Media Generally hostile to the PNM

On the question of whether the media was generally hostile towards the PNM, three persons strongly disagreed, two disagreed, one neither agreed nor disagreed, and three agreed with the statement.

For those who strongly disagreed, it was felt that there were many issues on which the media could have gone even harder against the PNM as the party in government. That was not the case principally because media owners were too cautious in not wanting to provide ammunition for claims of being biased (Johnson 2011). One person said

that there was reason for the media to be critical rather than hostile (Fraser 2011) while another stated that there was no evidence (Ali 2011).

For those who disagreed, one felt that some columnists and editors might have exhibited hostility, although he didn't think that the sum total of media coverage was hostile (Gibbings 2011). Another person indicated that the media simply reported on the main issues surrounding the elections. The PNM found itself enmeshed in allegations of corruption and wild spending of taxpayers' money, much of which it could not or did not answer or account for (Shah 2011).

Those in agreement stated that this had to do with the media/opposition dynamic as previously discussed. It is the same view echoed by Eric Williams, George Chambers, Patrick Manning and Basdeo Panday. It was a phenomenon that occurred in the later stage of the respective administrations (Maharaj-Best 2011).

4.6.12 Media bias in other elections over the last ten years

When asked if they felt that media bias occurred in any other elections other than 2010 over the last decade, five said yes while four said no. For those who said no, they did not seem to recall the details of previous elections.

For those who said yes, it was felt that 1986 was an outstanding example of the print media in particular rallying in active support of any political entity but from the standpoint of editorial policy and guidance and not necessarily the product of bias from individual journalists (Gibbings 2011). In the 1986 election the media definitely sided with the National Alliance for Reconstruction (NAR) and this was done in context of one party in government for 30 years. So much had occurred over the years in terms of accumulating dirt on the PNM that it was almost inevitable that a new force which seemed to be uniting the country would find favour in 1986. It seems the opinion of the media at that time was that there was a need for change. Also this was first time disparate forces presented themselves in a mode of striving for coherence. The media wanted change and the moment arrived for national unity, no built up allegiance, but elements of disparate and disjointed forces began to coalesce.

By 2000, Mr Panday had lost goodwill in the media fraternity because of his hostile stance towards journalists and media houses. He was also haunted by unanswered allegations of corruption, much the way Manning was in 2010 (Shah 2011). Also during consecutive election campaigns, not exclusive to 2010, an unhealthy close relationship between certain journalists and politicians created fertile conditions for orchestration in the release of information as news stories and for political manipulation of the media (Maharaj-Best 2011).

Commentators seemed to argue that when PNM came into power, it was as though the status quo rode in, reviving tribal feelings among PNM supporters which the party exploited. In this way, the PNM defined the culture of the country as a PNM culture. If you wanted to be part of that culture, you had no choice but to ride the wave with them. The media reflected that bias because they were dependent on government for advertisements and other favours (Mathur 2011).

4.7 Conclusion

It is clear that media bias has been an issue over the last fifty years at least for politicians in power, their political parties and sitting Prime Ministers. It is instructive that polls conducted in 2009 and 2010 indicated that the general population did not agree that there was media bias against the sitting government. Although polls do not exist which measure this factor for other years, there is likelihood that public opinion on this matter would probably be the same over time. However interviews conducted with senior media practitioners in the field indicated that bias can in fact occur; acknowledgement that bias both of a partisan and structural nature can exist and in fact have occurred need to be taken into account; the distinction between reporter bias, editorial bias and commentator bias is important; even if media strives for balance certain behaviours, events, issues can tip the scale; complex factors might conspire to contribute to bias; and for the most part the media tend to reflect the mood of the country and the evidence suggests that incumbency might be at a disadvantage during an election since the incumbent is almost inevitably forced to defend a record of performance and the opposition is free to criticize and proffer new ideas, proposals and solutions. The media, of course, report what politicians say which the citizen reads, forming opinions from day to day. In this context the conduct of a campaign, the framing of issues by party communication specialists, and the translation of these

by the media became important factors in the consolidation of public opinion and in exerting influence on it.

CHAPTER 5

CASE STUDY OF 2000 ELECTION IN TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO

5.0 Overview of 2000 election

In 2000, the United National Congress (UNC) won the national elections with 307,791 votes (51.7%) gaining 19 of the 36 seats to form the Government of Trinidad and Tobago. It was the second time in the history of Trinidad and Tobago that a political party other than the People's National Movement (PNM) had won the national elections on its own.⁵⁷ This was historic since the PNM had governed the country continuously for 30 years from 1956-1986 and again from 1991 to 1995 when they were routed out by an amalgam of opposition parties reconstituted as the National Alliance for Reconstruction (NAR) in 1985. When the dominant party in Trinidad and Tobago lost in 1995 it was the United National Congress (UNC) which emerged to form a coalition government with the Democratic Action Congress (DAC) of Tobago. In 2000, however, the UNC began a second term winning on its own. It was the first time that a political party led by a person of East Indian descent, Mr Basdeo Panday had won an outright victory at the polls⁵⁸. This victory was therefore historic not only because the UNC beat the PNM on its own, but also because in a country in which the two dominant political parties were rooted in competing ethnic communities but for the first time an East Indian leader of the traditional Opposition party had emerged as Prime Minister, without having to depend on a coalition.

The UNC, after the election of 2000, became very fractious internally through a raging battle for leadership succession. This subsequently evolved into factionalism and charges against the sitting Prime Minister from within the Party, of failure to act against corruption by party members and supporters. The end result was that one year, more or less, into the second term of the UNC government, the ruling party was forced to call fresh elections. The leader of the UNC was Mr Basdeo Panday; the

⁵⁷ In 1995 the PNM was replaced in office only because the UNC and the NAR were able to form a coalition.

⁵⁸ As mentioned earlier, Mr. Panday had become Prime Minister in 1995 by forming a coalition with ANR Robinson

leader of the Opposition was Mr Patrick Manning who had served as Prime Minister from 1991 to 1995.

5.1 Content Analysis of front pages and news stories

5.1.1 Methodology

Content analysis was applied to all front pages and to a sampling of news stories in the three dailies: The *Express*, *Newsday* and *Guardian*. In terms of front pages, content analysis was applied to photos, headlines and news stories. With regard to news stories, the three newspapers featured political news on their front pages and these were analyzed in terms of headlines and content. Photos featured on the front pages were counted to determine the number of times Opposition leader Patrick Manning and Prime Minister Basdeo Panday appeared alone and how many times they appeared together on the front page of each newspaper. Further, the number of times each newspaper focused on other politicians in both political parties, instead of the two political leaders was also taken into account. Headlines were read to determine initial impression of bias using a scale showing negative, positive or balance. News stories were coded to determine which of the following five frames of personality, issue, governing, conflict and horserace frames were more prevalent. These frames were chosen based on the methodology explained in chapter two.

5.1.2 Front Pages

Of the three newspapers, there was an average of 20 newspaper editions (51.28%) over the 39 day campaign period which focused primarily on the 2000 election indicating that just over 50 percent (50%) of all three newspapers carried political stories on their front cover.

Of the three newspapers, the *Guardian* had the most front pages 27 (69.2%) followed by the *Express* 21(53.84%). The *Newsday* had the least number of front pages 12 (30.76%). The *Guardian* was a broadsheet and was larger in size than the two tabloids allowing more space for a combination of photos, headlines and news content on its covers

Based on the figures, it can be concluded that the 2000 election was covered moderately. Evidence in later chapters indicated that the coverage on the front pages of newspapers were quite intense. However of the three newspapers, the *Guardian* tended to focus the most on the elections while the *Newsday* the least.

Table 5.1: Front Pages for 2000 election

Newspaper	No. of front pages	Percentage
Guardian	27	69.23
Express	21	53.84
Newsday	12	30.76
Total	60	153.8
Average	20	51.28

5.1.3 Front Page Photos

An examination of photos on the front pages reveals that Prime Minister Basdeo Panday was featured more often than the Opposition Leader and other politicians. Mr Panday appeared thirteen times alone as compared to Mr Manning who appeared only three times in all three newspapers. However both politicians appeared nine times together on the front covers while other politicians were equally featured, appearing approximately ten times on the front covers (Table 5.2).

Table 5.2: Front page photos for 2000 election

Newspapers	Opposition Leader (Patrick Manning)	Prime Minister (Basdeo Panday)	Both Politicians	Other Political Personalities (both Parties)
Guardian	0	2	5	1
Express	3	6	2	7
Newsday	0	5	2	2
Total	3	13	9	10

While all three newspapers featured Prime Minister Panday either alone or with Mr Manning, on the other hand the *Guardian* and the *Newsday* never featured Mr

Manning alone on the front covers but chose to feature him together with the Prime Minister. Prime Ministers were as a rule featured on the covers of newspapers probably because Prime Ministers were considered the main source of government information by the press.

5.1.4 Front Page Headlines

With regard to headlines, there was a tendency for the three dailies to be more objective in their reporting of political news stories. A total of 60 headlines, 29 (48.3%) or little less than half were found to be objective, while nine (15%) were positive to the UNC as compared to the PNM's five (8.3%).

Table 5.3: Front page headlines for 2000 election

Newspaper	UNC			PNM		
	+	-	B	+	-	B
Guardian	0	5	19	1	1	19
	5	10	6	1	1	6
Newsday	4	3	4	3	0	4
Total	9	18	29	5	2	29

All three dailies carried more negative headlines on the UNC, eighteen (30%) as compared to the PNM's two (3.3%). The *Express* carried the most negative headlines on the UNC, ten (16.6%) as compared to the PNM's one (1.6%). The *Newsday* had no negative headlines on the PNM.

5.2 News Stories

5.2.1 Sampling frame

A sampling of all news stories starting on the front pages and continuing inside the newspapers was coded to determine the most prevalent frames used by the newspapers. In instances where the news stories did not start on the front pages, the first news page in all three newspapers was coded. A total of 111 news stories were sampled and coded with 27 from the *Guardian*; 37 from the *Express*; and 47 from the *Newsday*. Each article was examined using a clearly defined coding system (chapter

2) to determine the most prevalent frames of the five frames being examined: issue, personality, governing, conflict and horserace (Appendix E: 311-326).

Of the five frames identified above, politician as personality was the most dominant (594.5) with Mr Panday being the most profiled politician (336) as compared to Mr Manning's 256. Other politicians were also featured highly (205) by all three dailies

Table 5.4: Frames for 2000 election

Newspapers	No. of articles	Issue	Personality (Panday)	Personality (Manning)	Other Politician	Governing	Conflict	Horserace
Guardian	27	122	78	54	91	-	6	250
Express	37	73	156	114	92	6	24	105
Newsday	47	116	102	88	22	5	15	16
Total	111	311	336	256	205	11	45	371
Av.	37	103.66	112	85.33	68.33	3.66	15	123.66

The second most dominant frame was that of horserace (371) followed by issue frame (311) indicating that the dailies were concerned mostly about the outcome of the elections while highlighting some of the issues on the campaign trail. Governing frame was treated with the least importance (11), while conflict was rarely reported on (45).

Table 5.5: Bias scale for frames for 2000 election

Newspaper	UNC					PNM				
	+		-		B	+		-		B
Newsday	18	53%	11	37%	14	12	57%	3	43%	13
Express	14	41%	10	33%	5	6	28%	4	57%	5
Guardian	2	6%	9	30%	16	3	14%	0		16
Total	34		30		35	21		7		34

An initial reading of news stories gave the impression that all three newspapers generally strived for balance when reporting on both UNC and PNM, there was a tendency for all three newspapers to use more negative frames when reporting on the UNC as compared to the PNM (30:7). However, the *Guardian* carried no negative frames on the PNM while that number was two times more positive to the PNM (Table 5.5).

5.2.2 Guardian: Horserace frame most dominant

The most dominant frame by this newspaper was horserace (250) showing a bias towards the contest and outcome of the elections. This was closely followed by politician as personality (223) with the newspaper focusing on other politicians as well as the two political leaders. This election showed a tendency to focus on national issues, more so than usually found in most elections. Governance issues such as unity talks as well as conflicts were featured low on the scale for this newspaper (Table 5.4).

5.2.3 Newsday: Politician as personality was the most popular frame

Politician as personality was the most popular frame used by this newspaper with both political leaders being highly featured compared to other politicians. In fact, Mr Panday was the focus of attention by the *Newsday* and appeared more times than the Opposition Leader (102:88). The second most popular frame was issue frame (116) indicating some attempt by the newspaper to keep the national population informed about issues concerning them such as job creation and cutting taxes. Conflict and horserace frames shared almost equal prominence indicating that these were reported routinely as they cropped up. Governing and unity frames were given the least importance in terms of framing of news, indicating the general disinterest in this topic (Table 5.4).

5.2.4 Express: The most dominant frame was politician as personality

The most dominant frame was politician as personality (362) with Mr Panday being focused on more times than Mr Manning (362: 114). The newspaper showed a low interest in other political personalities during the election (92). This was followed by horserace frame (105) and the likely winner of the elections. The newspaper spent a

moderate amount of time highlighting issues affecting the national population and even less time on governance and conflict (Table 5.4).

5.2.5 Conclusion based on content analysis of front pages and news stories

Content analysis of front pages and news stories of all three dailies indicated a strong editorial bias in favour of Mr Panday in terms of choice of news material featured on the front covers of the three newspapers, with Mr Panday being the most photographed politician compared to the Opposition Leader. In contrast editors exhibited more objectivity in their headlines even though most headlines were focussed on the UNC. In terms of news stories, journalists generally used politician as personality as the main frame when reporting on political news, again showing a structural bias within the press to report mainly on the Political Leader of the UNC and Prime Minister of the country. It could be that most newspapers tended to feature the political party in government and the political leader because that person was responsible for developing national policy and managing the affairs of the country and because all elected governments are generally open to public scrutiny because incumbents have more to account for. But the 2000 election campaign coverage reveals a decided emphasis on coverage of the sitting Prime Minister, Mr Basdeo Panday at that time.

In 2000, the press was also mainly concerned about the outcome of the elections and which party would emerge as the winner. Since a two-party contest has been the norm in Trinidad and Tobago and traditionally the dominant parties have been PNM and the UNC, the press zeroed in on the two contending parties and viewed the election as a fiercely fought contest between them. In this context, the personality of the leaders was important. National issues were reported moderately upon, with the press less interested in serious issues of governance which affected the national population such as healthcare, education and security to name a few. These important issues did not seem to capture media interest which may well have reflected the national interest. Much more in focus was the colourful personalities of the political leader of the UNC and his opponent, the political leader of the PNM. The tendency for the press to personalize elections is in keeping with international trends in elections coverage

around the world, likewise in Trinidad and Tobago, the local press focuses heavily on the political leaders of the main parties.

But while the press zeroed in on the personalities, they were careful to steer away from personal conflicts between the leaders or their parties or conflicts within the respective parties. Of even less importance was the media's framing of elections in terms of unity, partnership and coalition. Surprisingly, during the 2000 elections, the National Alliance for Reconstruction (NAR)⁵⁹ was still a factor in the national elections. This was a coalition party which held the government from 1986-1991. The UNC emerged as a break away party from this to form the UNC and by the year 2000, the NAR had become a shadow of its former self. From early, the press seemed to have ruled out the NAR as a serious contender and hardly focused on that party in its election coverage. For all intent and purposes, therefore, the 2000 election was a two-party contest between the PNM and the UNC with supporters from the two largest ethnic groups in the society, Africans and East Indians respectively.

5.3 Editorials

5.3.1 *Express*

The language used by the editors of the *Express* during the 2000 elections was direct and centered mostly on issues relating to elections and governance. Generally editorials in the *Express* were informative and educational, seeking to highlight issues with the use of repetition and hyperbole to stress important issues which impacted the lives of the national population. These included the role of the Elections and Boundaries Commission (EBC) during elections as demonstrated in an editorial entitled: "A fair electoral process"⁶⁰, the importance of citizens exercising their democratic right to vote: "A single vote can make a difference"⁶¹; and to bring to the attention of citizens, corrupt acts committed under the guise of governance as indicated in an editorial of December 1: "The EBC must speak up now"⁶². At times editors used their editorials to bring politicians back in line especially when they

⁵⁹ The NAR was a coalition of political parties: United Labour Front headed by Mr. Panday, Organisation of National Reconstruction headed by Mr. Arthur Robinson and Tapia headed by Lloyd Best

⁶⁰ *Express* 5th November 2000 pg 16

⁶¹ *Express* 11th December 2000 pg. 16

⁶² *Express* 1st December 2000 pg. 16

openly criticized national institutions such as the Police Service: “Politicizing the police”⁶³, “Leave the police out of politics”⁶⁴ ; and the EBC for conducting their duties: “A fair electoral process”⁶⁵ . The newspaper was especially harsh on politicians when they tried to mix politics and government during campaign period such as using official government functions to address school children and to speak on political issues: “Civics not politics”⁶⁶. The paper was also highly protective of their role as a free press to guard the country’s democracy and was resentful of attacks levelled against their colleagues in the media for doing their job, as indicated in this editorial headline: “Different ball game here Mr. PM”⁶⁷.

5.3.2 *Newsday*

The *Newsday* had similar editorials to those in the *Express* but varied in the tone of its language which tended to be more pointed and opinionated on issues. While both the *Express* and the *Newsday* were generally critical of Mr Panday; the *Newsday* especially was highly resentful of Mr Panday’s style of governance and deeply suspicious of his motives as Prime Minister. In an editorial of 6 November, 2010 the editor questions “Why 24 seats Mr. Panday?” The rhetorical question plants doubts in the minds of readers as to Mr Panday’s motives, suggesting that he may be moving towards altering the constitution. The editor further charges into the political leader with the use of irony to suggest that Mr Panday was exaggerating what his government could deliver to the electorate using words such as “nothing new”⁶⁸ and “decidedly lacklustre”⁶⁹ to describe the start of the UNC campaign. On the other hand, the language used by the editors of the *Newsday* was more measured when referring to the opposition leader, Mr Manning. For example, in an editorial dated 14 November, the editor stated that Mr Manning has “adopted a carefully measured approach and avoided extravagant promises”⁷⁰.

5.3.3 *Guardian*

⁶³ Express 12th December 2000 pg.16

⁶⁴ Express 15th November 2000 pg. 16

⁶⁵ Express 5th November 2000 pg. 16

⁶⁶ Express 11th November 2000 pg.16

⁶⁷ Express 10th November 2000 pg. 16

⁶⁸ Newsday 6th November, 2000 pg. 10

⁶⁹ Newsday 6th November 2000 pg. 10

⁷⁰ Newsday 14th November 2000 pg. 10

The *Guardian* editors focused on similar issues as the other two dailies; however, the newspaper was more measured when dealing with certain issues and generally focused on national issues as they related to the citizenry of the country and democracy as indicated in an editorial entitled: “Electoral Democracy”⁷¹. There was a tendency for the editors to be less critical of Mr Panday as Prime Minister as compared to the other two dailies, cautioning him “to watch those promises”⁷² while berating Mr Manning for tarnishing the reputation of the country in its conduct of free and fair elections which they considered to be: “A long step backward”⁷³. The implication was that Mr Manning was being irresponsible in trying to win political mileage during the campaign. The *Guardian* was also critical of the EBC’s conduct of elections calling for: “Plain talk please, EBC”⁷⁴. The editor indicated that “the EBC presented the elections with a puzzle so difficult it would have taxed the ingenuity of Oedipus, the hero...who solved the riddle posed by the sphinx.”⁷⁵ The editors also took a different perspective regarding the highly contentious issue of dual citizenship of two of the UNC candidates. Interestingly, the *Guardian* in an editorial “Trip wires in the law”⁷⁶ suggested that the fault was not in the candidates but rather in the ambiguity of the law describing it as “absurd” and an “oversight” concluding that the candidates were being discriminated against by the law.

5.3.4 Voter Padding

One of the key issues which emerged from the 2000 elections was voter padding. During this election, the PNM accused the UNC of registering persons in the marginal constituencies in order to win the election. All three newspapers were strong on their views regarding this topic however, while they all agreed that the Elections and Boundaries Commission (EBC) was a reputable institution and generally conducted elections fairly. The issue of voter padding was serious and needed to be treated as such by the EBC, the newspapers thought. The editor of the *Express* insisted that the EBC should speak up on the issue of voter padding since their handling of the matter through “stony silence... created fertile ground for the wildest of insinuations” and that they must live up to their reputation of “high esteem” and ‘integrity associated

⁷¹ Guardian 6th November 2000 pg. 14

⁷² Guardian 10th November 2000 pg. 14

⁷³ Guardian 5th November 2000 pg. 14

⁷⁴ Guardian 23rd November 2000 pg. 14

⁷⁵ Guardian 23rd November, 2000 pg. 14

⁷⁶ Guardian 25th November, 2000 pg. 14

with its commissioners”⁷⁷. However in an earlier editorial the editor shows his faith in the institution by using words and phrases such as “completely above board”, “Expression of faith”, “fairness” and “no suggestion of fraud”⁷⁸ to describe the EBC’s conduct of elections in Trinidad and Tobago. The *Newsday* editor also identified the EBC with “free and fair elections” and as the “authority charged with the fair conduct of the general elections”⁷⁹. However the editor insisted that there was some truth in allegations of fraudulent practices in voter padding.

On the other hand the editor of the *Guardian* viewed the allegations of voter padding by Mr Manning as “a long step backward”⁸⁰ and condemned Mr Manning for instilling fear in the minds of the populace. He indicated that this had forced Mr Panday “to find himself between a rock and a hard place and to invite Commonwealth observers to view election.” This he equated to “a long step backward” in a country which was reputed for its free and fair elections and “electoral democracy”⁸¹.

5.3.5 Issue of politicizing the police service

The *Guardian* editor continued to focus on the nation’s institutions and the role of the police service in doing their duty impartially, especially in conducting investigations. In an editorial entitled “Politicizing the Police”⁸², the editor chided the UNC leader for suggesting that the police was “colluding with the opposition PNM...to embarrass the government” and further berated both the PNM and UNC leaders for trying to politicize the police service. In a follow up editorial, the writer focused specifically on Mr Jack Warner scolding him for being an alarmist and for making “wild and incredible charges and sending wrong and dangerous messages.”⁸³ The editor inferred that Mr Warner was “straining incredibility to the limits” and that he has an ulterior motive by discrediting the police and by extension the investigation into allegations of voter padding”⁸⁴. This sentiment was echoed by the editor of *Newsday* entitled “What

⁷⁷ Express 1st December, 2000 pg. 16

⁷⁸ Express 5th November, 2000 pg. 16

⁷⁹ Newsday 22nd November, 2000 pg. 10

⁸⁰ Guardian 5th November, 2000 pg. 14

⁸¹ Guardian 6th November, 2000 pg. 14

⁸² Guardian 12th November, 2000 pg. 14

⁸³ Guardian 15th November, 2000 pg. 14

⁸⁴ Guardian 15th November, 2000 pg. 14

is Warner's problem?"⁸⁵ He called Mr Warner's statement on the police service, "ill-conceived", "bordered on the absurd" and which had the potential of causing "immeasurable damage"⁸⁶.

On the other hand, the editor of the *Guardian* sarcastically criticized the police especially in their handling of the Sumairsingh⁸⁷ case in what the police described as "politically sensitive"⁸⁸. The editor stated that while the police was proceeding with caution in the case, on the other hand they were acting "boldly" in carrying out their investigations into electoral fraud charges against certain UNC ministers. He further suggested that the police were acting like politicians stating that "one way in which 'caution' was exercised was to appoint one Indo and one Afro Trinidadian to head the investigation."⁸⁹ The other was to feed the media "false information that an arrest was imminent"⁹⁰.

5.3.6 Issue of Dual citizenship

Another dominant issue of the 2000 elections addressed by editors was dual citizenship of two of the UNC representatives, Bill Chaitan and Winston Peters. The editor of the *Express* opined that the citizen's laws of Trinidad and Tobago were "ill-conceived" and "manipulated for ignoble purposes". Further that if "dual citizenship is permitted" that "the rights of citizenship cannot be demolished by it" and that Winston 'Gypsy' Peters⁹¹ "deserved the opportunity to serve his people"⁹².

On the other hand, the editor of the *Newsday* stated that Gypsy and Chaitan were wrong by signing false declarations in filing nomination papers, stating that it was "against the constitution for the PNM to have done it, and it is against the constitution

⁸⁵ Newsday 12th November, 2000 pg. 10

⁸⁶ Newsday 12th November, 2000 pg. 10

⁸⁷ Hansraj Sumairsingh was a well known Chairman of the UNC regional corporation who wrote the Prime Minister about being threatened by a senior UNC official. Mr. Sumairsingh was subsequently murdered in his beach-house in Mayaro on the East coast of Trinidad. The Police was accused of dragging their feet in the investigation.

⁸⁸ Guardian 2nd November, 2000 pg. 16

⁸⁹ Guardian 12th November, 2000 pg. 16

⁹⁰ Ibid

⁹¹ Winston "Gypsy" Peters and Bill Chaitan were both Trinidadians who held dual citizenship. The PNM felt that it was constitutionally wrong for the UNC to take advantage of the ambiguity of the Constitution, to send them up as representatives of the people and Members of Parliament. This matter was one of the most bitterly fought issues during the 2000 election.

⁹² Express 23rd November, 2000 pg. 16

for the UNC to do it⁹³. In a further editorial the editor indicated that the UNC's response on the filing of false nomination papers was "far from satisfactory ...and that the UNC owes the county a full explanation."⁹⁴

In contrast, the *Guardian's* position was that both candidates: Winston Peters and Bill Chaitan were being discriminated against by law, using strong adjectives such as "oversight and absurd"⁹⁵ to describe how the laws relating to dual citizenship in Trinidad and Tobago were obscure and ambiguous. The editor conjures up the image of the PNM as a serpent "moving with deadly zeal"⁹⁶ to exploit the law in their favour. Further, with the use of irony, pointed out that the Attorney General Mr Ramesh Maharaj⁹⁷ for all his brilliance could not resolve the problem.

5.3.7 Issue of Press freedom:

The issue of press freedom began to rear its head in the early part of the 2000 campaign when Mr Panday gave an uncomplimentary response to the role the media played in Princess Diana's untimely and tragic death stating that the press was inadvertently responsible for her death because of their uncontrollable behaviour. The media was incensed over Mr Panday's insensitive comments and took offence to what they viewed as an attempt by Mr Panday to indirectly chastize the press in Trinidad and Tobago. Generally, the editors shied away from attacks on political personalities sticking mainly to the issues of governance. However, the perceived attack by Mr Panday on the press in Trinidad and Tobago soured relations considerably and this may well have been a defining moment for Mr Panday in terms of his relationship with the press. It is in response to Mr Panday's remark about Princess Diana's death that we see evidence of open hostility directed at Mr Panday. In very strong and condemnatory language the editor stated "one of the most unattractive traits of Mr Panday...is his readiness to make stupid statements on the assumption that his listeners are stupider".⁹⁸ Further that "his reputation for political shrewdness being largely underserved, and political shrewdness being in any case different from

⁹³ Newsday 24th November, 2000 pg. 10

⁹⁴ Newsday 29th November, 2000 pg. 10

⁹⁵ Guardian 25th November, 2000 pg. 14

⁹⁶ Ibid

⁹⁷ Mr. Ramesh L. Maharaj was the Attorney General who had a reputation of being a brilliant legal mind.

⁹⁸ Express 10th November, 2000 pg.16

intelligence”⁹⁹. The editorial writer openly berated Mr Panday for being “contemptuous of the intelligence of the electorate”¹⁰⁰ in his uncomplimentary statements in blaming the press for Princess Diana’s death: “that her death was the kind of thing that happened when the press was not kept under control”¹⁰¹ may very well have been the beginning of an escalating bad relationship between Mr Panday and the Press.

The editor of the *Newsday* chastizes the media for trying “to fool its readers or viewers”¹⁰² taking the high ground, strongly stating that “we in the media should forever be on our guard and resist temptation”¹⁰³. In focusing on press freedom, he insisted that it was a “guaranteed ...treasured right...jealously guarded...in the face of attacks”.¹⁰⁴ Further, that the media needed to be corrected “least we lose the public confidence.”¹⁰⁵

5.3.8 Editorials: Conclusion

Based on the qualitative content analysis of the editorials of the three dailies during the 2000 election, the evidence demonstrated that editors of the three newspapers were mostly concerned about issues relating to governance and adherence to the laws of the country, rather than with the various personalities involved in political parties. However, when they did refer to political personalities, Mr Panday was featured more times and less favourably than the Opposition Leader, Mr Patrick Manning. The media was especially harsh on Mr Panday because they felt that he was leading the country down the wrong path by exploiting the ambiguity of the constitution, in order to get his own way as indicated in a *Newsday* editorial in which the editor questioned Mr Panday’s motives in openly declaring that he hoped to win 24 seats in the election: “Why 24 seats Mr. Panday”¹⁰⁶ (24 seats in a 36 seats Parliament should have given government the numbers required to amend the Constitution). It did not help that Mr Panday directed antagonism towards himself and his government by openly criticizing

⁹⁹ Express 10th November, 2000 pg.16

¹⁰⁰ Ibid

¹⁰¹ Ibid

¹⁰² Newsday 19th November, 2000 pg.10

¹⁰³ Ibid

¹⁰⁴ Ibid

¹⁰⁵ Ibid

¹⁰⁶ Newsday 6th November, 2000 pg. 10

the media in conducting their duties as seen in an *Express* editorial of November 10 “One of the most unattractive traits...of Mr Panday is his readiness to make stupid statements on the assumption that his listeners are stupider than he...his reputation for political shrewdness being largely undeserved, and political shrewdness being in any case different from intelligence.”¹⁰⁷ However, there is little supporting evidence that the media had any hidden agenda to bring down the UNC government as charged by Mr Panday during the 2000 campaign. In fact, during the 2000 elections, careful reading reveals that the media exhibited a certain degree of goodwill towards the government and tried to be even handed and objective when reporting on governance and political matters.

Mr Manning also was not immune to the editors’ pen as found in the *Guardian*. Mr Manning was criticized for his lacklustre leadership style of the PNM, his myopic view of reading unholy motives in everything that the government did such as the conduct of free and fair elections by the EBC. In another editorial, the headline described Mr Manning’s criticism of the EBC as “A long step backward”¹⁰⁸ and the press also chided him for inferring that the UNC would not easily relinquish power if they were to lose the elections. In the electoral history of Trinidad and Tobago, no government has ever resisted the will of the people. On both counts, editors were harsh on Mr Manning since they felt that as an experienced politician and former Prime Minister, he should have known better than to tarnish this country’s reputation for conducting free and fair elections within and outside the region. The editorial indicated that it was an affront to the country for Mr Manning to suggest that a Commonwealth Observer Mission should be requested to observe the conduct of general elections. They were also unforgiving of Mr Manning’s attempt to politicize religion¹⁰⁹ as demonstrated in a *Newsday* editorial: “Fury in Ramadan”¹¹⁰ and for insinuating that Trinidad and Tobago may resort to violence in transitioning from one government to another when elections results were announced¹¹¹. However, editors were less concerned with Mr Manning and the PNM than Mr Panday and the UNC.

¹⁰⁷ *Express* 10th November, 2000 pg. 16

¹⁰⁸ *Guardian* 15th November, 2000 pg. 14

¹⁰⁹ Mr. Manning had stated that Mr. Panday was wrong to call elections during the holy month of Ramadan when Moslems celebrate Eid-Ul-Fitr.

¹¹⁰ *Newsday* 1st December, 2000 pg. 10

¹¹¹ Mr. Manning insinuated that the UNC government would not easily give up elections if they should lose. This was unheard of in the history of elections in Trinidad and Tobago.

This may very well be a trend of most editorials to focus on the regime which holds government and to make leaders of government responsible and accountable to the national population for their period of governance. In this context, within the framework of an election campaign, incumbency carries its own set of challenges.

5.4. Commentaries by Opinion Leaders:

Columnists were fiercely critical of the Panday-led government because they felt that the UNC government was using undemocratic means such as voter padding, and the manipulation of the Constitution and the laws of the land, to win elections. Rooted in the columns was a deep psychological fear that Mr Panday was becoming an autocratic leader who was capable of going to extreme lengths to hold on to power. Mr Manning was quick to capitalize on this fear by insinuating that Mr Panday would not easily relinquish power if he were to lose election and so introduced for the first time in the history of this country's elections, the possibility that violence may be used to retain power. Columnist Hamid Ghany in exploring the possibility of "Instability and transfer of power"¹¹² in his column (Ghany 2000) stated that "the time has come for vigilance to be exercised over our democratic traditions to protect our way of life and our institutions from the danger of civil commotion and unrest or attempts at undemocratic seizures of power"¹¹³ (Ghany 2000). Similarly, veteran columnist George Alleyne wrote about the lack of principles in the election and condemned the UNC for trying to win elections through unfair means. He says; "if the wholly inappropriate circumstances should succeed, and the rampart of democracy successfully stormed, what is there to stop the men and women... from employing other and equally immoral methods to repeatedly, access power, indeed indefinitely, and in the process whittle our freedoms, which are still guaranteed in our Constitution?"¹¹⁴ (Alleyne 2000).

5.4.1 Leadership

The most dominant theme throughout the *Express* was leadership, with both the UNC and PNM leaders being the target of much discussion regarding their leadership styles. It appears that Mr Panday had begun to run afoul of the *Express* columnists

¹¹² Newsday 12th November, pg. 11

¹¹³ Ibid

¹¹⁴ Newsday 3rd December, 2000 pg 12

during the 2000 election because of his wily personality, abrasive style and penchant for making acerbic comments¹¹⁵. Mr Panday's combative style and inability to take criticism had also contributed to his growing unpopularity among columnists such as Selwyn Ryan whom he accused of plotting to destabilize the UNC¹¹⁶ when he produced evidence that the party was involved in voter padding. Ryan had to openly defend himself against Mr Panday's vitriolic attacks insisting that he had no hidden agenda to destabilize the UNC government. It was no surprise that Ryan pronounced that Mr Panday's tenure as Prime Minister was "an absolute disaster for the country."

¹¹⁷ Further, that "he remained an embittered picaroon politician from the plantation."

¹¹⁸ Ryan prophesied that "history will not be kind to him."¹¹⁹ (Ryan 2000). He further stated that the UNC has done little for the country and in fact "failed to improve its stock of moral capital."¹²⁰ (Ryan 2000). Columnist Raffique Shah also used harsh words to describe the UNC leader, describing him as "hypocritical", "a dictator" with "an unimpressive track record."¹²¹ (Shah 2000). While Ryan's and Shah's uncomplimentary remarks may be as a result of bad relations over time with the Prime Minister; the most damning statements came from the pen of Professor Selwyn Cudjoe, an open supporter of Opposition Leader Patrick Manning and the PNM. Professor Cudjoe's directed his violent rhetoric at both the Prime Minister and the UNC calling them "uncivilized national crooks" stating that the "UNC has become "the ugly personified".¹²² He further stated that "they show up their amateur, not-ready-for-Prime Minister behaviour, expose the limitations of one-mannerism, and demonstrates the inherent shortcomings on money-only philosophy"¹²³ (Cudjoe 2000).

In an attempt to balance the anti-Panday opinion pieces, the *Express* dedicated space to several pro-UNC columnists such as Indira Maharaj and Kamal Persad who took a

¹¹⁵ Express Editorial, 10th November, 2000

¹¹⁶ Selwyn Ryan is an academic and political scientist from the University of the West Indies. At the time of the 2000 election, Professor Ryan was Director of the Ansa McAl Psychological Center which was well known for conducting political polls during elections which were published in the Trinidad Guardian, a subsidiary of the Ansa Group. Ryan claimed that he had evidence of voter padding which was given to him by a disgruntled activist in the UNC.

¹¹⁷ Express 26th November, 2000 pg. 15

¹¹⁸ Ibid

¹¹⁹ Ibid

¹²⁰ Express 12th November, 2000 pg. 15

¹²¹ Express 5th and 9th November, 2000 pg. 15

¹²² Express 5th November, 2000 pg. 16

¹²³ Ibid

more positive view of Mr Panday's leadership as Prime Minister and UNC Leader. Kamal Persad described Mr Panday's leadership under the UNC as phenomenal stating that "The Panday regime has pursued a policy of inclusion and used State resources for the advancement of the people and the progress of the country,"¹²⁴ (Persad 2000). In a further article, he stated that Mr Panday's "long period in politics, in government and opposition has produced a far superior leader to that of the leadership of Mr Manning"¹²⁵ (Persad 2000).

The opposition leader also had his fair share of supporters and detractors. Indira Maharaj wrote that Mr Manning "has not been able to fill the leadership requirements which have now become essential for the new and altered political age". She further described him as "a grey man" who blends into the background and "inspires nothing". She continued "His deficiencies in leadership have impacted negatively on the PNM. In a time when leadership at all levels of the party is critical, he is not able to bring new and innovative blood into the party"¹²⁶ (Maharaj 2000). Kamal Persad compared Mr Manning's performance with that of the UNC leader inferring that Mr Manning came up short on performance as a political leader because of his "vague vision" and unimpressive track record¹²⁷ (Persad 2000). Even Selwyn Ryan and Raffique Shah had hinted that Mr Manning's leadership did not inspire the populace. Ryan inferred that Mr Manning was not a dynamic and charismatic leader like both the PNM's founding father, Dr Eric Williams and the UNC leader, Mr Basdeo Panday, metaphorically stating that "Mr Manning's coattails are fragile and cannot pull along candidates who given their own limitations, need the "bounce" that leadership can give."¹²⁸ (Ryan 2000). Mr Manning was also chastised for tarnishing the reputation of Trinidad and Tobago Elections and Boundaries Commission in its conduct of free and fair elections (Jeff Hackett), for inferring that violence may ensue should the UNC lose the election (Kamal Persad) and for being insensitive to the Moslem community by setting the date of the election in the holy month of Ramadan. On the other hand commentators generally shied away from openly complimenting Mr Manning on his leadership of the PNM. Articles revolved mainly around the PNM

¹²⁴ Express 5th November, 2000 pg. 16

¹²⁵ Express 10th November, 2000 pg. 16

¹²⁶ Express 1st December, 2000 pg. 17

¹²⁷ Express 5th November, 2000 pg. 16

¹²⁸ Express 3rd December, 2000 pg. 15

party and what it had achieved over the years. It can be discerned that that there was a growing chasm between the PNM and its leader as if to indicate that support was being thrown behind the party rather than the leader. By 2010, as will be seen in subsequent chapter (chapter 7), this gap between the PNM and its leader would increase, resulting in absolute disillusionment with the leader, leading to Mr Manning's loss of support of his followers and eventually the leadership of both his party and the country.

5.4.2 Race and Ethnicity

Race had always been one of the focal yet understated points of most elections in Trinidad and Tobago with both parties: PNM and UNC representing almost equal amounts of Blacks and Indians respectively. In 2000, the rhetoric of race was not discussed as extensively with most politicians and political analysts being very careful with their choice of words, each doing everything possible to woo persons from both ethnicities to join their party. Each party in turn continued to espouse rhetoric of unity during times of elections in the hope of attracting more persons outside their traditional supporters, in order to have a party more representative of the multi-racial composition of the country. Generally, race talk during elections is treated with much sensitivity and hardly ever degenerates to open ethnic conflict as may be the case in other societies outside the Caribbean.

The issue of race was raised by Kamal Persad¹²⁹ (Persad 2000) in which he alluded to the UNC being more "broad-based" and "has moved to embrace and attract other groups and interests in the society".¹³⁰ This was disputed by Keith Smith who attended both the UNC and PNM rallies in which he states that "There were fewer Indians in the Square than there were blacks at Mid-Center Mall even if there were no UNC jerseys and UNC posses as there were PNM jerseys and indeed, visible and circumspect PNM posses"¹³¹ (Smith 2000). Kamal Persad goes on to state that the PNM has engaged in mere tokenism in including a few "PNM Indians" and in the case of Nafeesa Mohammed "a child of the PNM" into the party. In a later commentary, he further states that the PNM had marginalized the Moslem community

¹²⁹ Express 19th November, 2000 pg 16

¹³⁰ Ibid

¹³¹ Express 13th November, 2000 pg. 17

and had included Indians to give it an “Indian image” in order “to act as brokers for their communities”¹³² (Persad 2000). Keith Smith makes a similar analogy in terms of the UNC: “The team with the acquisition of the high-profile Jack Warner, Gypsy and the out-of-the country Carlos John, was presented as reflecting the “rainbow that is real”¹³³ (Smith 2000). Selwyn Cudjoe strongly counters back “I’d say their amorality and bias inhere in their religious and/or racist presumptions of the world.”¹³⁴ (Cudjoe 2000). Ryan broaches the topic of race when he indicated that the UNC experience was good for the country: “it had long been assumed that “creoles” were ordained to rule this country forever. Many Indo-Trinidadians, in their state of alienation, had come to the belief that “creoles” could not govern efficiently and effectively, and that they were corrupt. Their corresponding belief was that standards of good governance and public morality would improve if Indo-Trinidadians were given a turn at the ‘karmic crease.’” Ryan’s cryptic comment was that “experience has proved otherwise”¹³⁵ (Ryan 2000) which may be interpreted as biased or at least a highly opinionated comment.

5.4.3 Ethics and morality in public office

One of the main themes addressed by the *Guardian* was ethics and morality in high office especially the conduct of individuals within political parties. Burka Rennie in his column of the *Guardian*¹³⁶ (Rennie 2000) condemned the allegations of voter padding directed at the UNC especially the role of the Prime Minister in the fiasco. With a pun on “Honourable” he waded into Mr Panday for encouraging his supporters to “lend support” in areas where they were not so strong. The double entendre on “support” inferred that there were many ways in which support could be lent and that Panday’s supporters saw nothing wrong to “lend a hand” which he said was tantamount to lending “an index finger”. Mr Rennie condemned this action in very strong of language using phrases such as “low level of moral existence by so few” to describe the UNC government, further suggesting that they lacked “honesty, decency, morality in public affairs”. He further stated that voter padding was akin to an attack on the democracy of Trinidad and Tobago. He took his analogy one step further by

¹³² Express 3rd December, 2000 pg. 16

¹³³ Express 6th November, 2000 pg. 17

¹³⁴ Express 19th November, 2000 pg 16

¹³⁵ Express 21st November, 2000 pg 15

¹³⁶ Guardian 29th November, 2000 pg. 15

making a link with the UNC, suggesting that voter padding had to do with race, ethnicity and self-preservation “to bring their kind to the fore”.

Tony Fraser also wrote about the lack of ethics and morality among politicians especially the UNC. Similar to Burka Rennie, he too used generalizations to drive his point home. Without pointing fingers at anyone in particular, he stated that political leaders “send signals through their own political behavioural patterns that say in politics anything is acceptable once the ultimate goal of political mileage is achieved”¹³⁷ (Rennie 2000). Further, that “without principle and acceptable behaviour in politics, our leaders are taking us to perdition.”¹³⁸ He then used descriptions such as “vulgar deceptions”, “organized political banditry” and “smart men politicians” to show his disapproval of voter padding. He too linked this act of corruption to race “to preserve ethnic and cultural supremacy, one over the other”.¹³⁹

Overand Padmore, a former PNM Minister and a supporter of the PNM examined integrity in the context of corruption and lack of transparency in procurement practices and accounting in government. In an article entitled “More honest accounting needed”¹⁴⁰ (Padmore 2000), he stated that “corruption is not limited to dishonest, financial manipulation but the unmasking of a well-developed plan to pad the electoral lists, thereby undermining their integrity”.¹⁴¹ Padmore stated that the UNC government was corrupt and called for transparency and accountability in their activities. In a later article, he raised the issue of the integrity of the system of governance¹⁴² (Padmore 2000). He viewed voter padding as “a diabolical plan to steal the election” by persons at the highest level with “highly developed conspiratorial minds”.¹⁴³

5.4.4 Conclusion on columns

Columnists of all three newspapers explored similar themes during this election. However, the overriding concern had to do with safeguarding the democratic rights of

¹³⁷ Guardian 23rd November, 2000 pg. 15

¹³⁸ Ibid

¹³⁹ Ibid

¹⁴⁰ Guardian 12th November, pg 17

¹⁴¹ Ibid

¹⁴² Guardian 5th November, pg. 17

¹⁴³ Ibid

citizens as enshrined in the Constitution of Trinidad and Tobago. Trinidad and Tobago is a relatively young democracy which has a tradition of free and fair elections. The country also has a history of peaceful elections in which there has always been an easy transitioning from one government to another. Freedom of the press was considered essential in the creation of a healthy democracy and in maintaining checks and balances among the power brokers in government and society. It was a role jealously guarded by journalists in the conduct of their duties. While it may be possible to discuss alignment in some of the columnists, it is also important to emphasize their forms or issues. Moreover, it is important also to take into account the fact that the newspapers themselves in order to guard against partisan bias columnists took care to introduce multiple points of view.

5.5 Conclusion based on analysis of front pages, news stories, editorials and select columns in the *Guardian*, *Express* and *Newsday* during the 2000 elections

The 2000 election was covered moderately by the three leading newspapers over the campaign period with the Prime Minister at that time, Mr Basdeo Panday, being the most featured politician on the front covers and inside the paper. Mr Panday was the most profiled person because he was both political leader of the UNC and the Prime Minister of Trinidad and Tobago. He was also the first Prime Minister of East Indian descent in the history of Trinidad and Tobago having wrestled power away from the PNM whose base was mostly people of African descent; a party which enjoyed power almost without interruption since the pre Independence period. Mr Panday's rise to power was historic and meteoric having been the longest serving Leader of the Opposition in the Parliament. Mr Panday also had a colourful career as a trade unionist and politician. In 1986, he walked out of the coalition government of the NAR to form his own political party, the United National Congress after falling out with its leadership. Even so, by 1995 when he won office and in 2000, Mr Panday's flair for dramatics, his charismatic style and his crafty use of phrase endeared him to the national population and made him a much sought after politician among the media. Mr Panday never failed to deliver drama and it was not surprising that he was the most featured politician in all three newspapers, both in the front pages and in the

news stories. An evaluation of the 2000 election showed that Mr Panday through his actions, to a large degree squandered the goodwill of the media which was generally positive towards his government. It was unfortunate, that Mr Panday's ill-timed comment about the role of the media in Princess Diana's death was seen as a personal attack on the media fraternity in Trinidad and Tobago, leading to strained relations between the Prime Minister and the media and which eventually deteriorated into an extremely hostile relationship. This is not to suggest that Mr Panday did not intend his comment to be an attack on the local media.

The press was also critical of the Opposition Leader, Mr Manning's style of leadership, although not to the extent that they were of Mr Panday. The *Newsday* especially, appeared to be more partial towards Mr Manning than the other two newspapers. The general consensus was that Mr Manning did not possess the charisma of his predecessor, Dr Eric Williams nor for that matter Mr Panday, because of his lacklustre style. He did not sustain the interest of the media to any great extent except in his capacity as Opposition Leader and generally when he did something wrong, the media was quick to point it out. In a sense the media thought that Mr Manning was willing to do anything to score political points during the 2000 election, in his desperation to wrest power away from Mr Panday. However, even though there was a certain degree of disillusionment with Mr Panday as Prime Minister and there appeared to be a leadership vacuum in the country, Mr Manning was not considered the natural choice to fill that vacuum in the PNM or government. The media, except for those columnists who were openly supportive of the PNM were reluctant to endorse Mr Manning as an alternate Prime Minister and political leader of the PNM. This disconnect between the PNM Leader and his party was to escalate into open disenchantment towards Mr Manning by the time 2010 elections came around in which Mr Manning had become a liability to the supporters and followers of the PNM and was considered the main cause for the party losing the elections.

A review of the commentaries by political analysts during the campaign period indicated that the newspapers have tried to be even-handed in presenting varied views of persons academically knowledgeable as well as those persons openly supportive of both the UNC and the PNM. The language used by academics tended to be more statesmanlike and objective except when referring to Mr Panday who seemed to have

won the ire of several columnists. The rhetoric used by a few political extremists did border on vitriol at times, however these columns were generally fewer in numbers with editors trying to present the views of supporters of both political parties side by side, sometimes on the same page. Both the editorials and commentaries took similar views and slants in presenting the main themes and issues discussed during the campaign period. Newspapers were careful to give adequate space to both parties to air their views.

In 2000, the media also exhibited a great deal of idealism in the way they viewed the society and their role as journalists. They were very protective of this country's democratic traditions and the requirements for good governance. Leaders were expected to be full of integrity, ethically sound and morally upright citizens whose actions could be held up to public scrutiny. This idealism was manifested in antagonism towards any politician who tried to take the country down the wrong path through corrupt practices; and in the fear of autocratic leadership in government and any hint of use of violence to stay in power. The media was careful not to upset the society and to maintain balance by not focusing too much on race and generally frowned on politicians who tried to use the race card to score political points.

Generally, the media saw themselves as “watchdogs of democracy.” Freedom of the press is enshrined in the constitution of Trinidad and Tobago and was jealously guarded by the press as their right to report on what was happening in the country especially during political campaigns. As the fourth estate, the press felt that their role was to maintain the balance of power by placing checks in place to ensure the smooth running of the country. In doing their jobs, the press was viewed as being antagonistic by those politicians who became the target of media attention and censure. Although there was a tendency for certain partisan columnists to be biased in their views towards political parties and personalities, these views were generally not representative of the views of the particular newspaper in which their column was featured. Most times the editorials of all three newspapers were objective, reporting on governance issues while staying away from personal attacks on any one political personality. However, the qualitative and quantitative content analysis have shown that there was a structural bias in favour of Mr Panday by all three newspapers, in their choice of news reported on and featured in the front pages and inside the

newspaper, by journalists and in the volume of coverage. This may well be the natural choice of all three papers to feature the political leader and Prime Minister of the country since he was responsible for making policy decisions for the country. There is also little evidence to show partisan bias by the *Express*, *Newsday* or *Guardian* newspapers during the 2000 campaign towards any political party or leader since both Mr Panday and Mr Manning were both the target of censure during the campaign.

CHAPTER 6

CASE STUDY OF THE 2001, 2002 AND 2007 ELECTIONS IN TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO

6.0 Introduction

The seven year period under study in this chapter (2001-2007), the years 2001, 2002 and 2007 were characterized by major eruptions in the political landscape of Trinidad and Tobago. These included three elections in seven years with two being called less than one year of each other long before the second election was constitutionally due; the fall of the UNC government based on a technicality within one year of office; and the formation of new political parties, Team Unity and the Congress of the People (COP), which although they did not win seats in Parliament, were able to deplete the UNC (the government party at the time) of considerable support, weaken its political base and undermine its prospects at regaining the government. This was also a period of much infighting among party loyalists with challenges for leadership positions both in the PNM and UNC including the emergence of a female contender within the latter. For the first time in the history of politics in the country, gender became a major factor in internal party elections especially within the predominantly male dominated UNC party. It was also a time of authoritarian leadership with accusations of 'creeping dictatorship' as each political leader of both parties tried to stave off leadership challenges, to hold on to office. The press was as was perhaps expected, at the centre of these unfolding events. For the media, caught between contending politicians and turbulence in the traditional political parties, these were heady times in which protecting their constitutional rights as a 'free press' while maintaining a watchful eye over the country's young democracy became a core issue. This was a time when the risk of being accused of bias was high and deteriorating relations between media and politicians began to escalate.

The 2001 election was held less than one year after the 2000¹⁴⁴ election on November 9 and resulted from a major fallout between Prime Minister Basdeo Panday and his deputy political leader Mr Ramesh Lawrence Maharaj over allegations of corruption

¹⁴⁴ The 2000 election was held on December 11, 2000

within the UNC party. Mr Maharaj was also Attorney General at the time. Mr Panday's unwillingness to address corruption matters resulted in three top UNC officials: Mr Ramesh Lawrence Maharaj, Mr Trevor Sudama and Mr Ralph Maharaj walking out of the UNC Party and Government to form a new political party called "Team Unity". This group also formed an informal alliance with the Opposition PNM swaying the balance of power in the Parliament towards the Opposition PNM and forcing Mr Panday to call an early election. The 2001 election ended in a tie with both the UNC and PNM parties gaining 18 seats each. The decision of the then President Mr Arthur Napoleon Raymond Robinson to hand over the government to the PNM instead of the incumbent UNC based on the need for "morality in high office" and "spiritual values" did not sit well with supporters of the UNC and less than ten months into office, Prime Minister Patrick Manning faced with a hung Parliament was forced to call fresh elections on August 28, 2002. This election resulted in a clear majority for the PNM and they were able to govern the country over the next five years. By the time election was called in 2007, a third party, the Congress of the People (COP) had emerged as a result of a major fight between the Leader of the UNC and his anointed successor, Mr Winston Dookeran. Similar to Team Unity, this party (COP) although gaining considerable support, was not able to win a seat in Parliament; however, they went on to become a viable force in the politics of Trinidad and Tobago and in 2010 was part of the coalition of parties under the Peoples Partnership, to form the government of the country. Team Unity on the other hand, withered away.

Against this backdrop, this chapter analyzes the three elections together, to determine the level of bias exhibited by the three dailies in reporting on the elections during political campaigns and whether this bias structural, partisan or both was beyond the norm of newspapers so as to influence public opinion and voters choices in the national elections. The methodology employed is the same as that followed in the preceding chapter.

6.1 Content Analysis of front pages

Content analysis was applied to all front pages covering campaign periods totalling 107 days (9 November - 10 December, 2001; 28 August - 7 October, 2002; and 28

September - 5 November, 2007) and to a sampling of news stories within the body of the three newspapers: *Guardian*, *Express* and *Newsday* during the 2001, 2002 and 2007 campaign periods. All front pages were counted to determine how many of them featured political stories as well as how many times political leaders of the UNC and the PNM appeared in photos either singly or together as compared to other politicians in both parties. Headlines were analyzed to determine whether they were positive or negative towards political parties or balanced using a balance scale already employed in analysis of coverage of 2000 election (Chapter 5). News stories were sampled and coded using five frames: politician as personality frame; issue frame; horserace frame; governing frame; and conflict frame. All three elections were analyzed together rather than singly for overall trends in press coverage during the three campaign periods (2001, 2002 and 2007) with the intention of facilitating an historical, comparative review in terms of connectivities and trends discerned at the start of the research period in 2000 and leading up to the 2010 campaign.

6.2 Number of Front Pages Relating to Elections

Over the selected periods, an average of 52.5 percent or just above a half of all coverage on the front pages of all three newspapers was on the three elections (Table 6.1). This was similar to coverage in the 2000 election but moderate when compared to the 2010 election as observed in analysis of the 2010 election (Chapter 7). There was an average of 19 front page stories per newspaper based on an average campaign period of 36 days (Table 6.1).

Of the three campaign periods, 2002 carried the most front pages with 68 front pages, representing an average of 22.66 percent per newspaper over the campaign period (Table 6.1). The *Guardian* especially focussed heavily on politics on its front pages with 77 percent of its publications featuring issues relating to the elections in 2002 (Figure 6.1).

Table 6.1: Number of front pages appearing in all three newspapers

Year	Newspaper	Campaign Period (Days)	No. front pages	Percentage
2001	Express	30	13	43.3
	Guardian	"	18	60
	Newsday	"	12	40
2002	Express	39	16	41
	Guardian	"	32	82
	Newsday	"	20	51.3
2007	Express	38	16	42
	Guardian	"	27	71
	Newsday	"	16	42
Total		321	170	472.6
Average		35.6	18.9	52.5

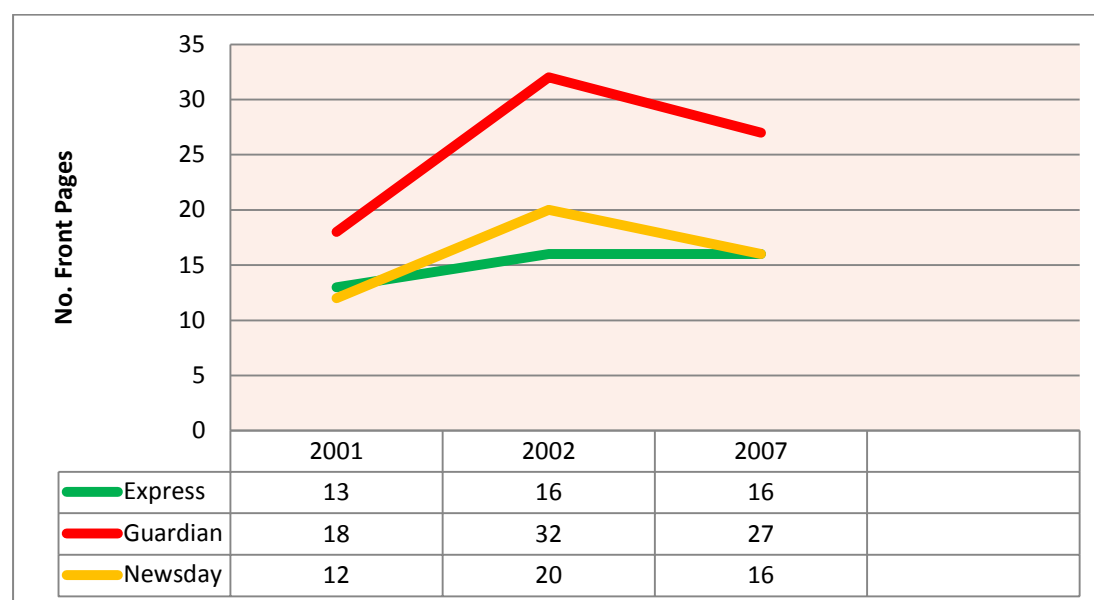


Figure 6.1: Trends in front page coverage for 2001, 2002 and 2007

In fact, throughout the three campaign periods, the *Guardian* tended to focus more highly on the elections on its front covers, with an average of 25.6 percent as compared to *Express* 15 percent, and *Newsday* 16 percent (Figure 6.1). The reason for

this is simple. As a broadsheet, the *Guardian* was larger in size and allowed more space on the cover for a combination of news stories, photos and headlines. Both the *Express* and *Newsday* were tabloids with their covers mostly comprising full photos and headlines.

Overall, there was significant increase in political coverage on the covers of all three newspapers from 2001 to 2007, from 14 percent per newspaper in 2001 to 23 percent per newspaper, in 2002 and 20 percent per newspaper, in 2007. The campaign periods between 2001 and 2002 were especially tumultuous periods for politics in Trinidad and Tobago and had wider implications for governance of the country. As the fourth estate the media was keenly interested in developments in the country's politics as they unfolded. Evidence suggests that a major concern of the media was how to guard the country's democratic traditions. Development in politics was viewed as important to the development of the country and was given precedence over most other events occurring in the country during political campaigns.

6.3 Front Page Photos - Number of Times Political Leaders and other Politicians Featured

With regards to front page photos, the statistics indicate that all three newspapers generally preferred to feature photos of other politicians rather than the two political leaders on their front covers. Other politicians were featured approximately eight times on average per newspaper over the campaign periods when compared to both the political leader of the UNC and the PNM, either together or alone (Figure 6.2).

The newspapers also tended to be fair to both political leaders in terms of profiling them on the front pages. Mr Basdeo Panday appeared on average 2.2 times and Mr Patrick Manning 2.1 times (Figure 6.2). There was only slight variation in the number of times both Mr Manning and Mr Panday appeared together, an average of 2.4 times as compared to the number of times they appeared alone (Figure 6.2). The newspapers also featured to a lesser extent the political leaders of two of the dissident parties, the Congress of the People (COP) and Team Unity: Mr Winston Dookeran and Mr Ramesh Maharaj respectively. In some instances, some of the newspapers did not feature Mr Manning at all on their front covers.

Table 6.2: Front page photos for 2001, 2002 & 2007 election

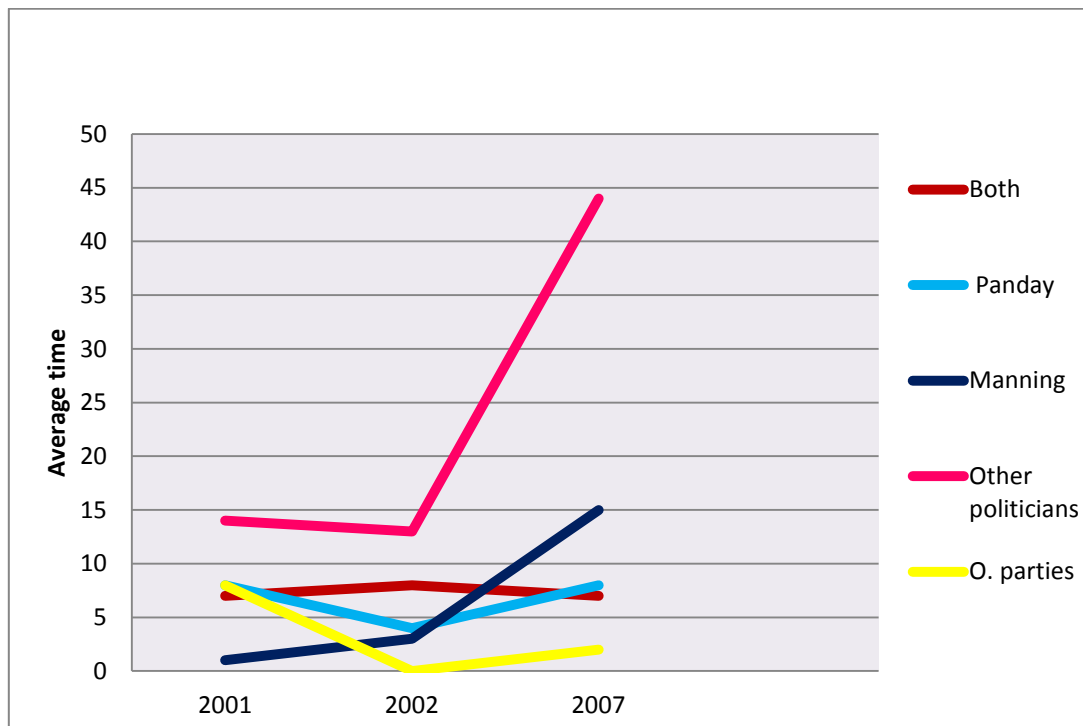
Year	Newspaper	Both Panday & Manning	Panday alone	Manning alone	Other Politician	Other Parties
2001	Express	4	4	-	7	~5
	Guardian	1	2	-	4	~3
	Newsday	2	2	1	3	
2002	Express	4	2	1	6	
	Guardian	2	1	2	1	
	Newsday	2	1	-	6	
2007	Express	3	4	5	18	
	Guardian	3	2	6	16	
	Newsday	1	2	4	10	*2
Total		22	20	19	71	10
Average		2.4	2.2	2.1	7.8	1.1

~Team Unity

*COP

In 2001 Mr Manning was not featured alone in the *Express* and *Guardian* and was only featured once by the *Newsday*, during the entire period (Figure 6.2). During this time, the sitting Prime Minister, Mr Panday was the centre of media attention because he was responsible for governance of the country and viewed by the media as the single most important source of government information. As a result, events surrounding the Prime Minister especially those related to policy decisions seemed to overshadow all other events. Additionally, Prime Ministers have at their disposal, a range of communications professionals such as public relations and marketing experts as well as consultants and advisors who would generally ensure that ample media coverage was given to the Prime Minister daily.

Figure 6.2: Trends in photos on front pages of all three newspapers



But this picture changed drastically in 2007 when Mr Manning was highly featured on the front covers of all three newspapers as Prime Minister of the country (Figure 6.2). During this period, there was heightened media attention around the political campaigns because the race to the polls had become a threefold competition with the COP gaining considerable momentum in the lead up to the national election. Mr Manning as the incumbent Prime Minister was viewed as the person to be defeated by the COP in order to effect change in the country, to make way for a new era of government (a third force). Also, Mr Manning was faced with leadership challenges by both his Chairman and Deputy Political Leader and this was played out in the public domain, generating sensational headlines for the dailies. Mr Panday, whether in Government or Opposition was constantly embroiled in conflicts of one kind or the other and was, as a result, consistently featured on the front covers by all three newspapers, over the campaign periods.

Generally, when the press focussed on one political leader, it was at the expense of the other. For example in 2001, the newspapers hardly focussed on Mr Manning while

featuring Mr Panday on the front pages (Figure 6.2). Mr Panday was then Prime Minister having won 19 of the 35 seats in the 2000 election, to become the first Prime Minister of East Indian descent in the country. In 2002, when Mr Manning appeared to be a strong contender for Prime Minister and Mr Panday's popularity had waned considerably, the opposition leader was featured almost the same number of times as the Prime Minister on the cover of newspapers (Figure 6.2). That election resulted in Mr Manning being victorious at the polls and governed the country down to 2010, when an early election was called.

However both the *Express* and *Guardian* featured the political leader of Team Unity, Mr Ramesh Lawrence Maharaj more than the political leaders of both the UNC and PNM because of the controversies surrounding the formation of that party. Team Unity arose out of major fallout between Mr Panday and three of his long standing members: Trevor Sudama, Ralph Maraj and Mr Ramesh Maharaj over the refusal of Mr Panday to investigate allegations of corruption by members of his own political party. The fight among the leadership of the party while in government would be played out publicly under the full scrutiny of the media. Moreover, Mr Ramesh Maharaj who had gained a reputation as a controversial human rights lawyer outside of politics, continued to attract media attention because of his anti-government position while in government and because of the unpredictability of the actions and its implications for the governing party. While Mr Maharaj's defection from the UNC was a catalyst in forcing Mr Panday to call an early election which resulted in the fall of the UNC Government in 2002, he was not able to gain a seat during the 2001 election. By 2002, Team Unity was no longer a factor in Trinidad and Tobago's politics.

In 2007, a reverse pattern was discerned, with the press instead focussing highly on Mr Manning as Prime Minister while paying little attention to Mr Panday (Figure 6.2) with Mr Manning emerging victorious at the polls on 28 September, 2007. However COP political leader Mr Winston Dookeran was placed on the front covers of the *Newsday* on several occasions (Table 6.2). The COP, like Team Unity, arose as a result of a conflict with the leadership of the UNC. However, the COP was able to attract considerable support from the national population to become a strong viable party in 2007. The COP under the relatively 'untarnished' leadership of Mr Winston

Dookeran and his brand of 'new politics' was considered to be an attractive political alternative to the status quo represented by the two established parties and this catapulted him into the media limelight as the most likely person to move the country beyond the traditional parties. Although he was able to gain 22.64 percent of the national votes however; and followed closely on the heels of the UNC with 29.73 percent, the party was not able to win a seat in government. The PNM emerged victorious with 45.85 percent of the votes, winning twenty-six of the thirty-six seats in Parliament (Table 2.2). The emergence of two political parties proved costly to the UNC and facilitated the consolidation of the PNM.

6.4 Bias Scale for Front Page Headlines

6.4.1 More Balanced headlines

All three newspapers had more balanced headlines on their front covers than positive or negative headlines on the UNC or PNM, over the three campaign periods (Table 6.3). This was directly related to the newspapers tendency to feature other politicians apart from the Prime Minister and the Opposition Leader on the covers of their newspapers. Other politicians included persons from within the two established parties as well as those from the newer political parties. The high number of balanced headlines demonstrated professionalism in the editing process and the selection of newsworthy items in attracting readership. Even though editors would have used media logic in presenting people with what they wanted to read while appeasing the politicians, they did not facilitate the hogging of the limelight by the two traditional political parties.

6.4.2 Negative headlines

During the three campaign periods, the UNC had a total of 37 negative headlines as compared to the PNM's 18 (see Table 6.3) indicating that all three newspapers were inclined to be more negative towards the UNC than the PNM. While in government the UNC regime had attracted much negative publicity because of the infighting amongst its membership epitomised by a leadership struggle, persistent allegations of corruption and public scandals (see pages 19 and 20). Many of these issues continued to haunt the UNC even while out of office. A public battle between Mr Panday and the media also ensued. This public fight with the media also created an hostile

environment between the press and the UNC leadership with each being suspicious of each other motives. For example, the media distrusted Mr Panday's attempt at constitutional reform, viewing it as another ploy by Mr Panday to hold on to government. Hence, one might argue that, the ongoing feud between the political leader of the UNC and Prime Minister at the time and the media may well have had the effect of compromising objectivity since the media had a vested interest in protecting media freedom and independence.

Table 6.3: Bias Scale for front pages for 2001, 2002 & 2007 elections

Year		PNM		UNC		Balanced
		+	-	+	-	
2001	Express	1	1	4	1	5
	Guardian	1	Nil	1	2	7
	Newsday	2	Nil	2	4	3
2002	Express	1	1	0	8	6
	Guardian	1	1	1	-	8
	Newsday	1	1	1	8	9
2007	Express	3	8	3	6	8
	Guardian	1	5	1	4	12
	Newsday	6	1	1	3	5
Total		17	18	14	37	63
Average		1.8	2	1.5	4.1	7

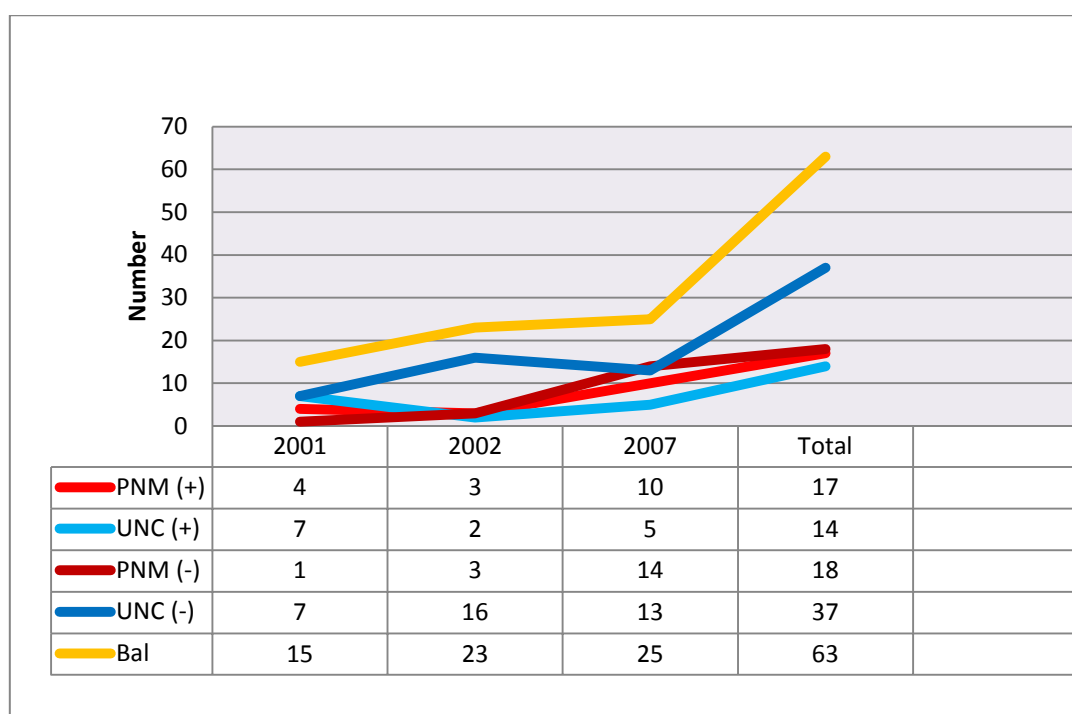
It is also possible that elements of the media at the highest level may have had their own partisan biases because of their close alliances with politicians and parties which would have been reflected in the negative framing of certain news items on the front pages. The number of negative headlines on the UNC averaged around 4.1 times per newspaper as compared to the PNM's 2.0 times (Table 6.3).

6.4.3 Positive Headlines

In terms of positive headlines, there were 14 positive headlines on the UNC compared to the PNM's 17 (Table 6.3) indicating a certain amount of objectivity and equanimity in the way they portrayed both political parties and that the negativity towards the UNC was mostly generated by the negative occurrences within the party and membership during its term of government and not necessarily as a result of bias

reportage. Negative news arising out of party infighting in the UNC cannot be blamed on the media whose job is primarily to report the news as they unfolded. Reports of ongoing conflict between the Prime Minister and media houses cannot be blamed either. However, suspicion of the press of Mr Panday's motives, in the circumstances, has to be acknowledged as being reasonable. In the circumstances, 14 possible headlines for UNC as against 17 for the PNM seem remarkable in striving for objectivity and balance by the press.

Figure 6.3: Trends in Bias scale for headlines over the three campaign periods



In 2001, there were more positive headlines on the UNC on the front covers but by 2007 they had twice as much positive headline on the PNM (Table 6.3). In 2000, the UNC had considerable goodwill from the national population and from the media which continued up to 2001, prior to the calling of early elections. The media reflected public perception, feelings and opinions of the national population at that time. When the fortunes of the UNC turned in because of a decline in national support, this was reflected in the newspapers public profiling. The fact that on average, they tended to be almost equally positive towards both PNM and UNC, at 1.8 percent and

1.5 percent, respectively (Table 6.3), supports the argument that the media generally strived to be objective in its coverage of both political parties during elections.

6.5 Coding of News Stories

Of the five frames coded during the three election campaigns (Appendix E: 327-400), politician as a personality was the most dominant theme widely used by the press, to frame the elections. Overall the dailies focussed more on other politicians when compared to the two political leaders, even though these leaders continued to generate considerable media attention, both negative and positive (Table 6.4). The focus on “other politicians” rather than “leaders” in the context of the dominance of the politician as a personality frame seems to deviate from the norm and will be discussed later in this chapter.

Table 6.4: Coding of news stories for 2001, 2002 & 2007 elections

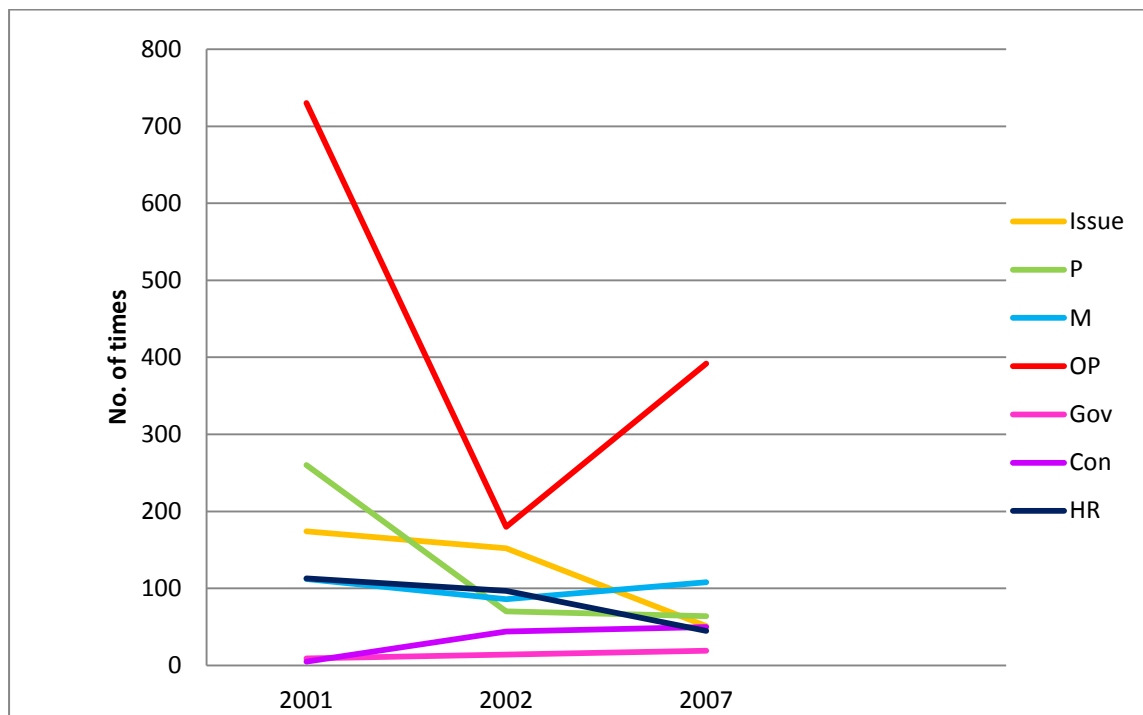
Year	Newspaper	Issue	Panday	Manning	Other Politicians	Governing	Conflict	Horse-race
2001	Express	152	330	114	764	19	3	97
	Guardian	212	155	109	592	6	4	81
	Newsday	159	294	112	834	2	8	160
2002	Express	113	94	89	155	7	48	90
	Guardian	195	49	60	143	16	46	79
	Newsday	150	68	109	241	18	38	122
2007	Express	44	75	109	469	21	81	74
	Guardian	63	64	178	502	35	51	34
	Newsday	45	53	37	206	2	17	26
Total		1133	1182	917	3906	126	296	763
Average		125.9	131.33	101.9	434	14	32.8	84.7

Issue frame was the second highest frame used by the media but this was comparatively lower when compared to politician as a personality frame. Horserace frame received an average amount of coverage which was surprising considering that it received the second highest frame in the 2000 election (see chapter 5). Conflict and Governing frames were low in ranking with the latter hardly been used at all (Table 6.4).

6.5.1 *Politician as Personality Frame:*

Politician as a personality was the frame most widely used by journalists to structure reportage on the three elections within the newspapers and this was in keeping with the analysis of the front pages. The newspapers focused mostly on other politicians from various political parties contesting the elections, on average of 434 times as compared to Mr Manning's 102 and Mr Panday's 131 times, when reporting on the news during the campaigns (see Table 6.4 and Figure 6.1). The new forces in the political arena therefore got ample coverage in the media to the extent that the space available was spread as well as shared. Perhaps this phenomenon reflected on a sub-conscious level, the search for new leadership had begun in Trinidad and Tobago and that even while traditional leaders continued to occupy centerstage; new forces, new personalities, and a new quest was emerging.

Figure 6.4: Trends in Frames for 2001, 2002 & 2007 elections



The heavy focus on other politicians other than the two political leaders during these three elections was somewhat unique to Trinidad and Tobago given that worldwide the trend was generally to presidentialize national elections. At the same time political leaders in Trinidad and Tobago continued to receive considerable coverage. For

example Barack Obama and Bill Clinton of the USA, Silvio Berlusconi of Italy and John Major of Britain were all raised to celebrity status by the media during their election campaigns. In 2001, the *Express* had the highest intensity of framing of Mr Panday as compared to the *Guardian* and *Newsday*. Similar trends were discerned in 2002 and 2007, although the volume was not as large as in 2001 (Table 6.4). At that time both the *Express* and the Prime Minister were engaged in hostile relations over corruption issues. In 2007, when Mr Manning was Prime Minister, he was framed with more intensity than Mr Panday which was the norm for persons sitting in the Prime Minister's chair (Table 6.4). In 2002, the framing of both political leaders dropped considerably with journalists focussing almost equally on the two (Figure 6.4).

The heavy focus on personalities between the period 2001 to 2007 with less attention paid to issues, horserace, conflict and governing frames suggest that the media were concerned about the leadership of the country in a situation in which both the Prime Minister and the Opposition Leader had fallen short of expectations. In 2001, Mr Maharaj appeared as a potential leader under Team Unity but the controversial circumstances under which he emerged created considerable distrust amongst certain elements of the society, especially the East Indian community who blamed him for the fall of the UNC government, while the African community probably surmised that if he could betray his own party, he could also betray the PNM. These reasons made it difficult for him to become a national leader.

In 2007, although the COP leader, Mr Winston Dookeran seemed an ideal candidate, he was not able to inspire and win over large segments of the population because of his lacklustre style and his perceived 'indecisiveness' as a leader. He also presented a less charismatic figure when compared to other leaders. The media framed those personalities whom they felt were most likely to emerge as leaders of the country in a situation in which the two traditional parties had had their fair chance of governance and had stymied the political system with their brand of leadership.

The dailies were less concerned about which party actually won the elections, the issues which they were using to leverage national support, superficial attempts at

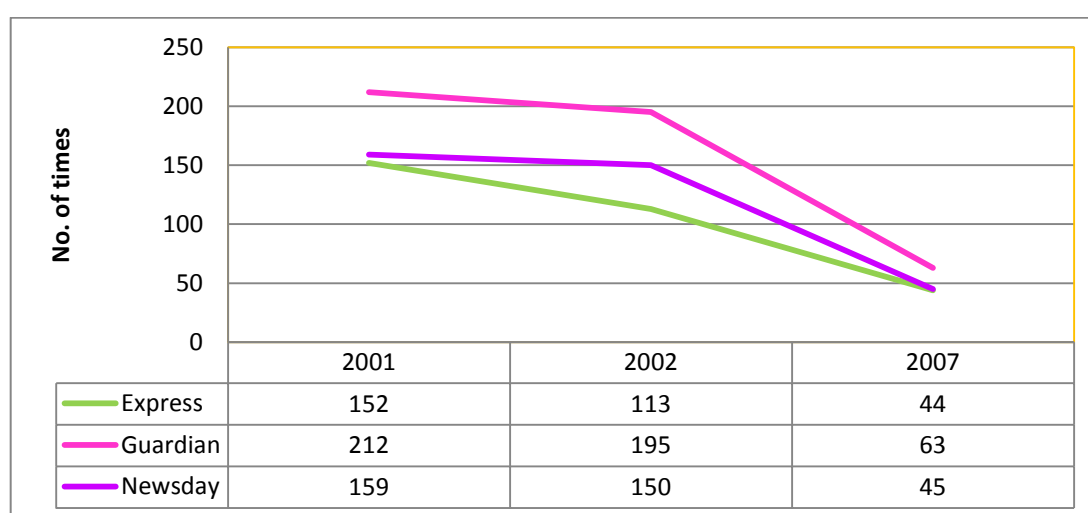
unity and coalition, and internal conflicts than the political personalities involved in the election process and the most likely candidate to move the country forward.

6.5.2 Issue Frame

Issue frames were the second highest frame used by journalists to frame the three elections. However, the wide disparity between personality and issue frames indicated moderate to low interest on issues overall and a preference for personality frames. Issues were framed on average of 126 times over the three campaign periods. Generally, there was a steady decline in interest in issues with a more pronounced decline in 2007 (figure 6.5).

Some of the issues which were reported on in 2001 included: corruption by high ranking UNC officials while in government; the Piarco Airport scandal relating to the disappearance of a TT\$50 million cheque; and the role of the Elections and Boundaries Commission as it related to voter padding and the conduct of elections in the country.

Figure 6.5: Trends in Issue Frame for 2001, 2002 & 2007 elections



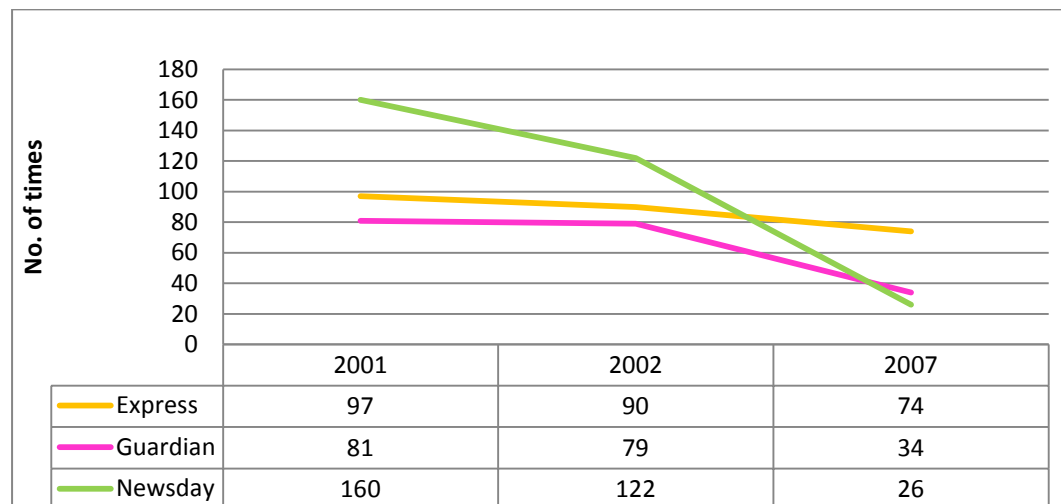
In 2002, the country was gripped by two major scandals: the charging of Mr Panday for not declaring a secret bank account in London while Prime Minister; and Mr Manning's liaisons with the Jamaal-al-Muslimeen which had led an attempted coup of the country, in 1990. The scandal of the huge bank account of TT\$52 million in UNC Minister Carlos John account was also the subject of media attention during that

period. In 2007 the issues reported included leadership challenges within the PNM and the UNC. Corruption and scandal talks were hardly reported on during the 2007 elections; however the negative publicity received by Mr Panday and members of his Cabinet, over allegations of corruption, in 2001 and 2002 would indelibly brand his government as ‘corrupt’ and its members as ‘thieves’ and continued to haunt his leadership and negatively impacted on his chances of becoming Prime Minister of the country again. It would also weaken his own leadership within the UNC and create the conditions for new leadership of the party to emerge.

6.5.3 Horserace frame

Over the three campaign periods, the press was moderately concerned about the contest between contending political parties and which party was likely to emerge victorious at the polls. Among frames used by journalists, horserace frame featured an average of 86 times (Table 6.4). Of the three dailies, the *Newsday* was more focussed on horserace framing with their interest peaking in 2001 and declining drastically in 2007 (Figure 6.6).

Figure 6.6: Trends in Horserace Frame for 2001, 2002 & 2007 elections

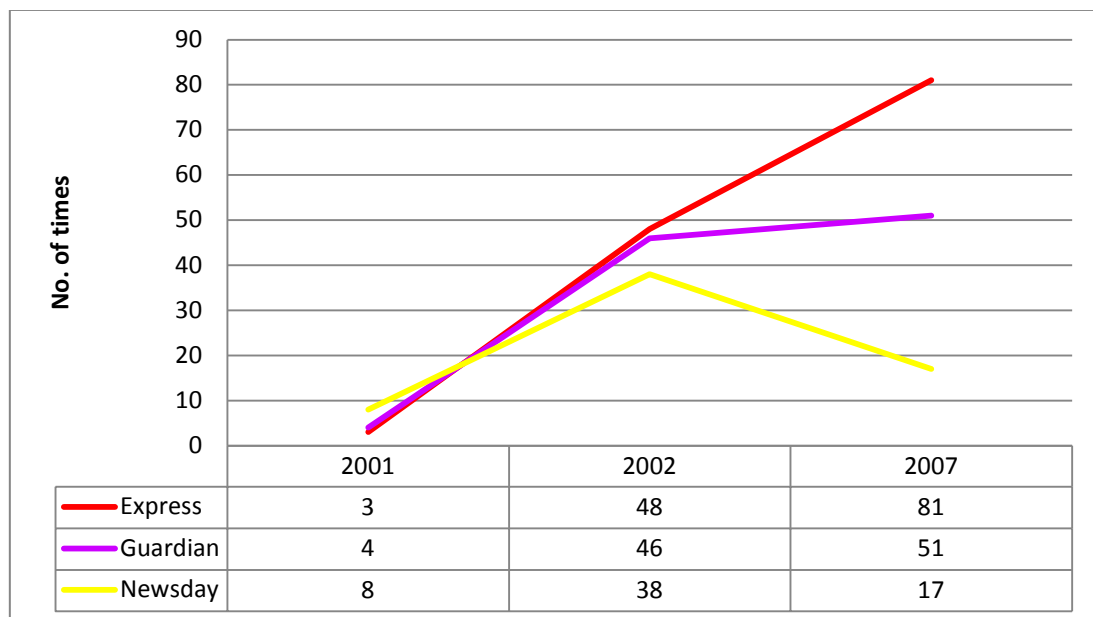


Generally the *Newsday* tended to focus more on news stories rather than commentaries because of the nature of that newspaper and the market it targeted. Both the *Guardian* and *Express* were steady in their use of the horserace frame, although there was declining interest in 2007.

6.5.4 Conflict Frame

Conflict frame continued to draw little interest with journalists shying away from conflicts between politicians and within political parties. In 2001, all three newspapers showed very little interest in conflicts however this interest steadily increased in 2002 and 2007 (Table 6.4). In 2007 especially, in both the *Guardian* and *Express* interest in conflicts peaked while the *Newsday* interest declined somewhat (figure 6.7). The *Express* had the most interest in conflicts of the three dailies and this was directly related to their own ongoing conflict with Mr Panday and their tendency to focus on matters which showed up Mr Panday's flaws especially his propensity to be conflict-prone. Likewise they focussed on conflicts within the leadership of the PNM so as to influence how both leaders were viewed by the public and their unsuitability for office. In comparison the COP leader and party were framed much more positively as an accommodating and unifying force.

Figure 6.7: Trends in Conflict Frame for 2001, 2002 & 2007 elections



In 2001, one of the major conflicts which engaged media attention concerned the fight between Mr Panday and Mr Maharaj over corruption. This conflict spilled over to a legal battle for the party symbol 'The Rising Sun'. Mr Maharaj lost the battle in the courts and Mr Panday was able to retain his symbol. Conflict also arose between Mr Panday and Mr Dookeran over leadership of the UNC with Mr Dookeran walking out of the party to form the COP. There were also conflicts between Mr Panday and Mrs

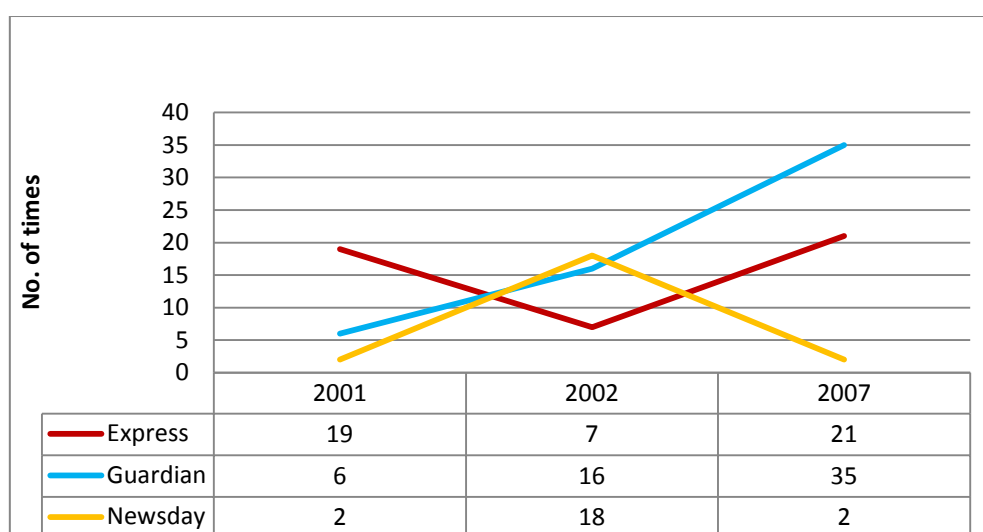
Persad-Bissessar and Mr Warner regarding succession issues. In each instance, Mr Panday was framed negatively by the press.

In 2007, the major conflict reported on in the PNM concerned the public fight between Mr Manning and his deputy political leader Mr Ken Valley in which Mr Valley accused Mr Manning of having dictatorial tendencies resulting in Mr Valley being rejected by the political leader as the party representative for his constituency.

6.5.5 Governing Frame (Unity and Coalition)

The three newspapers were consistently disinterested in governing frames only infrequently highlighting unity and coalition talks between coalition leaders. Although during this period there were various attempts at coalition between the UNC and dissident parties such as Team Unity and COP. This frame appeared an average 14 times when coded, making it the frame least used by journalists to report on the elections (Table 6.4).

Figure 6.8: Trends in Governing Frame for 2001, 2002 & 2007 elections



In 2001 the *Express* was most interested in unity talks but lost interest in 2002, picking up again in 2007. Conversely, the *Newsday* adopted a different point of view, showing least interest in 2001, however that interest peaked in 2002, and then waned drastically in 2007. The *Guardian* on the other hand had the most interest in unity talks throughout the three campaign periods. In 2007 that interest reached its highest with the increasing popularity of COP (figure 6.8). In 2001, unity talks were held

between the National Alliance for Reconstruction (NAR) and Team Unity. An accommodation of sorts was also bandied about between Team Unity and the PNM although those talks were hardly reported on by the press. In 2002 unity talks were drummed up again, this time between UNC and smaller political parties resulting in the formation of an UNC Alliance. Much excitement was created with the possibility of an alliance between the UNC Alliance and COP, to fight that election. However, these talks dissipated when it was perceived that unity between these two parties was not genuine and turned out to be a contrived strategy by the UNC, to defeat the PNM.

6.5.6 Bias scale for News Stories

An initial reading of the news stories sampled indicated there were more balanced news stories than positive and negative stories on the UNC and PNM. On average there were close to 19 balanced frames when compared to the number of positive and negative frames on the UNC and PNM

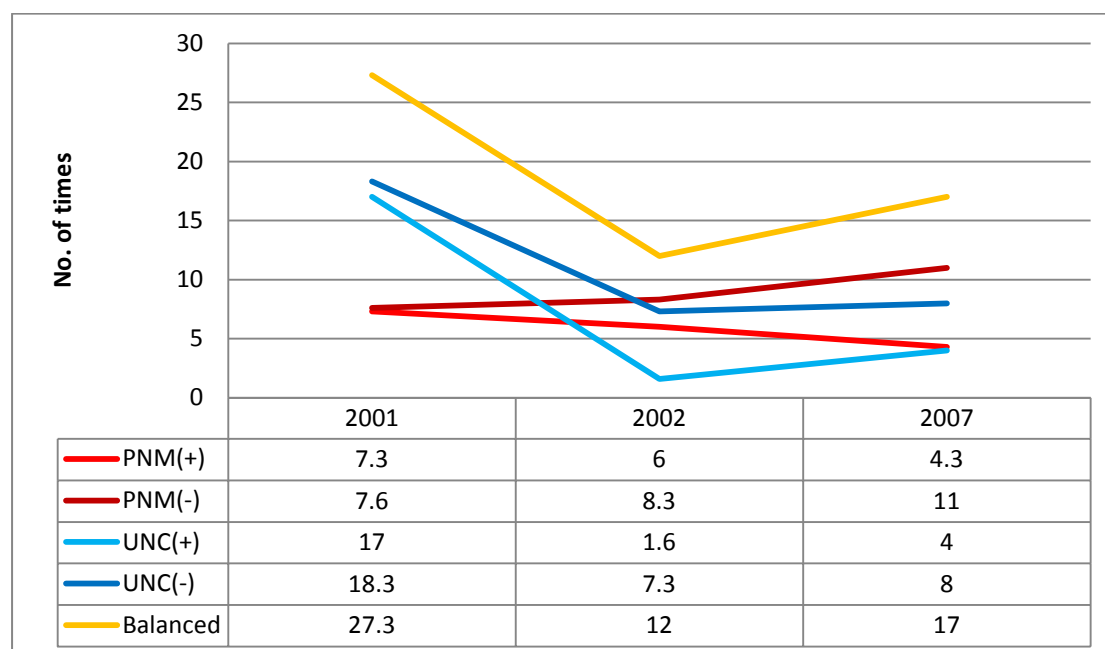
Table 6.5: Bias scale for news stories for 2001, 2002 & 2007 elections

Year		PNM		UNC		Balanced
		+	-	+	-	
2001	Express	5	11	15	22	32
	Guardian	9	7	13	13	20
	Newsday	8	5	23	20	30
2002	Express	5	10	2	9	13
	Guardian	5	11	1	3	11
	Newsday	8	4	2	10	12
2007	Express	3	9	4	12	22
	Guardian	5	23	7	8	16
	Newsday	5	1	1	4	13
Total		53	81	68	101	169
Average		5.8	9	7.5	11.2	18.7

During the period, the press had more positive frames on the UNC, 7.5 times compared to the PNM's 5.8 times. However, they continued to also have more negative frames on the UNC: 11 compared to the PNM's nine (Table 6.5). Based on these figures, it can be concluded that the dailies tended to be balanced in their

reportage of news stories, however, when they did report on the UNC they tended to be more negative in their framing of news stories.

Figure 6.9: Trends in Bias in frames for 2001, 2002 & 2007 elections



The same rationale holds for the comparably higher negativity towards the UNC even though overall the press aimed for balance and objectivity, as found in the initial reading for bias in the front pages of the three dailies (see pages 8-10).

6.6 Qualitative content analysis for 2001, 2002 and 2007 elections

6.6.1 Editorials

Analysis of editorials relating to three campaign periods: 2001(9 Nov - 10 Dec), 2002 (28 Aug - 7 Oct) and 2007 (28 Sept - 5 Nov) in the three dailies demonstrated that editors were interested in the leadership of political parties and how they dealt with issues such as crime, corruption and leadership challenges. They were also very concerned about the role of the Election and Boundaries Commission (EBC) in executing its duties in conducting fair elections in the country. Each of the three newspapers tended to focus more on a particular leader and certain issues. But

generally, whosoever was the sitting Prime Minister, that person became the center of media attention, during their period in government.

6.6.2 Corruption

Editors of all three dailies made corruption one of the main issues on the agenda during the 2001 and 2002 elections, framing Mr Panday and the UNC government as corrupt even in the absence of concrete evidence and in spite of Mr Panday's consistent defence of himself and his party. On November 17, in an editorial entitled "US\$50,000 mystery",¹⁴⁵ the editor openly condemned the disappearance of a cheque given to Mr Panday by party supporters for funding the UNC political campaign. The cheque was made out in Mr Panday's name and was purportedly deposited in the UNC's account. The editor metaphorically stated that unless Mr Panday cleared up the "mystery of the whereabouts of the US\$50,000 cheque...the issue will remain like the legendary sword of Damocles hanging over his head"¹⁴⁶. In a follow up article entitled "Unseemly spectacle"¹⁴⁷ the editor used powerful imagery of dogs on the hunt to insinuate that the police and investigators were hot on the trail "sniffing their tracks"¹⁴⁸ in investigating the disappearance of the cheque. In 2002, in an editorial entitled "Man of Integrity"¹⁴⁹ reference was made to the huge sum of TT\$52 million being deposited in Mr Carlos John's personal account while he was a UNC Government Minister (see page 14). In a following editorial "The whole truth,"¹⁵⁰ the editor again raised the topic of corruption this time mentioning the Piarco Airport project in which projects were awarded to friends of the UNC government, without proper tendering process being followed. The *Newsday* sarcastically stated that the UNC government was in denial in a form of "self-hypnosis" about allegations of corruption, preferring to see everyone as "political enemies" and that "it is a source of annoyance for the press to be continuously asking questions about non-existent corruption in the government."¹⁵¹

¹⁴⁵Guardian, 17th November, 2001 p 14

¹⁴⁶ Ibid

¹⁴⁷ Guardian, 30th November, 2001 p. 16

¹⁴⁸ Ibid

¹⁴⁹ Newsday, 11th September, 2002 p. 10

¹⁵⁰ Newsday 16th September, 2002, p. 10

¹⁵¹ "Poor Mr. Yetming" Newsday, 25th December, 2001 p.10

The continued insistence by the press in linking Mr Panday and his government to corrupt practices made Mr Panday defensive and created very hostile and distrustful relations between the press and the government. Mr Panday, not one to shy away from conflict and confrontation, used hostile rhetoric and vivid imagery to paint TV6 which was part of Caribbean Communications Network (CCN), which also owned the *Express*, as the “enemy” describing TV6 as the “devil...and the *Express* as the son of the devil” and called on party loyalists “to train their guns on that house”¹⁵² The *Express* countered by personally attacking Mr Panday. In an editorial entitled “Sowing the seeds of confusion, anger”¹⁵³ they insisted that the problem within the UNC was Mr Panday and referred to him as “a huge stumbling block”¹⁵⁴ because he “refuses to give way”¹⁵⁵, a man “consumed by ego”¹⁵⁶ and who continued “to shake the UNC Alliance to its always shaky foundation”¹⁵⁷. The *Express* was even more distrustful of him since they felt that he wanted “to win the prime minster through the back door”.¹⁵⁸ The suggestion being that Mr Panday was willing to manipulate the Trinidad and Tobago’s constitution in order to stay in power. The *Express* further defended their position, insisting that theirs were “a sacred trust... to help guard the society that it served from the consequences of the corrupting influences that prey on power.”¹⁵⁹ Mr Panday and the UNC were never able to recover from the press insistence on framing his government as corrupt, negatively impacting on his chances of becoming Prime Minister again while weakening him considerably as political leader of the UNC.

6.6.3 *Crime*

Rising crime levels was one of the main issues addressed by editors during the campaigns. During the 2002 and 2007 period when Mr Manning was Prime Minister, he neglected to address this issue which had most nationals living in fear in the country. Added to which his alliance with the Jamaat-al-Muslimeen was very

¹⁵² “Old tactics don’t fool” *Express*, 24th November, 2001 p. 10

¹⁵³ *Express*, 6th October, 2007 p. 12

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid*

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid*

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid*

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid*

¹⁵⁸ “Back-door power play from Panday”, 11th October, 2007 p. 12

¹⁵⁹ *Express*, 24th November, 2001 p. 10

disturbing since this radical group was viewed as ‘criminal’ having held the country and the State media to ransom, during the 1990 coup.

The *Guardian* highlighted the devastating effect of crime in an editorial entitled “Deadly threat to national well-being”¹⁶⁰ and chided Mr Manning for being predictable for implying that there might be political motives behind kidnappings. Mr Manning again was the target of the editorial pen in a follow up editorial entitled “No, dismissing crime, Mr PM”¹⁶¹ The editor berated Mr Manning for “engaging in political finger pointing” stating that he had no one to blame but himself since crime had risen under his watch as Prime Minister. In an editorial entitled “Little more than election speech by Mr Manning”¹⁶² The editor showed how Mr Manning had doctored the statistics on crime to fool the population. The editor more or less stated that Mr Manning was lying and referred to his statement as “dodgy”¹⁶³ and “vague political spiel”¹⁶⁴ which “contained an unfortunate amount of faulty reasoning.”¹⁶⁵ During the campaign of 2007, the editor again highlighted the issue of crime and stated that the PNM was treating this serious issue like another public relations job.¹⁶⁶ Editors were concerned about Mr Manning’s lack of judgement and his inability to deal with serious issues facing the country.

6.6.4 Readiness of the EBC to hold elections

One of the most important issues addressed over the entire campaign period was the readiness of the Elections and Boundaries Commission (EBC) to conduct elections. The EBC; created to conduct free and fair elections and meant to be independent, became a matter for discussion in editorials. The rapid turnover of the three elections in seven years, from 2000 to 2007 raised the issue of the readiness of the Commission to conduct elections at short notice. Editors were generally defensive of the EBC from assaults by various governments which in desperation to win elections as a means of retaining power, tried to erode its independence so as to have a greater influence in the electioneering process. Editors urged the EBC to defend its integrity by

¹⁶⁰ *Guardian*, 1st September, 2002 p. 14

¹⁶¹ *Guardian*, 8th September, 2002 p. 12

¹⁶² *Guardian*, 14th September, 2002 p. 14

¹⁶³ *Ibid*

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid*

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid*

¹⁶⁶ *Guardian*, 21st October, 2002 p. 28

strengthening its structure, protecting its commissioners and striving for professionalism and non-partisanship in the conduct of its business at all times.

In a 2001 editorial entitled “Disturbing signs from the EBC”¹⁶⁷ the *Express* editor made it apparent that he/she did not believe that the EBC was ready to hold elections and expected “an impending fiasco”¹⁶⁸ to happen since they had been verifying the voters’ list while preparing for election. The *Guardian* editor on the other hand took a more measured approach to the EBC, and described calls for postponement of elections as an “over-reaction”¹⁶⁹ stating that “the condition of the voters’ list owed much to traditional disregard by voters of their obligation to notify the EBC of changes of address.”¹⁷⁰ The *Newsday* editor had a similar view to that of the *Express* in that they also did not believe that the Commission was ready for election and in fact felt it had a “credibility problem.”¹⁷¹ In a follow up article, they questioned the fitness of one of the Commissioners, Mr Raoul John to sit on the Commission stating that it was “a conflict of interest” since Mr John was also President of Trinidad and Tobago Chamber of Industry and Commerce at that time.¹⁷²

In 2002, the editor of the *Express* had a change of opinion, moving from criticizing the EBC to calling it “a bedrock of democracy”¹⁷³ and openly defended the Commission as “doing the best job it can, given the circumstances and the limitations imposed upon it by decades of government neglect.”¹⁷⁴ The more sympathetic attitude towards the EBC by all three dailies suggested that they felt that the EBC was a scapegoat for politicians who wanted to have greater influence over its electioneering machinery in order to stay in power. The *Guardian* continued to be sympathetic towards the EBC, in light of deteriorating relations between the EBC and the PNM party which they felt was akin to “assault”¹⁷⁵ and “in danger of being set up as a scapegoat.”¹⁷⁶ In a follow up editorial entitled “EBC timely peace move”¹⁷⁷, the

¹⁶⁷ *Express*, 16th November, 2001 p. 10

¹⁶⁸ *Ibid*

¹⁶⁹ “Spectre of razor’s edge” *Guardian*, 13th November, 2002 p. 14

¹⁷⁰ *Ibid*

¹⁷¹ “More EBC confusion”, *Newsday* 10th November, 2002 p. 10

¹⁷² “Mr. John again”, *Newsday*, 16th November, 2002, p 10

¹⁷³ “EBC doing as best it can”, *Express*, 28th September, 2002 p. 10

¹⁷⁴ *Ibid*

¹⁷⁵ ‘EBC needs help, not scapegoating’, *Guardian*, 19th September, 2002 p 19

¹⁷⁶ *Ibid*

editor commended the EBC for “moving with the times” and called on politicians and the public to support the EBC.¹⁷⁸ The *Newsday* editor was also sympathetic towards the EBC. In an editorial entitled “Dirty Challenges,”¹⁷⁹ the editor indicated that there was a “diabolical plan”¹⁸⁰ involved than voter padding which was to challenge the registration of voters in marginal constituencies calling the challengers “unscrupulous people”¹⁸¹, “corrupters”¹⁸², “enemies of our country...with a criminal mind”¹⁸³. In a follow up article, the editor urged the EBC to become more vocal regarding “fraudulent practices taking place in the marginal constituencies,”¹⁸⁴ insisting that the Commission could no longer keep quiet because of the “constitutional independence”¹⁸⁵; it enjoyed, since it must now “accept the fact that it has lost its innocence.”¹⁸⁶

In 2007, the issues of irregularities concerning the voting machinery and the issue of voter padding and queries about the voting list in the marginal constituencies, all but disappeared with the EBC being mentioned in passing by the editors. There were no further comments by editors of both the *Express and Newsday* on this issue. It is not certain what caused this change in reporting, whether editorial decision or whether the EBC itself had done some work to clear up some of the accusations levelled at it. However, the *Guardian* while inferring that there were irregularities still gave the EBC a thumbs up saying “that all seems to be well”¹⁸⁷ and that the Commission comprised “commissioners of experience and integrity”¹⁸⁸. However the editor ominously closed by stating “the nation will be watching them closely”¹⁸⁹ in their central role of “preserving and enhancing our democracy”¹⁹⁰ since they are expected “to perform at the highest possible standard of efficiency and fairness on election day.”¹⁹¹

¹⁷⁷ Sunday Guardian, 22nd September, 2002 p. 10

¹⁷⁸ Ibid

¹⁷⁹ Newsday, 21st September, 2002 p. 10

¹⁸⁰ Ibid

¹⁸¹ Ibid

¹⁸² Ibid

¹⁸³ Ibid

¹⁸⁴ Newsday, 3rd October, 2002, p. 10

¹⁸⁵ Ibid

¹⁸⁶ Ibid

¹⁸⁷ “Preserving democracy”, Guardian, 3rd November, 2007, p. 26

¹⁸⁸ Ibid

¹⁸⁹ Ibid

¹⁹⁰ Ibid

¹⁹¹ Ibid

6.7 Commentaries

6.7.1 *Language reflected the mood of the country*

During the 2001 campaign there was increased cynicism by columnists toward politicians and high levels of disenchantment with the politics and the political system. An election weary population was fast becoming frustrated with politicians who were not willing to make the changes needed to propel the society forward when elected to government and with the inherited Westminster political system which they felt perpetuated the election of leaders and corruption within the political system, because of the structure of the majoritarian system, in which the winner took it all.

Express columnist Lloyd Best captured the mood of the country in one of his articles, stating that the country was “in a state of rebellion, whatever ostensibly the side. We’re not fools; we know a slippery slope. And yet there’s no simple escape”¹⁹². Burka Rennie wrote in the *Guardian* “Politics in T&T has been reduced to the ridiculous...It is a total breakdown that has taken place.”¹⁹³ Tony Fraser also wrote in the *Guardian* about the disappointment of the campaign asking rhetorically that if no party emerged with a clear majority “how are these politicians to convince the society they have the integrity and capacity to rise above their vulgar and petty selves in the national interest?”¹⁹⁴ Fraser lamented that none of the contending parties had any serious proposals to deal with constitutional reform and party funding. *Guardian* columnist Percy Cezair captured the mood later on when he said “unless whoever forms the new Government recognises that there must be and seeks to implement drastic changes to the entire system, it may sound alarming, the system may be heading toward destabilisation.”¹⁹⁵ Cezair, like Fraser, insisted that unless politicians embark on constitutional reform, things would remain the same.

By the time of the 2002 election, less than eight months after the last election in 2001, columnists had exhausted most of the serious issues to write about. They continued to mull over campaign rhetoric in the absence of any serious discussions, reflecting the overall despondent mood of the country and citizens’ weariness of elections and

¹⁹² *Express*, 17th November, 2001 p. 11

¹⁹³ *Guardian*, 5th December, 2001 p. 5

¹⁹⁴ *Guardian* 6th December, 2000 p. 17

¹⁹⁵ *Guardian*, 11th December, 2001 p.19

politicians on the whole. At three elections over three years (2000, 2001, 2002), at a rate of one election per year, and campaign periods stretching indefinitely, placed undue stress on columnists to find new stories to write about. Added to which their increased cynicism and disillusionment with politicians and the political system made it difficult to write anything meaningful.

However, in 2007, the PNM had successfully run its full five year term in office and the mood of the country had become more optimistic with the emergence of a third party and talks of unity and accommodation. The spotlight was turned on the Congress of the People (COP) political leader Mr Winston Dookeran who excited the population with his talk of ‘new politics’.

6.7.2 Governance by political leaders

The commentaries of all three newspapers reflected the growing disenchantment with the Panday government and distrust of politicians generally which were displayed in the highly critical language used to describe the political leader of the UNC and Prime Minister at that time. Political pundits such as Lloyd Best, in writing about Panday stated: “Maximum leadership has been exposed in all its omnipotent importance and, irrespective of their sides, all and sundry see through it”¹⁹⁶ In a follow up article, Best continued “The moment Panday came to office; it was like an entire constituency of smart-men saw opportunity”.¹⁹⁷ *Express* columnist Lennox Grant described Mr Panday “as a campaigner-orator, performer, stand-up comic, ever-calculating manipulator”¹⁹⁸ Selwyn Ryan in the *Express* continued in similar vein, insisting that Mr Panday “has been a dismal failure...he found it difficult to make the transition from political pugilist to statesman”¹⁹⁹. Ryan further indicated that his regime was associated with corruption and State plunder. Columnist Suzanne Mills wrote in the *Newsday*: “There is strong anti-Hindu, Panday, UNC and EBC sentiment in the country accompanied by awful undertones of “All Indians thief and they going to

¹⁹⁶ *Express*, 24th November, 2001 p.

¹⁹⁷ *Express*, 17th November, 2001 p.11

¹⁹⁸ *Guardian* 23rd November, 2001 p.15

¹⁹⁹ *Express*, 18th November, 2001 p. 13

steal the election.”²⁰⁰ Mills further wrote about “lack of trust ...and echoes of animosity” towards Mr Panday by the general population.²⁰¹

Mr Manning also attracted media attention because of his highly unpopular decisions which did not auger well with the national population such as aligning with the perpetrators of the 1990 coup, the Jamaat-al-Muslimeen and his decision to hire friends and family to key Ministerial positions in his Cabinet²⁰². The *Express* columnist Raoul Pantin stated that Mr Manning had made “a colossal blunder”²⁰³ and that he was leading the country down a similar path as Jamaica, where politicians allegedly linked with known criminals to win elections.²⁰⁴ Similarly, Raffique Shah also questioned Mr Manning’s tactics pronouncing that he was “digging his own political grave”²⁰⁵ by collaborating with the Muslimeen. Both *Express* columnists alluded to Mr Manning’s early ties to the insurrectionists in 1990 when it was alleged that Mr. Manning was informed of the coup prior to it taking place. But while they felt that Mr Manning had made a serious blunder, they also felt that Mr Panday was exploiting Mr Manning’s lapse in judgement by insinuating that the country’s democracy led by the PNM would be heavily influenced by this radical Muslim group. Trinidad and Tobago have always prided itself as a mosaic of cultures in which all ethnicities had the freedom to practise their religions. The fear that one radical Muslim group could infringe on that freedom by heavily influencing national policies together with the memory of the 1990 coup disturbed the non-Muslim segments of the national population especially the large Hindu community which generally formed the base of the UNC party. Ryan succinctly stated that Mr Panday was using the information “to terrorize the population especially Indians and middle class persons”²⁰⁶ and to distract from accusations of corruption.

6.7.3 Race

Most columnists of all three newspapers continued to show considerable maturity in their discussions on race, preferring to caution leaders to desist from appealing to race

²⁰⁰ Newsday, 18th November, 2001 p. 10

²⁰¹ Ibid

²⁰² Mr. Manning had appointed his wife to his Cabinet and as Minister of Education

²⁰³ Express 15th September, 2002 p. 11

²⁰⁴ Ibid

²⁰⁵ Ibid

²⁰⁶ Ibid

during the campaign. Although columnists were generally critical of Mr Panday's leadership, they openly credited him for his inclusionist policy which was more attractive to non-Indians as compared to the PNM though they felt that he used the race card to his advantage. Selwyn Ryan commended Mr Panday for ethnic and class inclusion saying that he must be "given credit for helping the society to manage a soft landing on the ethnic issue in December 1995"²⁰⁷. In a follow up article Ryan countered "He plays the race, religious and secular nationalist card with the dexterity of a three-card con artist".²⁰⁸ Columnist Indira Maharaj also credited Panday for the multi-racial composition of the UNC party and ushering a new era of politics of accommodation and inclusion.

There were some strong pro-UNC views by certain columnists who regarded race as the determining factor in certain national policies by the PNM. For example *Express* columnist Indira Maharaj accused the PNM of having a racial cultural policy when she argued that the "peripheralization of Indian culture and authentic African culture was the order of the day"²⁰⁹. This she said was reflected in the imbalance of Indian recipients who received national awards. *Express* columnist Sat Maharaj used a similar argument, accusing the PNM of using education to exploit children to perpetuate "cultural and social engineering"²¹⁰ not for nation building purposes but from his point of view to service a more sinister objective. Similarly, Anand Ramlogan, writing in 2001 alluded to race being a main factor in the PNM's cultural policy which he felt marginalized and alienated the Indian population while deliberately stifling Indian culture. He also accused the PNM of discriminating against Indian politicians in the Cabinet.²¹¹ Mr Ramlogan was a renowned lawyer who had built a reputation fighting for persons who had been denied promotions in the public service because of political victimization²¹². Mr Ramlogan was expressing views shared by certain elements within the East Indian community who felt that the PNM was deliberately alienating East Indians through racist national policies, in order to maintain political power. It also showed the deep distrust which existed between

²⁰⁷ *Express*, 18th November, 2001 p. 13

²⁰⁸ *Guardian*, 25th November, 2001 p. 13

²⁰⁹ *Express*, 16th November, 2001 p.11

²¹⁰ *Guardian*, 7th December, 2001 p. 17

²¹¹ *Guardian* 7th September, 2002 p. 15

²¹² He joined the UNC during the 2010 elections and became Attorney General of the country under the Peoples Partnership.

the two largest ethnic groups in the country on matters related to race, culture, political power relations and economic distribution.

Express columnist Raffique Shah lamented that even though political leaders have tried to bridge the gap between the races that Trinidadians continued to be identified by their ethnicity so that Indians were automatically assumed to be UNC and Africans, PNM.²¹³ Shah forewarned that if nationals did not check themselves, the country could be torn apart. However while the latent racial feelings from the East Indian segment of the population threatened to spill over, newspapers allowed ample space for the airing of these views without making them the most dominant theme, during elections.

6.7.4 Gender becomes a main factor in election

For the first time in the history of Trinidad and Tobago's politics, gender became a major factor in an internal party election - Mrs Kamala Persad-Bissessar emerged as the first female within the UNC to contest the post of party leader. This country's politics was mostly male-dominated with the UNC typically viewed as a men's club. Many felt that Mrs Kamla Persad-Bissessar's place in politics was as a result of the patronage of her mentor and political leader, Mr Basdeo Panday. In fact, Mrs Persad-Bissessar, on several occasions, proved her loyalty to her leader by stepping aside, based on his request: for instance after a short stint as Attorney General to make way for Mr Ramesh Lawrence Maharaj. Many felt that Mrs Persad-Bissessar; an accomplished lawyer in her own right was deserving of the position and was simply being sidelined by transfer to another Ministry because of her gender²¹⁴. Mrs Persad-Bissessar did not protest. However, when history proved unkind to her a second time and she was publicly sidelined for the position of political leader of the UNC by her leader; she received tremendous support by various columnists in all three dailies. Columnists reflected the general feeling on the ground that Mrs Persad-Bissessar was deserving of the position and some even expressed the view that she was a strong contender for Prime Minister of the country. Mrs Persad-Bissessar attempts to ascend the highest office in her party found sympathy with females who were facing similar challenges in their workplace in the country or at home where some might have felt

²¹³ *Express* 1st November, 2002 p. 12

²¹⁴ Mrs. Persad-Bissessar was appointed as Minister of Education

suppressed. Women in Trinidad and Tobago had surpassed males in education and many had reached top positions in their jobs; however chief executive officer positions were still dominated by males and the board rooms by and large remained a male domain. On the other hand, domestic violence seemed to be a growing phenomenon in the country. These factors may well have been working subliminally, waiting for a female political leader and identification with Mrs Persad-Bissessar's challenges flowed into an emerging current and helped strengthen it. *Guardian* columnist Dana Seetahal wrote:

“It seems to me that the UNC is not only a Panday fiefdom, but it is one where women are expected to perform a subsidiary role, as in the women's contingent, not really at one with the big boys.”²¹⁵

Similarly *Express* columnist Bunny Rambhajan wrote of Mrs Persad-Bissessar inability as a female to be taken seriously within the party:

“Panday may have seen Persad-Bissessar as a protégée, maybe even as a daughter, and her competence and ability are obvious. But I suspect that he has never seen her, and will never see her as a real peer, or an equal. After all she is just a woman”²¹⁶

Suzanne Shepherd in the *Newsday* stated that “Kamla, more than any other woman in TT's recent political history has come close to shattering the glass ceiling more than once, only to be shunted aside.”²¹⁷

Express columnist Judy Raymond shared a different view of Mrs Persad-Bissessar stating that her rising popularity based on gender was new to her since she had considered herself part of the boys and latched on to the issue of gender reluctantly only when she could not attain party leadership. This is Judy Raymond's writing cryptically:

²¹⁵ *Guardian* 14th October, 2007 p. 35

²¹⁶ *Express* 7th October, 2007 p. 12

²¹⁷ *Newsday* 14th October, 2007 p. 12

“I think she just remembered she’s a woman: as far as I remembered, she never said anything about women until Panday turned her into one...after all, if you want to get ahead in a boy’s club, you have to act like one of the boys”²¹⁸

Although most columnists bestowed praises on her for the dignified way in which she handled her public humiliation, there was a sense of frustration with her that she continued to play the role of subservient follower and bow to the whims of the party leader. Raffique Shah wrote:

“ Never before, though, have I witnessed a woman shafted by men at the same time in front of 40,000 people, and take it with a smile...amazing, I tell you. She swallowed pride, prejudice, and womanhood, all in a few gulps.”²¹⁹

The issue of gender, based on the rising popularity of Mrs Persad-Bissessar had begun to take form in 2007 and came to full fruition by the time of the 2010 election, in which she emerged as Prime Minister of the country.

6.7.5 Coalition/Unity talks between the UNC Alliance and COP

The third party which arose because of a fall out within the UNC, brought renewed hope while exciting the population with the possibility of change in the politics of Trinidad and Tobago, similar to what occurred in 1986 when the National Alliance for Reconstruction (NAR) emerged victorious in that election, after 30 consecutive years of rule by a single party.

However, there was a general feeling of scepticism among columnists as to whether genuine accommodation and unity talks could be forged between the COP and the UNC. According to *Guardian’s* columnist John La Guerre, this was partly due to the manner in which these talks were conducted with Mr Panday extending an invitation to the COP leader, Mr Winston Dookeran on the one hand while referring to his party as a “corpse”.²²⁰ His co-leader Mr Jack Warner worsened the situation by trying to

²¹⁸ Express 21st October, 2007 p. 12

²¹⁹ Express 14th October, 2007 p. 12

²²⁰ Guardian 30th September, 2007 p. 21

force unity talks by what Dana Seetahal referred to as “attempted intimidation.”²²¹ Seetahal further stated that Mr Panday was the greatest hindrance to unity and his efforts hypocritical since “he had emasculated the titular leader in front of the whole world”²²² and for Mr Dookeran to accept would be tantamount to “political suicide”.²²³

Both Selwyn Ryan and Hamid Ghany opined that should Mr Dookeran accept Mr Panday’s invitation to join the UNC, there would be “massive haemorrhaging from the COP”²²⁴ and he would lose “any credibility as a serious political leader in the society.”²²⁵ Ghany further stated that part of the attractiveness of the COP “is based on the venom that the UNC leadership has poured over Winston Dookeran”²²⁶ and that he would lose a large portion of the UNC heartland should he join with the UNC Alliance.

From the analysis, evidence pointed to partisanship by columnists towards the COP and its leader Mr Winston Dookeran who was viewed as

“An individual political leader, his slate is fairly clean going into the 2007 elections. He has no past history of pursuing personal agendas at the expense of party and nation, no ...of being haunted with corruption and no tendency to savage individuals...”²²⁷ (Fraser 2007).

This clean image and slate represented by the COP was a direct contrast to that presented by the two traditional parties and columnists were afraid that the new force would be corrupted by the parent party, thereby stymying the development of politics in the country. As a consequence several of them were opposed to any form of coalition.

²²¹ Guardian 30th September, 2007 p. 31

²²² Dana Seetahal was referring to Mr. Dookeran being forced out of the UNC after being elected political leader, by Mr. Panday who refused to relinquish the position to him.

²²³ Ibid

²²⁴ Express 28th October, 2007 p.11

²²⁵ Guardian 21st October, 2007 p. 30

²²⁶ Ibid

²²⁷ Guardian 3rd October, 2007 p. 31

6.8 Conclusion

6.8.1 Content analysis

Content analysis of all three newspapers, over the three campaign periods disclosed that although the three dailies strived for balance in their covers and reporting of news, inside the newspapers; there was a tendency for them to be more negative towards the UNC and its political leader when compared to the PNM. Also, in determining their news agenda, editors and journalists were inclined to frame political personalities including the two political leaders in their daily coverage of campaigns, along the issue of leadership.

Balance achieved was most likely as a result of the increased professionalism by editors within media houses which ensured that partisan and structural biases were kept in check, in a situation in which newsrooms were staffed by journalists and media practitioners of diverse political orientations. Trinidad and Tobago is a plural society in which media and politics are closely linked with a number of journalists developing close relations with certain political parties and politicians. The smallness of the country in which most people know each other and the crossing over of media personnel to politics and vice versa would make it difficult for media houses to employ persons who were not aligned politically. However, the strict adherence to the editorial process, as well as self-censorship mechanisms such as media code of ethics ensured that biases were reigned in early in the editing process.

The tendency to be more negative towards the UNC while focussing mostly on the political leader, Mr Panday was directly related to allegations of corruption, in-party fighting among the UNC executive members and scandals which dominated the UNC regime and which followed them when they demitted office. Journalists reported the news as they unfolded daily, without giving opinions. Both negative and positive stories were given prominence on front pages based on their currency and newsworthiness. However, evidence points to editorial and reporters' bias in selection of news items and which determined the daily agenda of the newspapers. This evidence points to a tendency, to select headlines and news items related to corruption and conflict in the UNC, which reflected negatively on the Panday regime.

A similar trend was discerned with the PNM, with all three newspapers becoming increasingly negative towards the PNM from 2001 to 2007, while earlier they were consistently negative towards the UNC. However, the number of negative headlines on the UNC was comparably more than the PNM's. Editors of the three dailies generally reported events as they unfolded each day and since both parties had their fair share of scandals and conflicts, these were reported on as they occurred. The increasingly negative headlines attributed to the PNM suggest that whichever government was in office, they were most likely to be held up for public scrutiny by the press.

In terms of frames, politician as a personality was the most popular frame used with other politicians besides the two political leaders as personalities being highly framed by journalists. The focus on personality frame indicated that the press was concerned about the leadership of the country and in ensuring that the right person was chosen as Prime Minister. Over the seven years under review, two other leaders emerged from the formation of new political parties: Mr Ramesh Maharaj of Team Unity in 2001 and Mr Winston Dookeran of COP in 2007; but both were rejected by the national population. In the case of the COP leader, evidence points to partisan bias towards Mr Dookeran. However, even though he received considerable support from the press, he was unsuccessful in winning over enough of the national population to win a constituency seat in Parliament. In this situation, the press was unable to influence the outcome of the 2007 elections, even though Mr Dookeran was pitted as the most suitable candidate to win the elections and lead the country.

The issue frame was the second most popular frame used by journalist. However when compared to politician as a personality frame, this frame was used moderately reaching an all time low in 2007. Issues were discussed infrequently during the campaigns and generally journalists reported what were discussed by politicians on political platforms. The other frames: horserace, conflict and governing frames were used even less over the three years with *Newsday* focussing on horserace mostly and the *Express* on conflicts. The *Guardian* was more concerned about governing frame; this frame being defined as unity and talks which held the possibility of leading to a coalition.

6.8.2 Editorials

The dominant issues which engaged editorial attention and became part of the agenda of the campaigns were corruption as it related to political office held by the Panday Government and fear of corrupting political influences on the fairness of the independent election authority, the Elections and Boundaries Commission (EBC). Governance issues such as managing high crime levels and political affiliations with criminal elements in the society were also of major concern to editors.

Regarding corruption, evidence points to editors, especially those in the *Express* framing Mr Panday and his government as corrupt even when there was no clear evidence to support these allegations. Mr Panday's refusal to admit guilt and insistence that his party had done no wrong, further antagonised the media. The fact that over the three election periods Mr Panday adopted a very confrontational and combative stance towards the media, largely contributed to the hostility directed at him, by the press and worsened the situation.

Additionally, the Chief Executive Officer of the *Express*, Mr Ken Gordon was involved in a bitter court battle against Mr Panday in which Mr Gordon accused Mr Panday of calling him a pseudo-racist. In such circumstances, relations between the *Express* and Mr Panday worsened and affected the slant and tone of the *Express* editorials which tended to veer on the negative side as shown in their less than flattering assessment of Mr Panday's character; their distrust of his motives in picking Mr Jack Warner as the UNC leader over Mrs Persad-Bissessar; and strong condemnation of his handling of the gender issue in his party. One can conclude based on the evidence above that the *Express* exhibited structural bias against Mr Panday, in their editorials, during these three elections.

On the other hand, editors were unforgiving of Mr Manning's flippant attitude to serious issues which affected the national population such as crime; his links with the Jamaat-al-Muslimeen; and his tendency to politicize State institutions such as the EBC. Their selection of these issues framed Mr Manning as a political animal who would do anything to retain power and someone with misplaced priorities and questionable judgement. While editors of the three dailies shared similar views, they

tended to have stronger views regarding particular issues and personalities for example, the *Express* focussed highly on Mr Panday, corruption and conflicts while the *Guardian* mostly turned their attention to governance issues and Mr Manning.

6.8.3 Columns

All three newspapers continued to deal with the issues of leadership, race, governance and unity and coalition talks in similar fashion to the editorials. Generally, whichever political leader was in the seat of government, that leader was under scrutiny of the press as found with Mr Panday in 2001 and 2002, and Mr Manning in 2007. The press insisted on their 'watchdog' role, to make leaders accountable to the electorate and ensure the smooth functioning of the election machinery, devoid of political interference, in the conduct of free and fair elections in the country. Most times when leaders protested this resulted in hostility between media and the press.

Similar to editorials in the *Express*, columnists also focussed highly on the UNC government and its political leader, Mr Basdeo Panday. There was evidence of partisanship from certain columnists who openly declared their support for both the PNM and UNC parties. But by and large, the views of these select columnists did not appear to reflect the views of the editors of newspapers with ample space allocated to persons of diverse political orientations to air their views. During the 2007 campaign, the press allocated equal space to parties with both the UNC and COP having regular columns to present their parties' positions. Previously, columnists with diverse political orientations were allowed the freedom to write commentaries in the three newspapers, now this was being openly done.

On the issue of race, the press consistently showed maturity by downplaying this issue which threatened to polarize the society if not handled carefully. Race had always been part of the reality of Trinidad and Tobago politics with the two largest ethnicities forming the backbone of the two leading political parties. Editors generally distanced themselves from the views of certain columnists with strong views on race and made no attempt to sensationalize the issues or make them into national issue which could have become very divisive and disruptive in the politics of the country. It was a period in which racial profiling of political parties had started blurring with the UNC no longer being viewed as hardcore East Indian, especially with Mr Jack Warner in the

frontline of the party and emerging as co-leader with its founder, Mr Panday. Also, the COP represented a diverse group of followers including supporters from both of the two traditional parties. While columnists were partisan to COP as a party, they were disapproving of superficial attempts at alliances and unity between COP and the UNC.

Also for the first time in the history of Trinidad and Tobago's politics, gender became a force to be reckoned with, with Mrs Persad-Bissessar being framed as a woman striving for gender equality in a male-dominated world of party politics. At the same time the UNC was framed as a clique of traditional East Indian men who viewed women as incapable of holding high positions and better relegated to supporting roles in the party. She was also framed as a person with the potential to become more than a party leader if given the opportunity. Mrs Persad-Bissessar also emerged at a time when women had begun to make a serious impact on politics globally such as Hilary Clinton who vied for the Presidential seat in the highly publicized 2009 elections in the United States. Other Indian female leaders had emerged in male-dominated societies such as Sonia Gandhi (who however had to cede the Prime Ministership to a male although she wielded most power in the Party) and Benazir Bhutto in Pakistan who emerged as a barrier breaker in a male-dominated society but who met with a violent death.

It is clear that the years 2001, 2002 and 2007, as election years between the return of the UNC to power in 2000 (after the second defeat of the PNM in 1995), and the emergence of the UNC-led coalition Peoples Partnership in 2010, were transition years in the political life of Trinidad and Tobago. The media as a mediating force between the views of politicians and the feelings and aspirations of the population seemed to be reflecting this in both their coverage of the elections and in their editorial analysis. There was scepticism of both leaders of the major, traditional political parties and their leadership. New leaders were emerging, corruption was a dominant concern both at the political and institutional level and the gender factor as well as the succession factor had emerged. Both our qualitative and quantitative content analysis revealed that the daily press had fairly accurately captured the mood of the period under review.

CHAPTER 7

CASE ANALYSIS OF 2010 ELECTION IN TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO

7.0 Overview of 2010 elections

2010 was an historic year for politics in Trinidad and Tobago as the country welcomed a new coalition government led by a female Prime Minister, successfully breaking the monopoly held by the UNC and the PNM on national politics. It was also a period of major changes in party politics as the two leaders, Mr Patrick Manning and Mr Basdeo Panday were faced with leadership challenges within their own political parties. For the United National Congress (UNC), the role and structure of the party was changed considerably when Mrs Kamla Persad-Bissessar emerged as political leader of the party replacing its founding leader Mr Basdeo Panday. She was thereafter successful in bringing together a coalition of opposition parties: the Congress of the People (COP), the Movement for Social Justice (MSJ), the National Action Joint Committee (NJAC) and the Tobago Opposition Party (TOP), to fight the 2010 election under the umbrella of the Peoples Partnership (PP).

It was a time when sweeping political changes were occurring worldwide: the first black American had emerged as the President of the USA in 2009; and the UK election (May 6) coming three weeks before Trinidad and Tobago's election on May 24, 2010 resulted in a hung Parliament with the government eventually being formed by a coalition led by Labour Leader David Cameron. These two landmark events which changed politics in two of the most influential countries in the world made changes in local politics seem even more possible. Trinidadians frustrated with the deadlock held by the two traditional parties, the UNC and PNM were also anxious to welcome changes in national politics especially in the context of sweeping changes also taking place regionally, with both Barbados and Jamaica changing leadership under new governments. It was also a period in which many strong female Prime Ministers and Presidents had emerged internationally: Angela Merkel in Germany (2005); Yulia Tymoshenko of Ukraine (2005); Benazir Bhutto of Pakistan sometime earlier (1993). Closer to home in Latin America and the Caribbean, several women had ascended the highest political office in their countries: Paula Simpson-Miller in

Jamaica (2006); Michele Bachelet, Chile (2006) and Chritina Fernandez de Kirchner of Argentina (2007). The stage was set for the first female Prime Minister to also emerge in Trinidad and Tobago.

At the time of the campaign, the Peoples National Movement (PNM) was in its second term but called election in mid-term long before the due date, on May 24. By that time however, the government led by Prime Minister Patrick Manning had become very unpopular because of the leadership style of Mr Manning and disapproval of his government's policy decisions with its focus on large mega building projects which many felt was wastage of the country's resources derived from the rise in the price of oil. The scandals and corruption arising from the award of building contracts and procurement practices together with the government's attack on the press for biased reporting further worsened relations between the State and the media. Mr Manning's public fight with his deputy Dr Keith Rowley had a bruising effect on the Prime Minister, as leader of the PNM party, while the government's inability to solve the growing crime problem in the country alienated him from the national population.

7.1 Content Analysis of front pages: photos and headlines

7.1.1 Methodology

Content analysis was done of all front pages of the three leading newspapers in Trinidad and Tobago: the *Trinidad Express*, *Newsday* and *Guardian*, over the campaign period April 9 to May 24, 2010. The entire spectrum of 135 newspapers over a period of 45 days was analyzed in terms of the number of times political stories were the main stories on the front pages. Front page headlines were also examined to determine if they were positive, negative or balanced toward the government and the opposition party. Photographs were counted to determine the number of times Prime Minister Patrick Manning and Opposition Leader Mrs Kamla Persad-Bissessar appeared on the front pages, by themselves or together; as well how often the newspapers featured other politicians besides the two main political leaders. The photos were also scaled to determine the level of bias in political coverage. The methodology used is the same as that employed in the two preceding chapters.

7.1.2 Front pages

All three newspapers focussed heavily on the election in their front pages and in news stories, during the 45 days of campaigning. However, the *Guardian* had the most extensive coverage during the period with approximately 98 percent of its front pages dedicated to the elections, this was followed by the *Express* with 91.11 percent while the *Newsday* carried the least amount, 84.44 percent (table 7.1). The figures indicated that all three newspapers especially the *Guardian* focussed heavily on the general election and that the 2010 national election was a highly publicized event with electoral coverage being given national prominence over all other issues taking place in the country. The percentage of coverage on front pages during the 2010 election campaign compared to the percentage coverage in the preceding elections during the decade is noteworthy and may reflect a higher level of interest in the 2010 elections due to a number of factors.

Table 7.1: Number of front pages on 2010 elections

Newspapers	No of Front Pages	Percentage (%)
Guardian	44	97.78
Express	41	91.11
Newsday	38	84.44
Total	123	273.33
Average	41	91.11

The heavy coverage of this election was mainly due to convulsions taking place on the political landscape, namely the rising popularity of the opposition leader who was also a female and the fact that she was leading an explicitly declared coalition of parties against the PNM. That coalition, which presented itself as the Peoples Partnership (PP) actually consisted of five political parties: The United National Congress (UNC), Congress of the People (COP), Tobago Opposition Party (TOP), Movement for Social Justice (MSJ) and the National Joint Action Committee (NJAC). There was a strong possibility that the PNM which was fast becoming unpopular because of the leadership style of Mr Manning could be defeated at the polls, making way for a new government. Additionally, the UNC campaign was managed by an international consultant who had been part of President Obama's presidential

campaign team in 2009 and the possibility of similar results occurring in Trinidad made this a high interest election keenly followed by all those who were looking on, including the media in the country. The *Guardian* also had its own election ‘war room’ which tracked the campaign daily in this particular election.

7.1.3 Photos

In terms of the photos on the front covers, all three newspapers focussed on group photos comprising other politicians rather than feature either the UNC or PNM political leader alone (64) (table 7.2). The main reason for this was that the coalition movement, the Peoples Partnership involved a number of political leaders and personalities who were given ample coverage on the covers such as NJAC’s Makandal Daaga, TOP’s Asworth Jack, COP’s Winston Dookeran and MSJ’s Errol Mc Cloud. Also because of the challenges and conflicts within the PNM hierarchy, several of the party stalwarts such as Keith Rowley and Ken Valley were also placed on the covers at varying times.

Table 7.2: Number of photos of politicians on front pages for 2010 election

Newspapers	Opposition Leader on FP (1)	Opposition Leader alone	Prime Minister on FP (2)	Prime Minister alone	Both	Other Politicians on FP
Guardian	17	10	12	5	6	28
Express	9	2	10	4	6	20
Newsday	15	8	9	3	6	16
Total	41	20	31	12	18	64

1. Mrs Kamla Persad-Bissessar

2. Mr Patrick Manning

However, when they did feature the political leader of the PP and the PNM, they were more often featured together rather than alone. When featured alone, the Opposition Leader, Mrs Persad-Bissessar appeared more times alone than the Prime Minister (20:12) on both the *Guardian* (10:5) and the *Newsday* (8:3) (fig 2). Mrs Persad-Bissessar was highly featured because of the consistent manoeuvrings and brokering of deals between the UNC and the various other parties as the coalition movement took shape, and these were generally prioritized by editors, as the daily news agenda

on the covers. Also she had become a celebrity of sorts in the country and was featured prominently on the covers.

Inversely, the *Express* featured the Prime Minister more times than the Opposition Leader in keeping with trends in previous elections (Chapters 5 and 6) in which the Prime Minister was featured more times than the Opposition Leader. Mr Manning was featured twice as much as the UNC Leader (4:2) although in most instances the photos were not positive towards Mr Manning (table 7.2). In contrast the photos of the UNC political leader appeared smiling and happy while the PNM leader, Mr Patrick Manning looked troubled and disturbed.

7.1.4 Headlines

All three newspapers carried more balanced headlines on the front pages (UNC - 35; PNM - 32) indicating that editors did strive for objectivity in determining the daily news agenda. There was a greater propensity to be negative (over five times) to the PNM than the UNC (UNC - 9; PNM - 48) with the *Newsday* carrying no negative headlines on the UNC (UNC - 0; PNM - 16) (table 7.3). This negativity surrounding the PNM was directly related to conflicts among the key figures in the party as well as allegations of scandals and corruption which surrounded the PNM term in office.

Table 7. 1: Bias scale of headlines on front pages for 2010 election

Newspaper	UNC			PNM		
	+	-	B	+	-	B
Newsday	11	0	11	4	16	9
Guardian	9	5	15	3	15	15
Express	8	4	9	7	17	8
Total	28	9	35	14	48	32

On the other hand, the three newspapers were two times more positive to the UNC than the PNM (UNC - 28; PNM - 14) and this had to do with the tremendous goodwill which the PP had mustered from the media as well as the fact that the PP was not in government and therefore had no record of bad policy decisions to write about. The

Partnership also made news because they were involved in unity and coalition talks which were generally viewed as positive to the country's healthy democracy and to fostering a cross ethnic spirit of unity in the country.

7.2 Content analysis of news stories:

7.2.1 Sampling frame

Over the 45 days of campaigning, one news page per newspaper, was sampled and coded to determine which of the five frames (personality, issues, conflict, governance and horserace) was most widely used by journalists to report on the election (Appendix E: 401 - 442). In all three newspapers, initially page three was coded and analyzed but in instances where news stories did not appear on that page, the next most prominent news page was analyzed.

Over the 45 days of campaigning, 167 political news stories were analyzed of which 50 were from *Newsday*; 55 *Express*; and 67 *Guardian* (table 7.4). The most dominant frame was politician as a personality with other politicians also being profiled alongside both the Prime Minister and political leader of the PP. This is in keeping with trends found in previous elections (chapters 6 and 7) in which the Prime Minister was the center of media attention.

Table 7.4: Frames of news stories in 2010 election

Newspaper	FRAMES							
	No. of articles	Issue Frame (I)	Politician (Kamla) (K)	Politician (Manning) (M)	Politician (Other) (O)	Governing (Unity, coalitions) (G)	Conflict (C)	Horse-race (Opinion Polls) (H)
Newsday	50	219	117	251	544	163	229	470
Express	55	310	180	249	251	75	37	144
Guardian	67	336	225	365	413	87	125	336
Total	167	865	522	865	1208	325	391	920
Average	55.67	288.33	174	288.33	402.67	108.33	130.33	306.67

Moreover, it is important to point out that even though Mrs Persad-Bissessar, as the leader of the Peoples Partnership was highly featured on the covers; the Prime Minister was at the forefront of news reporting inside the newspapers. Similarly, the Prime Minister was considered the main source of government information and since he was the person entrusted with governing the country, his every movement was followed by the press. Additionally, he had in his employ a host of professional communications personnel such as public relations and communications specialists who ensured that he was in the media, daily.

Horserace frame was the second most popular frame used during the campaign and while this is somewhat different from previous elections, the fiercely fought race to the polls between the governing PNM and the coalition movement became a much anticipated and reported event in newspapers (Table 7.4). This contest which was fought in the public domain became highly mediatized with the national population looking on ringside. The media also played a mediating role during the ensuing battle, ensuring that both sides were well represented on their pages, even going as far as calling for national debates between the two political leaders as is generally the practice in democratic elections in the USA and UK. As a result, issues were pushed to the background while conflict and governing frames were pushed way down in priority by the press (Table 7.4). One may argue that inherent in the call for debates was a demand for discussion of issues, but one is also hard pressed to deny that debates also focus on personalities and on contest and competition, that is to say horse race aspect of the election. This is surprising given that the coalition movement was built on unity through accommodation. In terms of governing frame, the PP was less concerned in campaign mode about how to govern and instead focussed their efforts on as might be expected on putting the architecture of the partnership together, in order to have a strong, united force against the PNM. Yet, the press did not focus on or stress the governance issues in the context of an emerging predetermined coalition of parties in the election.

Further, an initial reading of articles was done to determine bias using the bias scale for positive, negative or balanced reporting (table 7.5). Generally, journalists strived for balance in framing news stories with little difference between the PP and PNM. Likewise, they tended to be equally positive to both parties. However, an initial

reading of the news stories disclosed a strong propensity to be negative to the PNM when compared to the PP.

Table 7.5: Bias scale for news stories for 2010 election

Newspaper	UNC coalition/Peoples Partnership			PNM		
	+	-	B	+	-	B
Newsday	2	2	8	1	13	7
Express	5	2	19	7	11	18
Guardian	7	5	23	5	17	22
Total	14	9	50	13	41	47

A combination of reasons could be attributed to this; firstly, journalists reported the news as they occurred and since the PNM was embroiled in scandals, corruption accusations and conflicts and these were discussed extensively while campaigning, they inevitably became the news. On the basis of stories focussed on, there may be evidence of reporters' bias against the PNM in the selection of news items. On closer examination, one may even be able to argue a case of partisan bias against the PNM. However, against the background of negative occurrences, events and accusations surrounding the PNM, it is difficult to reach any conclusions with certainty.

7.2.2 Personality frame

The two leading personalities who were framed during the 2010 elections were Mrs Persad-Bissessar and Mr Manning. During the 2010 election, the opposition leader, Mrs Persad- Bissessar, as the first female contender for Prime Minister of the country together with her ability to bring together several opposition parties under the umbrella of unity, gained tremendous mass support fondly described as "kamlamania". The momentum gathered force when the possibility of defeating the PNM and forming the next government seemed a real possibility. The press wanting to capture the mood of the country while supplying the population with information on the opposition leader followed her every move, catapulting her to celebrity status, similar to the 2009 US Presidential elections in which Barack Obama created a frenzy called "Barackmania".

The PNM political leader and Prime Minister of the country also became the centre of attention by the media and were featured more times in their news stories inside the newspapers than the UNC political leader. In most instances, this coverage tended to be more negative towards Mr Manning. The “Manning factor” quickly turned negative and became associated with “hubris” and all the negativity such as the scandals, corruption and conflicts surrounding his government. While media attention worked positively for the UNC’s political leader raising her public profile to celebrity status, it tended to have a negative effect on the PNM leader, causing him to lose popularity among Trinidadians. According to Selwyn Ryan, *Express* political columnist “My own field work shows that the Manning factor is that which impacts negatively on the PNM’s campaign.”²²⁸ What could possibly be interpreted as bias may well have been a society reaching a point where the people had turned against their leader and simultaneously felt the need to turn to someone else to embrace in the spirit of hope.

7.2.3 Elections as a contest frame

Horserace frame was the second most dominant frame found in the newspapers with both the *Newsday* and the *Guardian* focussing most of their reporting on the two main political parties, the PNM and UNC and the contest for the winning prize, the general elections and the right to govern the country. It also focussed on the contest for leadership of both political parties such as Mrs Persad-Bissessar as the most suitable person to lead the Partnership and the country compared to Winston Dookeran, Makandal Daaga, Errol Mc Cloud and Ashworth Jack. In the PNM, media attention focussed on the contest between Mr Manning and rivals Dr Keith Rowley and Mrs Penelope Beckles, both of whom were highly popular among PNMMites and were a main challenge for leadership of the PNM party.

The media also published political polls conducted during the period by independent pollsters such as the North American Teachers Association (NACTA) and UWI ANSA McAl Psychological Center which focussed on issues such as leadership of parties and country; preferred choices of constituents; and likely winner of the

²²⁸ *Express* 16th May, 2010

elections. Several polls were undertaken by both local and foreign pollsters and these helped to position Mrs Persad- Bissessar as the most attractive candidate to lead the country and to become Prime Minister, because of the kind of results that were emerging. A NACTA poll in April, 2010 stated that 70 percent of people polled indicated that Mrs Persad-Bissessar should be the leader of any accommodation forged between the UNC and the COP, over Winston Dookeran (24%).²²⁹ The poll also stated that Mrs Persad- Bissessar was more liked than the current Prime Minister, Patrick Manning with a favourability rating of 51percent against Mr Manning's 31percent and Mr Dookeran's 26 percent²³⁰. An ANSA McAl poll published in the *Trinidad Guardian* on May 16, 2010²³¹ indicated that 47 percent of population were most likely to vote for the UNC coalition against the PNM (25%), with 55percent believing that Mrs Persad-Bissessar was the most suitable person to lead the country to Patrick Manning's and Winston Dookeran's one percent.

7.2.4 Conflict Frame

Conflicts within the parties and between the two political parties were only moderately reported on by the three newspapers with the *Newsday* focussing the most on conflicts (229) as compared to the *Express* (37) and *Guardian* (125) (Table 7.4). Conflicts were not considered central issues in the 2010 election, with the media generally shying away from internal fighting within the PP and the PNM. The media focussed more on conflicts within the PNM in terms of the infighting between the PNM political leader and his deputy Dr Keith Rowley.²³² The *Newsday* also highlighted the conflict between Mr Manning and Penelope Beckles.²³³

There were even fewer reports on conflicts within the UNC. Early in the campaign, there appeared to be a conflict between the UNC Leader, Mrs Kamla Persad-Bissessar and the former Political Leader, Mr Basdeo Panday concerning her sidelining of his daughter Mikela Panday as a candidate for the general elections²³⁴. There appeared to be some conflict between the political leader and Panday loyalists such as Vasant

²²⁹ Express 14th April, 2010 pg. 29

²³⁰ Express 24th April, 2010 pg. 17

²³¹ Guardian 16th May, 2010 pg. A12

²³² Guardian 15th April, 2010 pg.A5; Newsday 28th April, 2010 pg. 3

²³³ Newsday 16th April, 2010 pg.3

²³⁴ Express 1st May, 2010

Bharat, Kelvin Ramnath, Hamza Rafeeq and Ramesh Maharaj²³⁵. However, the media handled these conflicts sensitively and did not sensationalize what could easily have escalated into more explosive stories.

7.2.5 Issue Frames

The reporting of meaningful issues which impacted on the overall governance of the country was not given extensive media coverage and was generally secondary to electoral coverage of political personalities (Table 7.4). The *Guardian* paid the most attention to issues indicating that that newspaper viewed them as important to the development of the country. However, it was the second highest frame used by the *Express* indicating that both newspapers placed some emphasis on developmental issues which impacted the national population. Several issues such as corruption, scandals as well as media bias took precedence over the others, and were generally focussed on during the election. Other issues such as abuse of power by the state, independence of the judiciary, provision of social services and education were mentioned with limited media exploration.

7.2.6 Corruption and scandal issues

Corruption and scandals surrounding the PNM government were major issues, during the 2010 elections. The biggest corruption concerned State owned Urban Development Company of Trinidad and Tobago (Udecott) which was responsible for mega projects worth millions of dollars. The high-handedness, lack of transparency and accountability of this State entity to its line Minister, Dr Keith Rowley led to a major brawl between the Minister and the Chairman, Mr Calder Hart resulting in the Prime Minister unceremoniously and publicly firing Dr Rowley as a Cabinet Minister for “washing the PNM’s dirty linen in public”.²³⁶ This was followed by a scandal surrounding the extremely close relationship between the Prime Minister and Mr Calder Hart, Chief Executive Officer of Udecott as well as allegations of close links between Mr Hart’s wife and an Indonesian company, corruption and scandal as well as media bias hired to supply workers for building projects in Trinidad and Tobago.

²³⁵ Newsday 26th April and May 1st, 2010 pg. 3

²³⁶ Newsday 18th April, 2010

Another scandal which gripped media attention was the close relationship between Mr Manning and his spiritual adviser, Juliana de Pena; and the use of State funds originally meant for an extension in the Prime Minister's residence. These funds were secretly used to construct a church on State lands, in the Heights of Guanapo, for his spiritual adviser²³⁷. Another scandal which gripped the country was the sudden increased wealth of one of Manning's Ministers. Kennedy Swaratsingh in which he had acquired a high priced house in one of the most exclusive residential areas in the country, even though it would have been difficult to afford such an investment as a salaried government minister. It did not help that public disclosure was made that he was still an ordained Catholic priest and married.

7.2.7 Governance: Coalition Frame

Coalition frame was the least prominent frame used by journalists in reporting of news stories in all three newspapers even though the united force of several dissident groups and opposition forces came together to form an opposition party to contest the general election (Table 7.4). Originally media attention focussed on uniting the UNC and COP to contest the election; however, media hype intensified when other forces representing Tobago, the trade unions, black power movement and other activist groups came together with the more dominant UNC, to contest the election as the Peoples Partnership.²³⁸ Media attention focussed on who was the most appropriate person to lead the country²³⁹, unity accord²⁴⁰ and seat allocation. But not all reporting on unity talks was positive. The PNM leader tried to instill fear in the minds of the national populace on the uncertainty of having a coalition government which he said had an history of failure²⁴¹. He cited the UNC track record on governance which he said was a failure compared to the stability of the PNM government²⁴². Beyond this the media news stories generally paid little attention to governance issues such as what will happen after the coalition won the election - who would become President; how would portfolios be shared; what would be their plan of action; how would they govern; and what happens if the coalition should fall apart and so forth.

²³⁷ Express 16th May, 2010

²³⁸ Guardian 10th April, 2010 pg. 3

²³⁹ Express 18th March, 2010 pg.3

²⁴⁰ Guardian 16th March, 2010 pg. 3

²⁴¹ Guardian 18th March, 2010 pg.3

²⁴² Newsday 24th April, 2010 pg.3

7.3 Qualitative content analysis of Editorials

All three newspapers addressed similar issues in their editorials. These included governance under the Patrick Manning government such as crime and integrity in public office, corruption and media bias. They were also very concerned about the coalition movement headed by the UNC Leader Mrs Kamla Persad-Bissessar. In analysing the editorials of all three dailies, one could discern a certain amount of antagonism directed at the political leader of the PNM and Prime Minister of the country, Mr Patrick Manning. All three newspapers were highly opinionated about Mr Manning's character, personality and style of governance. *Newsday* editors especially, were highly impassioned, with editors adopting an authoritative tone, and their language more pointed and direct focussing on the need for accountability by the government, lack of transparency and integrity in public office. Similarly, the editorials of the *Guardian* were focussed on comparable issues; however, they were more concerned with the coalition movement and how it was going to govern the country in the context of a coalition with several strong principals.

7.3.1 Governance under Prime Minister Patrick Manning

Editorials were highly focussed on governance issues under Prime Minister Patrick Manning which were framed to show up the political leader's shortfalls as a leader of the country while offering an attractive alternative in the form of Dr Keith Rowley. Editors of all three dailies were highly incensed over the Prime Minister's unwillingness to reveal the date of the election; his reluctance to participate in a live televised debate with the Opposition Leader; his use of race on the political platform, and his public fight with his deputy Dr Keith Rowley. Throughout the 2010 campaign, Mr Manning continued to lose the respect of editors because of his governance style and the way he had handled leadership challenges and conflict within his own party. The Prime Minister's attack on the media in which he accused them of biased reporting against his government, further worsened relations between press and politics in the country, making it even more difficult for the dailies to do their jobs as a free press with objectivity and independence.

All three newspapers were highly critical of Mr Manning's unwillingness to participate in a public debate with the opposition leader and even more so his reasons

for not doing so. In an effort to lift the national discourse and following in the footsteps of live debates between presidential and prime ministerial candidates in the USA and UK elections, similar televised debates were being encouraged by the business leadership in Trinidad and Tobago. Editors became highly incensed when Prime Minister Manning refused to participate in these debates encouraging him to “Step up to the podium”²⁴³ insisting that he should have “leapt to the opportunity to demolish the alleged weakling”²⁴⁴ - Mrs Persad-Bissessar to whom he had referred to previously, in a derogatory manner. The editor insisted that by Mr Manning not agreeing to the debate he had made “the most nakedly political admission”²⁴⁵ insinuating that Mr Manning considered himself superior to everyone including the Opposition Leader whom he branded “a weakling”²⁴⁶. He also inferred that the national population was of low intelligence stating that they “would be less impressed by intellectual or information content, than more emotive and rational factors”²⁴⁷. The editor with the use of innuendo suggested that Mr Manning himself was guilty of being “primal”²⁴⁸ since he headed a Parliament in which debates comprised “vacuousness, hyperbole and sniping”²⁴⁹. Further that a debate would give him a “different face”²⁵⁰ in terms of “character, demeanour and personality”²⁵¹ again suggesting that Mr Manning himself needed a makeover²⁵².

Editors were also disapproving of Mr Manning’s use of racial and religious rhetoric on the political platform which played on the fears of PNM followers of being marginalized and discriminated against based on ethnicity, should the balance of power shift to a government which was dominated by Indians and was predominantly Hindu. Mr Manning warned supporters to be weary of the opposition leader’s “own kind”²⁵³ while insisting that Christians should be weary of the UNC under Makandal

²⁴³ Express 29th April, 2010 pg. 3

²⁴⁴ Ibid

²⁴⁵ Ibid

²⁴⁶ Ibid

²⁴⁷ Ibid

²⁴⁸ Ibid

²⁴⁹ Ibid

²⁵⁰ Ibid

²⁵¹ Ibid

²⁵² Ibid

²⁵³ Express 7th May, 2010 pg. 3

Daaga²⁵⁴ because he had desecrated the Roman Catholic Church during the Black Power Movement. The *Express* stated that Mr Manning was “misstating fairly well-known events”²⁵⁵ and that “no such desecration occurred”²⁵⁶ and that he was “striving retroactively to make an artificial milestone out of an historical molehill”²⁵⁷. The newspaper was skeptical of Mr Manning’s claim that he was responsible for the harmonious relations among all ethnicities in the country, describing his statement as “exaggerated, unbelievable and absurd.”²⁵⁸ At the same time the editor berated the UNC for using similar tactics stating on the political platform that “God was responsible for calling elections” and that “God wants Patrick Manning removed.”²⁵⁹ It is clear that editors were disapproving of Mr Manning’s political tactics which appealed to deep psychological fears between the two largest ethnic groups in the country - fear which he was willing to exploit, to retain power. They were also exasperated with the PNM’s stunted development, in the context of massive changes taking place in party politics within the UNC and national politics.

While most of the editorials of three newspaper were highly critical of Mr Manning, in comparison they were more even-handed and objective and sometimes sympathetic in their comments on Dr Keith Rowley, the deputy political leader of the PNM. In a related editorial dated 12 of May 2010, the editor praised Dr Rowley for doing the country a great service by putting Udecott firmly onto the election agenda. In fact, the editor metaphorically stated that Dr Rowley was Mr Manning’s “archiles heel”²⁶⁰ even though he had been banished to “Coventry”²⁶¹ for exposing corruption within his own party. It is clear that the *Newsday* was very sympathetic to Dr Rowley, accusing the Prime Minister of “personal open animosity”²⁶² inferring that he was “simply afraid of Rowley”²⁶³ because he was a “stronger force”²⁶⁴. Even when Mr Manning publicly supported Dr Rowley’s candidacy for the Diego Martin seat, the editor used

²⁵⁴ Makandal Daaga is renowned in Trinidad and Tobago because he led a movement in the 1970s called the Black Power movement in which thousands of mostly black nationals protested against discrimination and racism in the country

²⁵⁵ *Express* 7th May, 2010 pg. 3

²⁵⁶ *Ibid*

²⁵⁷ *Ibid*

²⁵⁸ *Ibid*

²⁵⁹ *Ibid*

²⁶⁰ *Express* 12th May, 2010 pg. 3

²⁶¹ *Ibid*

²⁶² *Express* 12th May, 2010 pg. 3

²⁶³ *Ibid*

²⁶⁴ *Ibid*

the opportunity to remind Dr Rowley of all the wrongs which Mr Manning perpetrated against him such as having him “investigated, investigated, investigated ad nauseam”²⁶⁵, and calling him names such as “wajang”²⁶⁶ and “raging bull”²⁶⁷. These repetitions of name calling and politically motivated investigations would have served to remind Dr Rowley of his public humiliation at the hands of the Prime Minister, when he was fired as Minister of Housing, over allegations of corruption within State owned Udecott²⁶⁸. One editorial commended Dr Rowley for his “tenacity and courage in the face of adversity”²⁶⁹. The public fight between Mr Manning and Dr Rowley was framed in a way which reflected negatively on the Prime Minister, making him out to be a man who held personal grudges and vendettas against persons who did not agree with him while showing up the weaknesses within the PNM structure. Editors seemed to be inclined to speed the process of development within the PNM by offering up an attractive alternative in the form of Dr Keith Rowley. After all, the maximum leader of the UNC had been removed by a woman who dared to challenge him.

7.3.2 Media Bias

The media was placed in the spotlight during the 2010 campaign because of allegations of media bias by the Prime Minister against both he and his government. Even though it was the norm for politicians to accuse the media of biased reporting during elections, it was the first time that this issue became a platform issue in national politics. From early in the elections, Prime Minister Manning attacked the media for not being fair, balanced and objective in their reporting²⁷⁰ accusing them of focusing mostly on negatives concerning the PNM government.²⁷¹ He was supported by his Minister of Works and Transport and the Minister of Public Information. The Prime Minister further charged that he was the “most vilified”²⁷² Prime Minister the country

²⁶⁵ Ibid

²⁶⁶ Wajang is a local word used to describe a loud-mouthed low character

²⁶⁷ A raging bull is someone out of control. Keith Rowley was fired by the Prime Minister over a dispute with the Chairman of Udecott. Mr. Manning rational for his actions was that he was a wajang and raging bull.

²⁶⁸ Udecott was responsible for mega projects in Port of Spain and was rumored to have huge overruns worth millions in addition to irregular awarding of contracts to friend and families of the Chairman Calder Hart. .

²⁶⁹ Newsday 18th April, 2010 pg. 3

²⁷⁰ Guardian 28th April, 2010

²⁷¹ Guardian 6th May, 2010

²⁷² Ibid

ever had and that there were “elements that were ruthlessly monopolising the public information space to put us on a journey of spite and hate”²⁷³. Editors perceived this as an attack on press freedom and an attempt by the State to censor media content.

One editor saw this as “an attack on the media”²⁷⁴ stating that “they make no apology for creating a space for the general public to debate the pressing issues of the day”²⁷⁵. They reminded Mr Manning that “everyone has the right to freedom of the press and other media of communication ²⁷⁶but shall not advocate hatred, ridicule or contempt in pursuance of this right”²⁷⁷. Turning the tables on Mr Manning they insinuated that he was the one who was “perpetrating hatred, ridicule and contempt”²⁷⁸ and justifying their action as being within their rights.

Mr Manning’s use of free time allocated by the private media, to the State, close to the election date, confirmed to the media that the Prime Minister wanted to control the media in what they described as a “naked grab for power” and “using his State office to commandeer the free time allocated to government on the airwaves, to give him an “extraordinary advantage” over the opposition²⁷⁹. They further stated that Mr Manning had “muscle into the spotlight” using strong man tactics²⁸⁰. All three newspapers were vociferous about the use of State power to gain an unfair advantage over the Partnership in the crucial period leading up to the election. The fact was that this was part of the licensing agreement which most governments chose to ignore. However, these charges and counter-charges heightened the distrust between the government and the media and created a very hostile environment for both arms of the State, to function.

7.3.3 Crime

Throughout the campaign editors lamented the lack of adequate debate on governance issues especially as it related to the rising crime levels in the country. This issue was

²⁷³ Ibid

²⁷⁴ Ibid

²⁷⁵ Ibid

²⁷⁶ Newsday 15th April, 2010 p. 3

²⁷⁷ Ibid

²⁷⁸ Ibid

²⁷⁹ Express 18th May, 2010 pg. 3

²⁸⁰ Ibid

very important since successive administrations were not able to solve this problem. Added to which, it was one of the issues which Mr Manning was heavily criticized for in the 2007 election (see chapter 5), in which the media felt that he had attempted to trivialize the issue of crime. Editors were critical of the UNC's position on crime stating that their plans were cloudy and that they were not treating it seriously, further that the UNC should come with "more concrete proposals"²⁸¹. In another editorial, the UNC was asked to "sharpen its focus because much of what was announced remained intangible"²⁸². Partial blame for the state of crime in the country was placed on the Minister of National Security, Mr Martin Joseph who was described as someone "marked by consistent failure to get much right and who made opaque and recognisably inept statements,"²⁸³ and whose "lack of transparency compounds the blundering"²⁸⁴. In a later editorial they went so far as to state that "the Minister of National Security remained one of the most ineffective in the outgoing Cabinet"²⁸⁵. As was the case with previous regimes, the governing party was blamed for issues of governance since they were responsible for policy decisions once an election campaign began to intensify.

7.3.4 Corruption

Corruption under the PNM regime was of major concern to editors. One of the main issues which caught the attention of editors was the premature end of Parliament by the Prime Minister just when the Uff Report²⁸⁶ was about to be laid. Clearly incensed by the Prime Minister's action, one editor stated that if it had been laid in Parliament "it would disgrace Manning"²⁸⁷. Using the same impassioned tone, the editor further stated "he needs to answer to no question on the Uff report as he campaigns before selected sycophant audiences, because no one will question him"²⁸⁸. Openly

²⁸¹ Ibid

²⁸² Express 4th May, 2010 pg. 3

²⁸³ Express 25th April, 2010 pg 3

²⁸⁴ Ibid

²⁸⁵ Express 10th May, 2010 pg 3

²⁸⁶ The Uff Commission was set up by the PNM to investigate allegations of corruption in bidding practices by state-owned Urdecott. The Uff Report was supposed to be laid in Parliament on the same day that the Prime Minister brought it to a close prematurely. It was felt that the Report would have damaged the Prime Minister and further erode his credibility in the country. It was also felt that it would have resulted in the Prime Minister being faced with a "no confidence" voted in which several of his Parliamentarians would have voted against him.

²⁸⁷ Newsday 14th April, 2010 pg. 3

²⁸⁸ Ibid

suggesting that Mr Manning was hiding something, the editor stated “it must not be allowed to disappear behind a smokescreen of election rhetoric and political propaganda”²⁸⁹. So strongly did the editor feel about this subject he took on an activist role stating “we call upon all citizens and groups to keep the Uff report on the current agenda”²⁹⁰. On May 4, 2010, the editor repeatedly demanded that Mr Manning should explain his behaviour on the Uff Commission and Udecott, stating disdainfully that his behaviour was “platitudinous at best and as a cynical cop-out at worst”²⁹¹. He further insisted that Mr Manning was without integrity, by not answering allegations of financial impropriety concerning the building of the church in Gunapo.²⁹² The editor further charged Mr Manning for shielding himself with evasiveness, ambiguity and generalizations. Exasperatingly, the editor states “Give us a break. You Mr Manning, are Prime Minister of the country and you must account to us. We don’t have to prove anything”.²⁹³

7.3.5 Coalition

Originally the coalition was viewed with a great deal of scepticism and distrust by editors mainly because of the NAR experience in 1986 and Mr. Panday’s perceived ‘forced’ attempts to unite with the COP in 2007. In an editorial of April 18, the UNC leader, Mrs Persad-Bissessar was called upon to “Clarify the accommodation”²⁹⁴ expressing concerns about the way in which it was being handled especially regarding the withholding of the document signed by those involved in the partnership, at Fyzabad. Metaphorically stating that she was fighting a war of disbelievers, the editor warned that she “must be aware that her battles are not only with the party in power but with the reservations and concerns of undecided voters.”²⁹⁵ Still disbelieving, he described the accommodation as “a swiftly-stitched-together political animal”²⁹⁶ and a “new political coupling”²⁹⁷ between the UNC leader and the COP leader, Mr Winston Dookeran. In a follow up editorial, Tony Fraser questioned whether

²⁸⁹ Ibid

²⁹⁰ Newsday 14th April, 2010 pg. 3

²⁹¹ Ibid

²⁹² Mr. Manning was accused of using state funds to build a multi-million dollar church for his spiritual adviser in the Heights of Gunapo in Trinidad called The Lighthouse of the Lord Jesus Christ. The design for the building was originally carded for the official Prime Minister’s residence

²⁹³ Newsday 14th May, 2010 pg. 3

²⁹⁴ Guardian 18th April, 2010 pg. 3

²⁹⁵ Ibid

²⁹⁶ Ibid

²⁹⁷ Ibid

coalitions work and advised that “it requires great maturity and wisdom”²⁹⁸ and that it did not work in Trinidad because the former Opposition Leader, Mr Basdeo Panday was “a coalition-destroying presence”²⁹⁹. Editor Ken Ali used flattering language such as “new trust and fall in love again”³⁰⁰, “dream team”³⁰¹ and “people-oriented participatory government”³⁰² to describe the accommodation. But he forewarned the opposition leader to clear the air on union leaders “ideological position” otherwise she could be “snatching defeat from the jaws of electoral victory”.³⁰³ There were instances when the editor used the opportunity to caution the opposition leader about her decisions. Jai Parasram writing on April 30, warned Mrs Persad-Bissessar to think carefully about bringing Justice Herbert Volney ³⁰⁴into the party since it may “compromise the independence of the Judiciary”³⁰⁵. He further described her action as “dangerous adventurism”³⁰⁶ and expressed concern that she should “so easily accept and embrace the practice of a high court judge walking into a camp.”³⁰⁷ Surprisingly, he then advised her “that it would be good to acknowledge an error without spinning it out of shape”.³⁰⁸

7.4 Political Commentaries

Based on commentaries by columnists there were several major themes coming out of the 2010 general elections such as unity, change, gender, race, corruption, and media bias.

7.4.1 Change

Even though there was a great deal of scepticism regarding the coalition forces which came together, there was an underlying tone of optimism and hope among columnists of the impending change which would occur if the PP were to defeat the PNM. Columnists also recognised that change was in the air and did not want to stand in its

²⁹⁸ Guardian 21st April, 2010 pg. 3

²⁹⁹ Ibid

³⁰⁰ Guardian 23rd April, 2010 pg. 3

³⁰¹ Ibid

³⁰² Ibid

³⁰³ Ibid

³⁰⁴ Justice Volney resigned as a High Court Judge from the Judiciary and almost immediately joined the UNC.

³⁰⁵ Guardian 30th April, 2010 pg. 3

³⁰⁶ Ibid

³⁰⁷ Ibid

³⁰⁸ Ibid

way. This was reflected in their language which underscored that most columnists were optimistic about the direction in which the politics was heading. Tony Fraser wrote: “What seems certain is the need for change and transformation in the politics, the incorporation of all social and economic groups in the governance structure, and ending the reign of a leader who thinks he is ordained to rule”.³⁰⁹ Similarly Anand Ramlogan stated “We are at a critical crossroad in our development. This is our chance to reject the politics of the past and make a break for a new future...Kamla’s victory in the internal elections has inspired a quiet political revolution that will topple the old order”.³¹⁰ Lennox Grant wrote: “This general election is a decisive and historic turning point and watershed in the development of our twin island republic...the partners believe that the opportunity exists for the people of T&T to vote for a people centered and participatory government committed to social justice”.³¹¹ Selwyn Ryan placed it in historical context as “a case of the “old world” which was ushered in by Eric Williams in 1956 vs. the new world which was coming into being and seeking political space to do its own thing. Patrick Manning symbolised the old world and Kamla the new”,³¹².

But not all columnists were as optimistic, Michael Harris forewarned that Mrs Persad-Bissessar “has no concept of what is required of her to play such a transformative role and has settled for the traditional role of leader of the opposition.”³¹³ However, he continued “we ought not to conclude...that the tremendous forces of change that were at work before the elections were called, ceased to operate...the process of the collapse of the old regime will work itself through to the done end and force us to the point where we either rise to the challenge of national transformation, beginning with the construction of a truly national party, or drink the bitter draughts of chaos”,³¹⁴

7.4.2 Gender

Gender consciousness in the context of leadership began to take form in 2007 when Mrs Persad-Bissessar was unsuccessful in her bid for leadership of the UNC party.

³⁰⁹ Guardian 19th May, 2010

³¹⁰ Guardian 23rd May, 2010

³¹¹ Express 25th April, 2010

³¹² Express 23rd May, 2010

³¹³ Express 19th April, 2010

³¹⁴ Express 19th April, 2010

However, gendered politics came to full fruition when she challenged Mr Basdeo Panday in late 2009, emerged as leader of the UNC and began to be perceived as a strong contender for the post of Prime Minister with the defeat of the PNM seeming highly possible. Also the time was ripe for a female to emerge in national politics since female leaders were being democratically elected to the posts of President and Prime Minister throughout the world and even closer in Latin America and the Caribbean (see page 1). The theme of gender in the 2010 general election was pervasive prior to the campaign period, when Mrs Persad-Bissessar decided to contest the UNC internal elections for party leadership against her mentor, founder of the UNC party and political leader Mr Basdeo Panday. Mrs Persad-Bissessar affable personality easily won over the support of the women's arm of the UNC as well as the Women's Hindu group in her effort to become the leader of the UNC. Following which she gained national support from the female population of all ethnicities of Trinidad and Tobago in her bid to become the first female opposition leader of the country. Mrs Persad-Bissessar recognized the importance of gender support in the elections: "I am proud that my assumption to office can be an inspiration to women....I am grateful for the immense support from women and women's groups across the country and to the extent that this helps to break the barriers so many competent women face".³¹⁵ Mrs Persad-Bissessar was also very popular among males in society including journalists and columnists in the press who continued to write positively about her. Given her rising popularity and cross-ethnic appeal, the media continued to position her as a viable contender for Prime Minister of the country and the most likely candidate to unite the UNC with the COP. This process intensified when she emerged victorious at the UNC internal elections and started campaigning against the PNM in the lead up to the General Election. Ricky Singh wrote in the *Express*, "Kamla seems anxious to give meaning to a new political culture in T&T, a country too long stuck in the mud of race-based and men-led politics"³¹⁶. Senior journalist Lennox Grant openly stated: "Much of the election 2010 politics is now a woman thing....from behind the designer spectacles, the lady confronts a men's world of T&T politics increasingly devoid of rules and of order"³¹⁷.

³¹⁵ Newsday 23rd May, 2010

³¹⁶ Express 5th May, 2010

³¹⁷ Express 2nd May, 2010

7.4.3 Race

The theme of race was less of a factor in the 2010 election, mostly, because the media wanted to give the Partnership a chance to emerge, while moving the dialogue away from race. Also the Peoples Partnership was not drawn down the racial line like the two traditional parties since it attracted a diverse following. Race had always been a reality in Trinidad and Tobago's politics especially since both the PNM and the UNC political bases were predominantly African and East Indians respectfully. The media were also very tactful when reporting on racial slurs and slanders on the political platforms. On April 13, 2010 Prime Minister Manning speaking on a PNM platform in St Augustine, told his audience that had they been on a UNC platform they would have heard 'give me a Guinness and a puncheon!³¹⁸' insinuating that East Indians were mostly involved in drinking large quantities of alcohol. The Prime Minister continued to instil racial fears within the African population by asking what portfolios would be given to the "Prakash Ramadhar, Anand Ramlogan, Devant Maharaj, Tim Gopesingh, Suruj Rambachan, and Austin Jack Warner." Most of the names called were men of East Indian descent, except Mr Warner³¹⁹, insinuating that Mr Warner had sold out his own people of African descent by aligning with East Indians. He also suggested that government funded programmes such as 'CEPEP' and 'Gate' which benefitted mostly African people, would be stopped once the UNC got into power. These sentiments expressed by Mr Manning further damaged the Prime Minister's reputation while alienating East Indians within the PNM and those who might have supported him during the 2010 election. It also adversely affected his reputation, already taken a beating because of his unpopular decisions and perceived arrogance. However, in spite of all of this taking place, it may well be that the growing interest in gender might have sidelined interest in race issues.

7.5 Analysis: Partisan and Structural Bias

7.5.1 Front Pages

The 2010 election was a highly publicized event in Trinidad and Tobago with all three newspapers making it the main topic of interest on their front pages over the 45 days of campaigning with approximately 91 percent of front pages reporting on the

³¹⁸ Puncheon is a strong alcoholic drink made from sugar cane and drunk mostly by East Indians.

³¹⁹ Mr. Jack Warner is an African man who has wholeheartedly thrown his support behind the UNC. He was one of the key persons in the UNC party.

elections. The *Guardian* carried the most front pages with almost 100 percent coverage. The front pages focussed heavily on photos relating to key persons in the political parties including the opposition leader and the Prime Minister. Most of the front pages comprised mostly headlines and large photos with hardly any news stories. There was a greater propensity for all three newspapers to focus on group photos featuring other politicians rather than the two political leaders. But when they did appear the opposition leader was featured more times than the Prime Minister. The photos of the opposition leader were much more positive than the photos of the Prime Minister. The headlines of all three newspapers focussed mainly on the PNM with most of them moving towards balanced reporting. However a comparison of the number of negative headlines appearing on both the UNC and PNM revealed that there was a greater disposition to be negative towards the PNM.

One can conclude that the media generally attempted to be objective in their front pages in terms of photos and headlines, however evidence points to a strong structural bias against Mr. Manning. Front pages are determined by editors who influenced the choice of headlines, focus and use of photographs.

7.5.2 News stories:

In all three newspapers the various personalities in the elections were featured in the news stories such as the PNM's Dr Keith Rowley, Penelope Beckles and Kenny Swaratsingh. On the UNC side Winston Dookeran, Makandal Daaga, Ashworth Jack and Errol Mc Cloud. However, when the two main political leaders: Mrs Kamla Persad-Bissessar and Mr Patrick Manning were featured, Mr Manning appeared more times and was featured more negatively than Mrs Persad-Bissessar.

The actual governing of the country and intense focus on some of the main issues such as crime were not as prominently featured by journalists covering the elections as one might have expected. Reporters were more concerned with events as they unfolded on the platform, reporting generally on what was said by campaign speakers who were mostly concerned with winning elections. Political platforms did not allow speakers lengthy time to speak and posed considerable difficulty for them to make any meaningful contribution. This is also reflected in reporters framing the election as

a contest between the PP and the PNM, in the absence of serious issues not being discussed. The media were viewed as sympathetic to the Partnership and hostile to the PNM, this party spent considerable time fighting with them on the issue of bias. In this fiercely fought contest, political polls were used extensively to predict the outcome of the elections and this would have inadvertently influenced the perceptions of voters. On the positive side, the media shied away from spending too much time on conflicts within the parties and among politicians. It can be concluded that the 2010 election was one in which traditional beaten topics such as race and internal party bickering were not as important in this particular election.

The slant of news stories was similar to that of the front pages, in that there was a tendency to be balanced in reporting on the daily news, however, when they did report on Mr Manning they were much more negative towards him than the UNC leader. News stories were written by reporters covering the campaign and dependent upon sources of information. The fact that they reported generally what was said on the platform demonstrated that Mr Manning was the brunt of most of the rhetoric espoused by politicians on the Partnership platform and he was generally spoken about negatively. However, the fact that Mr Manning was featured more times than Mrs Persad-Bissessar, in terms of reportage of what was said about him, indicated that reporters spent much more time on covering the Partnership platforms and that there was a structural bias in sourcing news stories related to the election campaign

7.5.3 Commentaries and editorials

Both the editorials and political columnists of all three newspapers covered similar topics using similar slants. There was general agreement across the three newspapers regarding key issues such as unity, change, gender, race, corruption and scandals, media bias, leadership under Mr Manning, lack of meaningful debate on national issues such as crime, press freedom and integrity in public office. In some instances, there may have been more emphasis on particular issues by particular newspapers. But the issues focussed on were, by and large, the same.

What has emerged from the analysis is that in the early stages of the campaign, there was uncertainty and scepticism regarding the coalition of disparate groups, parties and

individuals and perhaps some distrust. The theme of unity had been bandied about by consecutive political leaders in most elections in Trinidad and Tobago and was viewed as mere lip service by those aspiring to political office. Trinidad and Tobago politics had always been defined by ethnic voting by the two major ethnic groups in the country, East Indians and Africans: with East Indians voting for the UNC and Africans for the PNM. Each party had used unity conveniently to give the impression of inclusiveness of all races in the country but generally this was viewed as superficial. Secondly, the National Alliance for Reconstruction (NAR) experience of 1986, in which the first coalition government was formed had become highly unpopular because of the stringent fiscal policies which they had to take, because of the state of the economy and the early split of that party, led to the formation of the UNC, appealing to the ethnic base of all preceding Opposition parties.

Additionally, the formation of the Partnership under the umbrella of the UNC appeared to be hastily put together to win the election. The composition of the group elicited considerable distrust by the media since it comprised the splintered COP with their own ambitions of forming government; the radical Black Power Movement group led by national icon Makandaal Daaga; the Tobago party, TOP which had its own issues of insularity and island autonomy; and the trade union which had traditionally been anti-establishment espousing socialist ideology and the rhetoric to go with it. From the outset, it was difficult to imagine that a lone female would be able to rein in the ambitions of these powerful men who headed these organisations, to be considered their leader. Beyond that, the document signed by the Partners seemed to be shrouded in mystery with the media not having access to the information regarding the terms and conditions which were agreed upon. Repeated calls to have the document disclosed went unheeded creating further uncertainty and scepticism. Eventually it was published by the press.

However, Mrs Persad-Bissessar emerged at a time when major changes were taking place within the country as well as regionally and internationally. Here, in Trinidad and Tobago, with the disenchantment of male dominated politics and the deadlock held by the PNM and UNC; females especially, were willing to throw their support behind a capable woman with the hope of seeing a new kind of leadership in both party and government. The changes happening within and outside of Trinidad and

Tobago set the stage for Mrs Persad-Bissessar and the coalition Partnership, to emerge as a political force in Trinidad and Tobago's politics.

The *Newsday* which is owned by a female openly supported Mrs Persad-Bissessar generally appearing to be very positive in their coverage and very negative towards the leadership of the PNM. As the campaign progressed, the media appeared to have bought into the Partnership with editorials and commentaries moving towards more positive coverage. Questions were still being raised but the tone of the writing changed with more references to change and transformation. The country was beginning to hope for a developmental path as editors and columnists used the opportunity to call for transformation of politics and leadership in Trinidad and Tobago. One gets the impression that editors and columnists were willing to give the Partnership a chance with the hope that it will lead to a new kind of politics in the country. They deliberately sidelined issues such as race and conflict choosing to focus on the Partnership and the business of governance instead. *Guardian* especially was very opinionated about the coalition movement adopting the persona of advisor to the opposition leader, telling her what was expected, how to go about the coalition and what she should not do.

While the press was supportive of the Partnership, in contrast they were very disapproving of PNM political leader's authoritarian style of leadership, which many found antithetical to democracy. Fiercely protective of their rights to freedom of press enshrined in Trinidad and Tobago's Constitution and their role as "watchdogs" of democracy, and deeply resentful of his accusations of media bias and lack of objectivity towards his party and government; the press became highly critical of his evasiveness, brashness and arrogance in dealing with critical issues such as the Uff Report, the Udecott scandal, the mismanagement of the economy, the wastage of public funds on mega projects and the use of State funds to build a private church. The *Newsday* was highly critical of his lack of integrity in public office and his personal vendetta against PNM loyalist Dr Keith Rowley. The *Newsday's* editorials especially were generally highly impassioned demanding that the Prime Minister be accountable to the public for his actions. Mr Manning's actions put him on the wrong side of the media and although he gained much press coverage, this had a downward spiralling effect causing him to become highly unpopular with the media and the

national population. This may very well have rubbed off on the PNM resulting in the party loosing favour and popularity as well.

It can be concluded that most of the editors and columnists of all three newspapers exhibited partisan bias towards the Partnership having embraced the ideology of change and transformation under a new political structure. At the same time they openly rejected the PNM under the leadership of Mr Patrick Manning. It is important to note that editors and columnists were not as critical of the PNM as a party but more so of the leader as indicted by their sympathy for Dr Keith Rowley and Penelope Beckles. Both of whom were considered contenders for the leadership of the PNM party and viewed as having been ostracized from the party by the PNM leader.

CHAPTER 8

ANALYSIS AND SYNTHESIS BASED ON A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF THE FIVE ELECTIONS (2000 - 2010)

8.0 Introduction

In a small country with only three dailies, each having dedicated readership targeting different socio-economic groups in the country, there is constant demand for newspapers by loyal readers who are mostly interested in local events and issues, although some coverage is dedicated to both regional and international events. Sunday newspapers especially are in high demand by readers who read ritualistically as part of their leisure activities³²⁰. Therefore reading newspapers especially the three dailies: *Guardian*, *Express* and *Newsday* is very much a part of the culture of Trinidad and Tobago. During elections, newspapers are high demand commodities since they are foremost sources of political information.

To understand the influence of the press on political campaigns, one must have an appreciation of newspapers' varied authorship and the differences in writing styles and intent. Front pages and editorials are determined by in-house editors, who choose photos and headlines based on newsworthiness and timeliness, mainly to attract wide readership. In contrast, editorials which focus on political issues are more concerned with holding politicians accountable to the citizenry. News stories are written by journalists who cover daily events, reporting the news as they occur mainly to inform the citizenry about issues discussed, during campaigns. Commentaries on the other hand are written by a variety of persons representing the pluralistic views of a wide variety of individuals and groups in the country. A very small number of seasoned journalists also write columns. However, in all three newspapers, editorials, ownership and opinion leaders' policies tend to be distinct and separate, although there might be some discernible alignment of intent and purpose.

³²⁰ http://www.trinidadexpress.com/news/Express_tops_all_in_readership-155553825.html accessed on 1st June, 2012

8.1 The Approach used

To come to meaningful conclusions about the role of the press in election campaigns, based on trends found in political coverage, over the last ten years; a mixed methodology of quantitative and qualitative content analysis (CA) together with interviews, conducted with select journalists and editors of the three dailies was applied to a large body of press clippings of the five electoral campaigns, dating from the start of campaigns to election day when results were announced. The revelations on bias based on analysis of the three newspapers were compared with the disclosures made on bias during interviews with select media practitioners, to get a better understanding of journalistic norms and traditions, and the actual practice of journalism within media houses, and to chart a way forward for media and politics in the country.

8.2 Trend Analysis for five elections

8.2.1 Front Pages

a. Balance and objectivity

Content analysis of the front page photos and headlines showed a concerted attempt by all three dailies to achieve balance in the way they presented political parties and politicians, preferring to show group photos and/or photos of other politicians beside the political leaders of the UNC and PNM, Mr Basdeo Panday and Mr Patrick Manning respectively - the dominant leaders of the country, during the decade under scrutiny in this dissertation. Although both the UNC and PNM political leaders were featured on the front pages, the tendency was to place them together rather than singly on the covers.

Increased volume of coverage

Between 2000 and 2010, there was a drastic increase in the volume of press coverage given to political campaigns, with a record increase in 2010, on the front pages of the dailies. However, while there was a steady increase in volume from 2000 to 2007 (about 50%), there were two surges in increased volume over the period: in the 2002 (58.1%) and 2010 (91.11%) campaigns, in which both incumbent governments, the UNC and PNM, were beaten at the polls leading to the formation of new

governments. The increased volume of coverage is reflective of the heightened importance of politics to both the media and the citizenry of the country. It reflects the turbulence of politics and the critical nature of election campaigns, the interplay between the level of citizen interest and the level of press interest and the evolutionary steps in the process of building a democracy. Clearly, there is a dynamic at work between intensity of interest on the part of the citizenry and the extent of coverage on the part of the press. The answer to the question as to whether citizen interest stimulates journalistic coverage or whether journalistic coverage intensifies citizen interest is unclear. It is very likely that each mutually reinforces the other.

b. Professionalization of political campaigns

The intensified media coverage especially during the 2002 and 2010 campaigns, has to do, in part, with the professionalization of political campaigns, over the decade arising out of increased party financing by powerful and wealthy financiers who provided substantial funding for large scale, highly mediatized rallies, managed and coordinated by both local and international professionals, in addition to sophisticated advertising campaigns. Making the front pages has become as important as staging these events during elections as part of the psychological warfare between incumbent governments and their rivals. These mediatized, staged rallies have also become the feedstock for advertising and promotional campaigns.

c. Mediating between politicians and citizenry

The drastic increase in volume, during the 2010 campaign was also a result of the changed political landscape, in which a new coalition party had emerged and which presented a serious challenge to the incumbent PNM government. This new party Peoples Partnership (PP), presented a change in the structure of party politics, from a two-party system based on strong ethnic divisions to a coalition party comprising five parties. Additionally, the incumbent PNM continued to receive its share of publicity as policy makers of the country; making the front page headlines because of the scandals and corruption which surrounded the government at that time (chapter 7).

8.2.2 News Stories: Framing

1. Personality frame

a. Presidentialization of elections

The trend over the ten years under review showed a tendency for the press to feature a variety of politicians especially the two political leaders of the UNC and PNM in their news reporting. The “presidentialization” of political campaigns, as found in Trinidad and Tobago is common in democracies around the world including those of Latin America and the Caribbean. The uniqueness of the Trinidad and Tobago’s situation is that during the ten years under review, two leaders Mr Patrick Manning (PNM) and Mr Basdeo Panday (UNC) dominated the political scene, interchanging between government and opposition. While other leaders emerged during the period under review, such as Mr Winston Dookeran, they were unable to straddle either Government or the opposition benches on their own. Mr Dookeran was part of the coalition which formed the government in 2010 in which Mrs Persad-Bissessar had emerged as political leader and Prime Minister.

b. Framing in favour of incumbent governments and political sources

When the press did report on political leaders, the incumbent Prime Minister was framed more than the opposition leader, as found with Mr Panday during the UNC reign from 2000 to 2001, and Mr. Manning during PNM governance, from 2002 to 2010. The heavy focus on personality frames with particular attention paid to politicians, showed a structural bias towards politicians as main sources of information. This may not necessarily be a bad thing since politicians, especially those in opposition, came from the communities, with many of them having grassroots background. The views of media owners, who were mostly from the business sector, were not always in sync with those expressed by parliamentarians. For example, Mr Basdeo Panday emerged from humble background, in the Caroni belt with a following of mostly lower income workers who worked the sugar cane plantation. Mr Manning, also came from humble background, from San Fernando, leading a party supported by mostly poor African people. Both political parties

evolved because of dissatisfaction with the status quo and were built on grassroots support. Most of the leaders of the Peoples Partnership came from diverse backgrounds representing the dispossessed in society including union trade workers.

c. Political leaders as celebrities

Over the decade, the framing of political leaders has further evolved to celebrity status as found with the leader of the Peoples Partnership, Mrs Kamla Persad-Bissessar. This development in local politics was mostly due to the influence of American politics, especially the Obama campaign which was held mere months prior to the 2010 elections in Trinidad and Tobago. This country's media which are heavily influenced by its counterpart in the United States of America, followed on the heels of the Obama campaign with a similar styled campaign, for the leader of the Peoples Partnership. Drawing on the expertise of one of Obama's campaign strategists, a similar campaign, full of media blitz was mounted for the Partnership, for the 2010 election, with the full support of the local press. Mrs Persad-Bissessar was presented as an attractive alternative by her campaign managers and a political celebrity, to the PNM leadership, coming so soon after Obama's victory, all things seemed possible for Trinidad and Tobago.

2. Issue frame

a. Limited discussion on issues of national importance

Issue frame declined considerably from 2000 to 2010, falling very low in priority for journalists when compared to personality frames. When the elections were a tight race between two contending parties, issues became even less important and instead emphasis was placed on horserace frame, as found in 2000 when the UNC posed a real threat to the PNM, and similarly in 2010 when the PP was challenging the PNM after eight years in Government. Even though overall interest in issues of governance waned, the topics discussed remained constant. Over the decade, the discourse remained focused on political scandals and corruption which surrounded the party in power, whether UNC or PNM. The penchant of the press to focus on negativity, to a large degree contributed to the general negativity towards the party in office, as found with the overall negativity towards the UNC and PNM regimes, at different times of incumbency.

b. Hybridization of political campaigns

As found in other post-colonial societies, the rhetoric and political discourse during elections have not been raised to substantial debate on meaningful issues of governance, since politicians on both sides are caught up in complex, hybrid political campaigns comprising old and new formats ranging from large, well managed professional rallies to smaller, townhall meetings organized by the communities. The biggest challenge for politicians was how to raise the discourse to satisfy the need of the middle and upper classes for “substance” without alienating the base of the party, who wished to be entertained; they being the group actually holding the key to victory at the polls.

3. Horserace frame

a. Media as intermediary between politicians and citizenry

Journalists were constantly interested in horserace frame, especially when the race became a highly contested battle between warring parties, as found during the 2000 and 2010 elections. In both instances, the objective was to defeat the long-serving PNM government and to make way for governance under a new regime and leadership. The fight became more than a contest between parties, descending to personal feuding, between political leaders under the full glare of the media. In 2010, the media sought to influence public opinion by publishing information based on political polls, conducted by two independent pollsters, UWI ANSA McAl Psychological Center and NACTA; both indicating that Mrs Persad-Bissessar was the most suitable leader of the Partnership and the country.

4. Conflict frame

a. Redirecting the national discourse away from conflicts

Over the entire spectrum of ten years, the press consistently downplayed the use of conflict frames, when reporting on elections and political campaigns, even though it became increasingly important over the years, especially by the *Newsday* and *Guardian*, during the 2010 election. The *Express* newspaper was most interested in conflicts, although by 2010, they seemed to have grown tired of the topic and

refocused their attention on the political leaders of the PP and PNM and the issues of governance instead. The *Express* newspaper focused most on conflicts because of the ongoing fight between that newspaper and the UNC leader, Mr Basdeo Panday. Also during the period in which he governed, Mr Panday became a controversial figure because of his confrontational and combative leadership style, which generally attracted conflicts.

But the press showed a great deal of maturity in the way they reported on conflicts over the ten-year period, choosing not to focus too much on personality and party conflicts, preferring to spend their time speculating on who would emerge as leader of the country during the race to the polls, and governance issues. This augers well for the development of media and politics in the country with evidence pointing to attempts made by the press, to raise the dialogue beyond petty conflicts and redirect attention, to issues worthy of national debate.

5. *Governing frame*

a. Movement away from post colonial themes such as unity

Similar to conflict frames, there was general disinterest in governing frame regarding unity and coalitions between parties, when compared to other frames. In reality, attempts at coalition among political parties, in the early part of the decade, did not appear to be genuine, especially when initiated by the UNC. The on and of attempts at uniting first Team Unity in 2001 and then COP in 2007, seemed hastily put together, as part of the UNC's strategy to win the elections. The media distanced themselves from the machinations of the UNC party, having grown suspicious of Mr Panday's motives. Press attention was riveted to the 2010 election when it appeared that coalition attempts were serious under the PP.

8.2.3 Editorials

a. Focus on governance

Based on content analysis of front pages and news stories, it was found that editors were generally harsh on the incumbent governments and their leaders. For example during the short period Mr Panday was Prime Minister, from 2000 to 2002, his

government was heavily criticized by editors, especially on matters related to corruption. Mr Manning was placed under the microscope in 2007 and 2010, when he was Prime Minister, in his handling of crime and his propensity to make alliances with criminal elements in the society. Both leaders responded to the media by accusing them of biased reporting. In both cases, these accusations resulted in deteriorating government and media relations, making it very difficult for both the government and the media to function effectively alongside each other.

b. Balancing editorial and ownership policy in the politico-economy

Editorial policy may also be at loggerheads with ownership policies of newspapers in the country, since all three newspapers were owned by the private sector. The hostile relationship between press and politics during the Panday regime, in 2000 and Manning regime in 2010, made it difficult for newspapers to function as businesses when they were highly dependent on State advertising, from the country's biggest advertiser, the government. Government calls for boycotting of newspapers by its followers generally resulted in substantial fall in readership and advertising support from party loyalists. Therefore, in situations in which the press are fighting with governments, owners may be more inclined to support the party which best serves their interest and therefore inadvertently influence editorial policy. Further, editors may be forced to practice self-censorship, to keep their newspapers afloat. The problem is compounded by the cross-cutting of government, media and business networks in a tight-knitted society, in which most people know each other, making it very difficult to remain completely independent. The biggest challenge for editors was how to balance ownership policy so that business interests do not impinge on editorial policy, while getting government to recognize the value of the role of the media as an important factor, to build and develop democracy in Trinidad and Tobago.

8.2.4 Commentaries

a. Focus on leadership of parties

Over the five elections, one of the major themes addressed by columnist was that of growing authoritarianism by the political leaders of both the UNC and the PNM, which at times appeared to be moving towards creeping dictatorship. In a country with a strong colonial past and a fairly young democracy, which in 2000 would have

been only forty years old; the autocratic tendencies demonstrated by these two leaders brought back images of colonial dominance under British rule. Historically, Trinidad and Tobago is a migrant society built on mostly enslaved black and indentured Indian workers brought here, to work on the sugar cane plantations. The atrocities of that era in which Africans and Indians were treated as property in a plantation economy, existing solely for the economic development of a mother country, and managed by mostly white English overseers, were still fresh on the minds of most of the older generation. The thought of reverting to that state was highly disturbing to most nationals, accustomed to their new found freedom gained through Independence and Republicanism. As a result post-colonial societies such as Trinidad and Tobago which had enjoyed tremendous autonomy, made even more possible by its oil revenues, are very protective of their rights of self-governance and freedom of expression and are resentful of those rights being whittled away from them, by self-styled African and Indian 'colonial' leaders. Both Mr Manning and Mr Panday have over the years, shown autocratic tendencies, holding on to power at all cost, and as such were very antagonistic to any attempts to make them accountable to the electorate. This antagonism was manifested in authoritarian tendencies and arrogance. In Mr Manning's case described as 'hubris', reminiscent of the arrogance displayed by colonial leaders.

b. Sideline racial rhetoric during campaigns

During the ten years under review, the issue of race became less of a factor in the political commentaries and all but disappeared from the discourse in 2010. Generally, the discussion on race was handled very sensitively by most columnists, although the newspapers did allow certain columnists who felt strongly on a topic, ample space to air their views. For example, several East Indians wrote about the marginalization and alienation of the East Indian population, in what they regarded, as the deliberate discriminatory policies of the PNM government. Race had always been a major factor in Trinidad and Tobago elections, with support drawn from the two largest ethnicities, to form the base of the PNM and UNC parties respectively. The marginalization of East Indians was directly related to the longevity of governance under the PNM. One school of thought being that each group when in power tended to favour their own 'kind'. Since the PNM had been the longest serving government, with the UNC and

NAR being one-term parties, the balance of power had mostly been in favour of Africans, in terms of State patronage.

Additionally, there was a correlation between race relations and party politics. Under the existing Westminster model, the two-party system resulted in a majoritarian government, in which the winner takes all. From 2000 to 2007, both the PNM and UNC had their turn at government, with the spoils going mainly to their supporters. As a result, over the ten years of governance, both ethnicities felt marginalized and alienated at different periods, and this was exasperated by the quick turnover of elections, during the period in which an average of one election was called, every two years. An election weary populace had grown tired of leaders exploiting race to further divide the country and this was reflected in the political commentaries by columnists, who deliberately sidelined this issue, while being highly critical of political leaders, for inciting race during campaigns.

By 2007, when the political landscape started to shift to include a third party (COP) and in 2010, a new formation which embraced all Opposition parties, under the Peoples Partnership; the discourse on race had dwindled considerably almost disappearing completely in 2010. It may well be that a new coalition of political parties created a structure, which did not depend on one ethnic group for support, but had an inclusive policy which involved diverse groups, more representative of Trinidad and Tobago's mosaic society. In such a situation, no one group could blame the other for discriminatory practices since power was shared equitably across the board. Therefore, the sensitivity demonstrated in the political discourse, on race and reflected in columns was very much in tune with the thinking on the ground, while showing a deliberate attempt by columnists to influence the way the general population thought. This is a positive step in the development of politics and media in post-colonial Trinidad and Tobago, in which columnists were deliberately trying to shift the discourse away from traditional themes of race and feelings of alienation and marginalization based on ethnicity, and to raise the political discourse, to a higher level.

c. Gendered politics in a changing political landscape

In 2010, gender became one of the major themes with the advent of a female vying for the top leadership position in the country. Gender had traditionally played a very minor role in elections in Trinidad and Tobago simply because few women were involved in politics and most of them were relegated to the background, as support rather than frontline positions. In the political realm, Trinidad and Tobago was considered a patriarchal society and women traditionally, only moved upwards because of the good graces of a male benefactor. This was even truer for the UNC party which was a predominantly an East Indian, male dominated party. This was compounded by Hindu religious belief that a woman's place was at the home taking care of her husband and children. Even though females had out-numbered males in tertiary education and had achieved considerable strides in the workplace, very few had reached the very top of the corporate ladder. Males also continued to earn higher incomes than females in the country. By 2010, gender had become a dominant theme during that election, in which a female had challenged the political leader of the UNC, to become leader of that party, following which she was able to lead a coalition movement, to pose a serious threat to the long standing PNM government, eventually winning the election. Interestingly, in interviews conducted with journalists, the majority of them did not view gender as a major theme during that election, instead focusing on Mrs Persad-Bissessar's political astuteness, leadership skills, business acumen and novelty.

d. New Politics in a Changing political landscape

One of the most pervasive themes throughout the five elections was politics of change or "new politics." But it was not until 2007, with the advent of a third political party, the COP that that change seemed imminent. The need for new politics was the mantra of the NAR government, in 1986, and was fully supported by the national population. But the collapse of this coalition even before being defeated at the polls, left the citizenry disappointed, disillusioned and perhaps sceptical of coalitions of any form. In 2007, when the COP emerged as a third party, this party was able to reignite the feelings for "new politics" and was supported by a wide cross section of people throughout the country. Unfortunately, there was too much bitterness between loyalists of the parent UNC and dissenters who had left the party, to join the COP.

Some of these sentiments were captured by columnists who were openly discouraging of any form of alliance between the COP and UNC, preferring to keep both parties separate. Even though the COP did not win any seats in the 2007 elections, the party started a process of change in national politics, in terms of party structure, while gaining the support of the media. By 2010, the stage had been set for change in politics with the emergence of the coalition Partnership, under a female leader. Initially, columnists were sceptical about the architecture of the Partnership and the way it was hastily patched together, to fight the elections. Nevertheless, underlying the scepticism was a great deal of optimism that perhaps this time, a unified force could defeat the PNM, and usher in a new era of governance for the country.

8.3 Research Question 1

Whether the daily newspapers in Trinidad and Tobago exhibited bias in the coverage of political news during campaigns

In all three newspapers there was evidence of both partisan and structural bias in the coverage of news stories written by journalists and published inside the newspapers. Structural bias was discerned in the sourcing of political news mainly from politicians especially those who were part of the incumbent government. Partisan bias was found in the framing of political leaders especially those who were leading new parties such as the COP and the PP, which presented alternatives to the two established parties, the UNC and PNM. In terms of the UNC, there was consistent negativity towards the founding leader, Mr Basdeo Panday especially by the *Express* newspapers, stemming from ongoing conflicts between that newspaper and Mr Panday. In addition, there seemed to have been a decided bias, in favour of new leadership in the country and correspondingly new leadership within the traditional parties.

Although the press strived for balance and objectivity when reporting on political news, there was evidence of structural bias in the sourcing of information from politicians especially those who formed incumbent governments. In most instances, reporters relied too heavily on information passed to them by their political contacts within governments. Since the PNM had been the longest serving government in the country, then the relationship between certain PNM politicians and journalists would have been very strong, some having been developed over a long period of time. This

would have been complicated by the easy movement of journalists from private media to public media and vice versa, depending on which government was in power.

Structural bias was also inherent in the coverage of events concerning government officials especially the Prime Minister and government ministers, although this coverage tended to veer towards the negative. Over the five electoral periods, there was evidence of continuous negativity by the press towards sitting governments, whether UNC or PNM. This was related to emphasis on recurrent negative issues such as corruption, scandals and conflicts discussed by politicians during the political campaigns. Journalists covering these events reported what was said on political platforms in the absence of substantial issues. These issues were given prominence since they sold newspapers and attracted readers who were mostly interested in ‘bacchanal’³²¹.

There was evidence of partisan bias in news coverage against both the Panday regime in favour of the PNM (2000 to 2002), and the Manning-led government, in 2010 in favour of the PP. During these periods, both leaders had become very unpopular because of their authoritarian leadership styles, unpopular policies and decisions and allegations of corruption leading to reportage of scandals. Mr Panday was consistently framed more negatively when compared to the PNM leader, up to the time when he lost the election in 2002. The framing of Mr Panday and his government as corrupt while highlighting conflicts within the UNC party, especially by the *Express* would indelibly brand his party as unsuitable for governing the country while adversely affecting his leadership position within his own party. Similarly, in 2010 Mr Manning was framed negatively while the PP leader was highlighted much more positively, appearing more times on the front covers than the leader of the PNM. This suggests that the media was partisan towards the Opposition, led by Mrs Persad-Bissessar to form the government of Trinidad and Tobago, as evidenced by the drastic increased volume of coverage given to the 2010 election. It is difficult to say whether this partisan bias was reflective of the mood of the country or perceptions by the press in general and individual journalists in particular, for the yearning for change in the country.

³²¹ This is a local word meaning confusion and the propensity of Trinidadians to pay attention to other peoples business

Evidence of partisanship was also shown towards the leader of the COP, Mr Winston Dookeran who was framed as an incorruptible leader which was directly in contrast to the leaders of the UNC and PNM. However, some elements of the press made Mr Dookeran out to be indecisive and cowardly so that even though he had some endorsement from the press, he was not able to win a seat in the 2007 election. However, Mr Dookeran's interlude in the political arena, in 2007, created the conditions for changed politics which had begun in 1986, with the advent of the NAR in the political landscape and culminated with the coalition government, the PP in 2010. The positive response of the press to a new political party and newer, fresher leaders may well represent an intuitive appreciation by the press, of the yearning within the citizenry, for a fresh and different approach to politics and governance, in Trinidad and Tobago.

8.4 Research Question 2

Whether news editors and columnists framed editorials and commentaries to show bias towards any political party

Generally editors and columnists tried to be even handed and objective when writing about political leaders and their parties, focusing mostly on incumbent governments and their handling of governance issues such as crime. However, similar to news stories, over the five campaign periods, it was discovered that there was a general tendency to frame the incumbent Prime Minister and his government negatively, whether UNC or PNM; the intensity of negativity, differing each election year. For example Mr Panday was consistently framed negatively because of allegations of corruption and scandals which started early in 2000 when he was Prime Minister and which followed him right down to the end of his political career. Similarly, Mr Manning became very unpopular during his reign in 2010, because of allegations of corruption and scandals. On the other hand, COP leader, Mr Winston Dookeran and UNC leader, Mrs Kamla Persad-Bissessar were both framed much more positively by the local press, in 2007 and 2010 respectively. Both were opposition leaders at the time. However evidence points to both structural and partisan bias against the Panday-led government from 2000 to 2002, by all three dailies especially the *Express* newspaper. Partisan bias was also exhibited towards the COP and the coalition

Peoples Partnership as a more suitable alternative government, to the long-standing PNM regime, led by Mr Patrick Manning, in 2007 and 2010 respectively.

The bias against Mr Panday appeared to have originated from a personal conflict between CEO of the *Express*, Mr Ken Gordon which ended up in the courts of Trinidad and Tobago. Both Mr Panday and Mr Gordon were Cabinet Ministers in the National Alliance for Reconstruction (NAR) government in 1986, which ended up in a bitter conflict which resulted in Mr Panday leaving the coalition, to form his own party, Club 88 which became the UNC. Mr Gordon was appointed as a Senator and Minister of Industry, Enterprise and Tourism, by the then Prime Minister Mr ANR Robinson. Mr Panday, having come from the working class and holding the most seats as the ULF faction of the NAR, was upset that Mr Gordon, who was a local media mogul, and represented the business class, was appointed to such a key Ministry. He also felt that Mr Gordon was hostile to the working class population especially those who represented the East Indian community and formed the base of the ULF party. Mr Gordon had remained in the NAR Government after Mr Panday had left, but soon after, returned to the media, to head the CCN group of companies, which owned the *Express*. In 1995, the UNC government under the leadership of Mr Panday won the national elections, to form the government of Trinidad and Tobago. In 1997, Mr Panday's government decided to put out a Green Paper on media reform; Mr Gordon responded negatively on behalf of the media fraternity describing it as "Machiavellian" resulting in Mr Panday calling Mr Gordon a "pseudo-racist" (Chapter 3:11). The ongoing battle between the *Express* and Mr Panday continued to become highly personalized in 2000 when Mr Panday blamed the press for Princess Diana's death and the press generally regarded this comment as a desire to curb press freedom of the local press, leading to a general defence of press freedom in Trinidad and Tobago by media practitioners (Chapter 3:13). By 2001, the *Express's* insistence on framing the Panday government as corrupt, had hit a raw nerve in Mr Panday, who led an onslaught on TV6 a subsidiary of CCN which also owned the *Express*; describing the station in the most vitriolic terms. By 2007, the relationship between Mr Panday and the *Express* had become ugly with personal insults flying back and forth, between editors and Mr Panday (chapter 6:21).

The personal fight between these two headstrong and powerful personalities in the country: one from business/media and the other from politics, with its genesis in politics, was played out in the public sphere, over two decades and had considerable influence over editorial policy in the choice, slant and tone of topics in the press especially the *Express*. One may argue that some of this had filtered down even to certain commentaries written by columnists. In a small society such as Trinidad and Tobago, in which various media fed off each other, it was likely that the editorial policy of the *Express* would have also influenced the editorial policies of the other two dailies, as demonstrated by the overall negativity towards Mr Panday, by both the *Guardian* and *Newsday*. The structural bias against the political leader of the UNC also influenced the negative framing of the UNC party and the partisanship shown to alternative parties, such as the COP and the PP. Faced with opposition by both editors and owners of newspapers and alienated by the press, which he interpreted as biased against his government, Mr Panday accused the *Express* of plotting to bring down his government.

Although, from 2002 to 2007, editors addressed the issue of governance under the leadership of Mr Patrick Manning, focusing on his inability to solve the increasing crime problem, and his linkages with criminals in the country; it was in 2010 that Mr Manning's popularity declined tremendously, and the slant and tone of editorials became more negative towards him. However, while editors demonstrated bias against the political leader, this was not directed towards the entire PNM party since editors were much more positive towards the deputy political leader, Dr Keith Rowley, framing him as a more suitable leader for the party. Similar to Mr Panday, the political leader's accusations of press bias only worsened relations between Mr Manning and the established press, with the *Express* being most vociferous regarding press freedom. However, there was evidence of partisanship towards the coalition PP as a more suitable government for the country, as demonstrated by editorial frustration with old politics as practiced by the PNM. This included the authoritarian leadership style; inciting of race on the political platform; allegations of corruption against senior public officials; and lack of accountability to the people of the country. Editorial and opinion leaders' frustration further intensified when they were unable to lift the political discourse in the country by persuading Mr Manning to engage in a national debate on issues affecting the citizenry.

In 2007 and 2010 respectively, partisanship was shown towards both the COP and the PP as more attractive forms of political parties under new leadership, to govern the country, by columnists of all three daily newspapers. Editors were more circumspect in their opinions concerning these two new parties in the political landscape and tended to be much more cautious in their writings, although the subtext suggested hopefulness for the possibility of new governance.

On the other hand, columnists were much more opinionated in their writings with many of them openly supporting these two new parties. In 2010, when Mrs. Persad-Bissessar became a serious contender for Prime Ministership, females across the country supported her because they felt that for the first time a female could shatter the 'glass ceiling'. Also during this time, other female leaders had achieved Prime Ministerial and Presidential status around the world. The wind of change, in terms of reversal of gender roles and equity in male-female relations was sweeping the world and Trinidad and Tobago became swept up in the euphoria of the moment. Columnists, both males and females who were tracking Mrs Persad-Bissessar's career path, threw their support behind the lone female, seeing in her the potential to emerge as a national leader and the most likely candidate to lead a unified force, against the incumbent and long-standing PNM government. While internationally, the press tended to objectify women in the way they are framed, as demonstrated with the framing of Sarah Palin in the 2008 Presidential elections, on the contrary Mrs Persad-Bissessar was glorified by a highly benevolent press who raised her to celebrity status, which gave her the extra edge over her competitors. This was further strengthened during interviews with media practitioners in which most of the respondents did not view gender as a major deciding factor during elections and instead focused on her political astuteness and leadership capabilities.

It may well be that a built-in bias or preference in the society for a departure from 'old politics' (since 2006 the COP had campaigned on the premise of "new politics") represented by the older political leaders. The new leader of the UNC, Mrs Persad – Bissessar and the leader of the COP, Mr Dookeran, having broken away from the old UNC, represented something different. The coalition of five political parties also represented something new. The yearning for something new and fresh by the

population may well have reflected itself in the press in tangible press coverage and in spirit. The freshness of a female leader in a male-dominated, political arena and the prospect of the country's first female Prime Minister may also have coalesced in a kind of national yearning, which at once was reflected in the press to the extent that the press became advocates for change as well. At the same time, the negative aura which surrounded the then ruling Party and its 'old' leader made it impossible to present Mr Manning and his ruling party in a positive light. The dynamic between public opinion influencing the press and the press influencing public opinion, may have been mutually reinforcing.

8.5 Research Objective 1

Whether bias was a major factor in the outcome of national elections in Trinidad and Tobago

There were two surges of increased volume, in political coverage, over the five campaign periods: during the 2002 (58.1%) and 2010 (91.11%) campaigns, in which both incumbent governments: the UNC and PNM were beaten at the polls and new governments formed. These two media spiked campaigns resulted in changed government in 2002 and 2010, respectively suggesting that the press may have played an important role in the outcome of at least two elections, even if this meant reinforcing existing opinions about political parties and candidates (Ross 2002:68). In the case of Trinidad and Tobago, the media may have reinforced in the minds of the voting public, that both the UNC and PNM governments, in 2002 and 2010 respectively, had run their course, and that re-election of these entities, at the particular times in question, was not in the best interest of the country.

In 2000, the UNC leader, Mr Panday was highly featured on the front covers of the three dailies but the headlines were very negative towards that party. Less than a year later, the UNC was forced to call fresh elections after a short time in office. The negativity towards the UNC prevailed in 2001 and 2002 until they were defeated at the polls and the PNM was able to form the government. Similarly, in 2010, the content analysis showed a strong negativity towards the PNM and its leader while the opposition leader appeared more times in photos on the cover. The PNM was beaten

at the polls and a new government under the coalition of the Peoples Partnership emerged to lead the country. The facts indicate that there is a direct correlation between the negative framing of parties and political leaders by the press and the changing of governments in Trinidad and Tobago, during these periods.

Since the choice of headlines and photos on front pages were the sole responsibility of editors in newspapers; this may suggest that editors may not have been altogether innocent in the negative framing of certain politicians, inadvertently influencing public perceptions and opinions of those persons, and negatively impacting on their chances at government. The evidence shows the deep influence of Trinidad and Tobago's media in political campaigns and national elections in the country while revealing an institutional bias towards certain parties.

There was a direct relation between conflict frames and new political parties, during the campaigns of 2002 and 2010. The conflict frame was intensified to magnify the enormity of the internal problems faced by the two traditional parties, the UNC and the PNM, and this inadvertently, gave the two newcomers, the COP and PP, an advantage over its rivals in the race to the polls. In 2002, when the UNC was deeply involved in internal party conflicts and had begun to lose its popularity among the citizenry, the media used conflict frames to highlight internal party problems, thereby giving the impression that the UNC was conflict-prone when compared to its rival, the Opposition PNM.

Similarly, in 2007, when the PNM had governed for five years and Mr. Manning had begun to slide in popularity, the media also used conflict frames to highlight the internal fighting between the party's executive and its leader. At that time the COP had emerged as a viable third-party and was profiled much more positively when compared to the UNC and PNM. During the 2007 campaign, the ongoing conflict between Mr Panday and the *Express* newspaper and the overall impression created of Mr Panday as combative and conflict-prone, during the 2001 campaign continued to stick to him down to the end of his career in 2010. In 2010, the media, especially the *Newsday* increased their use of the conflict frame, to show up party squabbling within the PNM. At that time, the incumbent government had stiff competition from the Peoples Partnership. However, while the media effect of the conflict framing may

have worked positively for the PP, it was not enough to make a difference in the COP fortunes since that party was not able to win a seat during the 2007 election. This would suggest that while negative framing of an incumbent government can help to position an incumbent government for a loss, more factors are required to actually make a win for the challenging political party, possible. In other words, the media can influence a change in government by the way it reports on election campaigns but media reportage alone including framing and bias is not a sufficient condition to determine the outcome of an election.

The fact remains that over the ten years under review, five elections were held in which evidence points to a very active media role in which political campaigns have become highly mediatized, with a tendency for the press to focus on incumbent governments using corruption and scandal to frame consecutive leaders. In a young democracy such as Trinidad and Tobago, five elections could not have been called without the intervention of the media and evidence points to the fall of at least two governments because of the role of the press.

Two key issues are being argued in this particular instance. While structural bias or partisan bias may not demonstrate in a crass form, the shift in the frame of emphasis from the traditional personality and the horserace frames to the conflict frame; they may well have functioned to structure and influence the thinking of the electorate. In 2007, it was strong enough to cast doubt on the efficacy of the then ruling party. In 2007, it was not enough to cause a shift away from the traditional leadership and their parties, even in the wake of a party espousing new politics and new leadership. In any case, the conflict frame was not dominant in this election. In 2010, while the conflict frame could have been highlighted, in the case of the coalition Peoples Partnership, it was not. Yet, when the conflict frame included conflict with the media, as seen during Panday's reign in 2000 - 2002 and Manning's governance in 2010; the election resulted in both parties being defeated at the polls. To this extent, the application of the conflict frame in the presentation of political parties does seem to be an influential factor, if not the decisive factor, in the determination of elections outcome.

It has been demonstrated throughout the empirical chapters (5-7) of this thesis that the press have generally stayed away from emphasis on the conflict frame, focussing on

the personality and horserace frames and sometimes striving to lift the level of the discussion by highlighting issues. It would seem, therefore, that an emphasis on the conflict frame in relation to a political party can have a negative impact on that party's chances of forming the government.

8.6 Research Objective 2

The Role of the print media in political campaigns in Trinidad and Tobago

The role of the daily press in political campaigns in Trinidad and Tobago has become increasingly important in politics over the last decade, moving from simply acting as intermediaries between the political directorate and the national population, to a more active role of mediatization in the political communication process, within which the “watchdog” role of the media has emerged. To a large extent, reporters covering the daily news, continue to act in a passive role, recording and disseminating political information as they occur daily. Further, newspapers have become the foremost public sphere for the exchange of ideas among a wide cross-section of the national population, representing different factions and groups in society and coming from various sectors. So the press in Trinidad and Tobago, do by and large, play the role of an open forum for public discourse.

Over the decade, the press has become active players in the political communication process in Trinidad and Tobago, with editors and columnists insisting on accountability and transparency in governance, from political leaders sitting at the helm of government. On the other hand, governments view themselves as the sole “gatekeepers” and caregivers of the country and are reluctant to embrace the media as a key stakeholder in the developmental process. The problem lies in the fact that while the media are insisting on accountability and transparency, governments think that they are out of line, and are meddling in government's business, and sometimes deliberately refuse to respond to media queries. In such situations, in which one is vociferous in requesting information, and the other stubbornly withholds that information; the media make their own judgment call and this generally reflects negatively on the leadership and governments. Until government recognizes the

important role of the media, this situation is likely to persist. Defensiveness on the part of a government, mistrust of media motives on the part of governments and withholding of information by governments all seem to work tentatively against governments in terms of the slant of media coverage and the way they are framed by the press.

Further, editors especially, have tried to set the agenda for political discourse by framing the discussion on governance in the country and by moving away from conflicts and post-colonial themes such as race and unity. In this regard they have encouraged leaders to engage in national debates on policy issues which affect the citizenry of the country, such as the rising crime levels, and how they would govern were they to win the election. Unfortunately, this has met with limited success especially, in 2010 when Mr Manning refused to debate with the then opposition leader, Mrs Persad-Bissessar. While the press's interventionist role has had some success in increasing interest in the democratic traditions of the country, as evidenced by the dramatic increase in volume of coverage in 2010; it has created a combustible environment between press and politicians which could erupt at the smallest provocation. This was demonstrated in the hostile stance adopted by both Mr Panday and Mr Manning, while in government, in 2000 and 2010 respectively.

The press has also emerged as a public sphere in which ideas could be discussed as evidenced by the array of topics addressed by editors and columnists. While editorials were written in-house and represented the views of newspapers, on the other hand, columnists came from diverse backgrounds such as education, politics, trade union, religious groups and independent journalists, representing the views of diverse groups and expressing diverse opinions in the country. The diversity of this group was represented in the pluralistic views expressed in columns. Only a very small part of this group could be considered career journalists who have spent most of their time in the media. However, the pool of resources tended to be limited to a small group of consistent writers, most of whom came from elitist backgrounds and who could possibly have undue influence by monopolizing thinking within the columns.

The press also became part of the psychological warfare between warring parties, to convey the impression that they had the support of the people behind them. Part of the

orchestration of political campaigns especially the mounting of huge rallies was to have full page, full colour photos depicting massive turnout and crowd jubilation splashed in the front covers and in the pages of the newspapers. In 2007 and 2010, supporters of the PNM would have been psyched out by the photos of elated supporters, of both the COP and the PP, who had turned out in abundance, to attend rallies organized by these new parties. In contrast the photos of the incumbent government conveyed the impression that all was not well in the PNM camp.

The press also tried to influence public opinion by the way they framed particular leaders and their parties. In fact, leadership of political parties and the country took up considerable time within the press with journalists, editors and columnists all focusing on the most likely candidate to govern the country. For example in 2000 to 2002, Mr Panday was framed as corrupt and conflict-prone; Mr Ramesh Lawrence Maharaj of Team Unity as untrustworthy and someone to be feared; COP's leader Mr Dookeran, may have suffered from the contradictions inherent in dual framing - as a clean politician with fresh ideas offering hope for a more enlightened political dispensation on the one hand, and as an indecisive "ducking" leader on the other. Mr Manning was framed as suffering from 'hubris', an overinflated ego which prevented him from listening to the people on the ground. Mrs Persad-Bissessar on the other hand was framed as a political celebrity and ideal female leader who could effect change in governance and leadership style of the country. The press also used political polls to support their positions as demonstrated by the ANSA McAl Psychological Center Poll, conducted on leadership of both the PP and the country in which Mrs Persad-Bissessar was polled as the most suitable candidate for both positions (Chapter 6).

Over the decade, the role of the press had become increasingly important in the democratic process, moving from mediating to a mediatizing role in which the role of watchdog has become stronger. Further the press had been able to influence the opinions of the voting public, in the way they framed particular politicians, parties and issues. Whether the press can influence public opinion enough to determine an election outcome is difficult to say for certain. The outcome of an election can be influenced by the press depending on the extent of convergence of issues in an election campaign, and the manner in which this is managed either consciously or unconsciously by the press.

8.7 Research Objective 3

Solutions to strengthen both the independent role of the media and strengthening of the democratic process in a small island state such as Trinidad and Tobago

One of the biggest challenges for media and politics in Trinidad and Tobago has been the increasingly active role of the free press in the democratic process, as evidenced by the movement away from being intermediaries of information to mediatizing in the political communication process. Unfortunately, governments are yet to recognize the changing roles of the press and the need to treat them as partners and stakeholders in the development process, notwithstanding the fact that the freedom of the press has been enshrined in the Constitution of the country. In order to operate as a true liberal democracy, both press and politics must find a zone of common ground in which to operate, acknowledging the importance of both their roles and functions within the democratic process, in the country's development. The Parliamentary system and the political culture it has facilitated in a plural society, has already created a highly adversarial system of politics. There is need to ease the tensions between the various estates in the governance process, without inhibiting the capacity of each estate, to play their legitimate and constitutional role.

A further development in the media/political relationship has been the growing interest in politics by the general public and the dependence on the press not only for information but as a public sphere to discuss ideas on governance. This participatory approach which is played out by columnists and letter writers, give voice to the disgruntled, disenfranchised in society but further empowers the media as a power broker between the voting public and political directorate. In every respect the media has become the peoples' champion as the fourth estate in the country, holding politicians accountable to the people while insisting on integrity in public office.

The ascension of women to the highest office in government and in the press as well, in 2010 with the Prime Minister being a female and the editors-in-chief of all three dailies may augur well for future development in politics and press relations in terms of collaboration, mutual respect and consensus building. This remains to be seen. The

authoritarian form of government has been replaced by a more participatory government, in which the press could now engage government under new terms and conditions. But for this to happen, the press must also be willing to compromise and adopt new approaches in the way they operate. A healthy democracy requires the parallel growth and development of both the first and fourth estates. At the same time Government must be open enough to view the media as essential to democracy. It is clear that this is an area of development in Trinidad and Tobago which has to be gingerly negotiated as democracy evolves in the society.

8.8 Research Objective 4

Explore possibilities for a new model of media and politics for small island states in the Caribbean

There is no one model which fully describes media and politics in Trinidad and Tobago and this is largely due to the transient nature of both politics and media, over the last ten years, further complicated by the country's culture and society which are also undergoing considerable changes as well. However, what has emerged is that Trinidad and Tobago is moving along a continuum from authoritarianism (Siebert *et al* 1956) to democratic liberalism (Hallin and Mancini 2004) best described as an "emerging liberal democratic model" in which there is a pull between social responsibility model (Siebert *et al* 1956) in which developmental journalism seen as the ideal in some societies such as Singapore (Cenite *et al* 2008) and Malaysia (Wong 2004), and liberalism, the prevailing model in liberal democracies such as Britain and the USA, in which the mediatizing role of the free press forces politicians to be accountable to the citizenry (Hallin and Mancini 2004). The pull between old and new models of media and politics is very much a result of our psychological conditioning based our colonial history under British rule and the liberating influences of Americanization on the country's socio-political economy and the media.

Over the decade under review and even longer, this country has become increasingly influenced by American culture because of its strategic location close to the mainland, the influx of American businesses and the strong presence of American programmes as a result of multi-channelling from cable television. The strong American influence

is also reflected in professionalization of political campaigns, the mediatizing of the communication process and the presidentialization of elections in which the focus is on leadership of political parties. However, even though the media as an institution have evolved considerably over the last five elections, consecutive governments continue to view the media as existing solely to promote governments policies and agenda, further refusing to embrace them as a main stakeholders in the democratic process.

This is largely due to the way politicians view the media as major power brokers in the political system. Traditionally, owners of newspapers were outside the formal power structure, coming from mostly bourgeoisie backgrounds but exert considerable influence and pressure over the political system, by influencing public opinions in the way they frame certain issues, personalities and political parties, and by giving voice to disenfranchised groups. By instrumentalizing these voices in society such as the trade unions, religious organizations and academics, they have further empowered themselves in the political system. To maintain political power, politicians are dependent on the press to mediate between the political directorate and the voting public.

Added to this complexity is the blurring of lines between politics and media in the country, with the crisscrossing of professionals in both fields, and the deep social connections, personal relationships and networks formed between politicians and persons in the press over long periods of time. The smallness of the country makes it impossible not be connected to someone or the other through familial or business relations. A further layer of complexity is added by the smallness of the media system which is controlled by a group of practitioners rotating and interchanging from one media house to another. Personal grudges and partisan biases can be easily transferred from one media house to another and can become viral throughout the profession. Likewise, political grudges against certain media practitioners and houses can remain dormant when a party is out of office rearing its head when they are returned to the corridors of power.

What has emerged out of this study is that there is a link between the system of media in Trinidad and Tobago and the output of content based on sourcing of information

from mostly politicians sitting in government. Evidence points to structural bias towards political regimes regardless of political parties, as found with the UNC and PNM during their respective reigns. Further, that there is an institutional bias against governments while in office as demonstrated by the propensity to be negative towards all governments and political leaders while being much more positive to new opposition parties - what one might call the incumbency disadvantage.

The press and politics system in Trinidad and Tobago has achieved milestones by moving away from authoritarianism (Siebert *et al* 1956) under a two-party system, with voting based on ethnicity and race. It is also much better off than some of its regional counterparts like Antigua, in which the press continues to be a commodity and a political resource for the political directorate (Rhodes and Henry 1995), or exist under repressive media systems as found in Asian countries such as Singapore (Cenite *et al* 2008), and China where developmental journalism is the norm. Neither are they shackled by the State as found in electoral authoritarian models such as Malaysia (Wong 2004). The press in Trinidad and Tobago comes from a tradition of strong press freedom and continues to hold its own as a veritable force to be reckoned with in the media and political landscape of the country, as it moves towards achieving full liberal democracy.

9. CONCLUSION

A WAY FORWARD FOR MEDIA AND POLITICS IN TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO – SUPPORTING THE GROWTH OF DEMOCRACY

This research was undertaken with a view to examining the interplay between press and politics in political campaigns, looking specifically at a particular period in the country's history in which five elections were called in ten years, from 2000 to 2010. In this regard, it addressed two main research questions, firstly whether the daily newspapers in Trinidad and Tobago exhibited bias in their coverage of political news during the campaign periods. Secondly whether, editors and columnists framed their editorials and commentaries to show bias towards a particular party. The objectives were to explore whether media bias was a major factor in election coverage; to gain a better understanding of the role that the print media play in political campaigns in the country; to address possible solutions to strengthen both the independent role of the media and the democratic process in a small island state such as Trinidad and Tobago; and to explore possibilities for a new model of media and politics to facilitate a better understanding of media and politics in Trinidad and Tobago and perhaps, for small island States generally, in the Caribbean.

The main theoretical perspective was framing looking specifically at biased reportage, structural and partisan which would provide for a framework to understand media and politics in the country. In this context, chapter one reviewed different models of media and politics around the world under regimes which ranged from free and liberal to those under repressive State control. In each case, it was found that the type of bias practiced by the media was different mainly due to the socio-political and sometimes cultural position of each country. For example, cultural bias was prevalent in Islamic countries such as Iraq, in which the views of women were not fully taken into account (Garyantes 2006). In Asian countries (Cenite *et al* 2008; Wong 2004; Abbott 2011) and some of the Caribbean countries (Rhodes and Henry 1995), there was strong

partisan bias because of the State's insistence that the media play a developmental role in society. However, in most democratic countries, such as those of Europe and in a country such as the USA, the press by and large had been allowed considerable freedom to perform their duties and bias was less obvious both in the structure and political orientations of newspapers. Here in Trinidad and Tobago, bias is complicated by the smallness of the society and the closeness between media practitioners and politicians making it difficult for journalists to be truly independent. Yet at the same time there is ample evidence that the press strive for objectivity and balance in their reportage during elections.

To measure the level of partisan and structural bias practised by newspapers using framing theory, chapter two described the application of a combined methodology of qualitative and quantitative content analysis (CA), and interviews with media practitioners. This two-pronged approach generated quantitative data which were substantiated by interviews with journalists. The addition of the inter-coder reliability test using two independent coders ensured that the integrity of the research was not compromised through researcher bias. The uniqueness of this methodology was that two innovations in the methodological process were developed, through the design of a bias scale (fig. 2.3) to measure bias and a coding template to input data from the content analysis (appendix F). It is hoped that these creative research tools would be used as best practice models for similar studies by other researchers who wish to study media and politics in the future.

The three empirical chapters focussed on the analysis of the research data in a unique way – by grouping them into three chapters in which election campaigns were treated as case studies. The 2000 and 2010 elections were covered as individual case studies (chapters 5 & 7). The 2000, 2002 and 2007 elections were grouped together in the middle as a single chapter (chapter 6). These cases also offered the opportunity for trend analysis and some comparative analysis. The quantitative content analysis of headlines, photos and cover stories and the qualitative analysis of editorials and opinions of columnists facilitated data analysis based on examination of election campaigns over the ten years. This two-pronged approach is a unique feature of this study and the fact that so many elections are covered in consecutive order over a relatively intense time can make the analysis quite potent.

Two of the most noticeable trends found in the analysis of front pages of newspapers were the dramatic increase in volume of coverage over the ten years especially in 2010 and the genuine attempt by the press to strive for objectivity and balance when reporting on politics. Even so, presenting many sides during highly competitive political campaigns was often interpreted by politicians as partisan bias by journalists against particular political parties. In such situations the press found it exceedingly difficult to persuade politicians that they were simply doing their job. We have noted in chapter three as well that incumbent Prime Ministers have generally come into conflict with the press during the course of their tenure and that allegations of bias against the press during election campaigns are not uncommon, over the last fifty years of history of politics and government in Trinidad and Tobago.

In all five elections, the most popular frame was politicians as personalities with heavy focus on both the opposition leader and the Prime Minister. Issue frame was the second most popular frame used by journalists when reporting on news but fell very short when compared to personality frames. Journalists were also concerned about who would emerge victorious at the polls as demonstrated by the usage of the horserace frame when reporting on news. They were least interested in issues related to conflicts and even less so on governance issues. The complexity of unity issues, for instance, and issues related to forming and sustaining coalitions were never high on the agenda. Yet, heightened focus on the conflict theme with reference to a political party can have an adverse effect as demonstrated in Chapter eight.

Over the ten-year period, the editorials of all three dailies were highly opinionated about similar issues such as leadership of the country and issues of governance relating to the conduct of free and fair elections by the Elections and Boundaries Commission (EBC); the politicizing of State institutions such as the Police Service, the prevalence of corruption among government officials; high crime rates and accusations of media bias. Editors were also strong champions of freedom of the press and the role of the media in the country and openly condemned any attacks on the integrity of the journalistic profession. These issues became the main national agenda over the five elections under review (2000 – 2010), greatly influencing public opinions on political regimes, in the way they were framed. Editors of all three dailies

took their role as watchdogs very seriously mediatizing in the political communication process between the political directorate and the citizenry by insisting on accountability and transparency in government policies.

The trend analysis of commentaries over the ten years of review has revealed similarities in themes addressed by columnists of all three dailies regarding leadership and governance in terms of party structure, race relations, ethics, and gender. Commentaries were usually written by a combination of public figures who were knowledgeable on issues of governance such as political scientists from the University of the West Indies; persons who have served in government or senior public service positions; head of religious organizations; lawyers; trade unions; political parties; and other social interest groups. A very small group was drawn from the journalistic profession. Therefore, the views expressed by this diverse group mostly represented their own thinking or that of their organizations and in most instances were distinct from those expressed by editors of newspapers. However, sympathizers and supporters of particular political parties who wrote columns generally declared their partisanship.

In terms of politics, it was found that political parties while in Opposition tended to champion the cause of the media spurring them on to show up the government negatively. However, once they take up office, these same parties at the first sign of criticism were quick to blame the media for biased reporting. Further, politicians did not fully understand the role of the free press in society and therefore did not view them as integral to the development process in the country. Any form of intervention by the press was viewed suspiciously and labelled as anti-government and generally led to hostile media/political relations.

While much has been written on the subject of media and politics in democracies around the world, very little information is available on media studies and the role of the media in political campaigns in Trinidad and Tobago. Further, it is the first time that a comprehensive study is undertaken of the interplay between media and politics, in a defined period of time (2000-2010). The inclusion of the 2010 election makes this study both timely and relevant, written only two years after the 2010 election. No known study of the 2010 election has been done so far. This coverage of five election

campaigns within a decade, against the background of recent political history of a small, Parliamentary democracy and island State, must present new material worthy of consideration by other scholars and academics in the field.

Evidence based on the empirical research points to the prospect not only of the press having a strong effect on electoral outcomes in the country because of the manner in which they framed particular parties, politicians and issues but may also have actually precipitated the early calling of elections before they were constitutionally due. This was especially true of those Prime Ministers who were openly hostile to the media and in situations where press/politics relations had become combative as found with the Panday (2000-2002) and Manning regimes (2007-2010). These issues, though, are further complicated by the dynamic play off between citizen views, press response to these and the response of citizens to news and views presented in the press, in turn, influencing public opinion on how to possibly behave.

Based on the analysis of the five elections (2000-2010), one of the most pervasive issues during political campaigns has been leadership of political parties and the style of governance by leaders of political parties. However, little attention was paid to those topics which had implications for good governance of the country such as how to solve the rising tide of criminality and the type of governance structure needed to properly manage the country's affairs, although there has been mention of constitutional reform from time to time. Secondly, the press had made a concerted effort to present all contending parties and politicians objectively when reporting on news on their covers and inside the newspapers, even if this has meant being accused of biased reporting. Further, the effort of the press to deliberately downplay traditional themes such as race, unity and conflicts among politicians and parties, while attempting to lift the national discourse in the country by focusing on governance issues has demonstrated the changing role from intermediary to mediatizing agent by the local press in the political communication process. However, the overdependence on politicians as main sources of information has resulted in structural bias in favour of incumbency during the course of governance in the daily reporting of news although this may not necessarily always obtain in an election campaign period. Partisanship was shown towards new political parties by columnists, namely towards the Congress of the People and the Peoples Partnership. This is so

even in a context in which, as I have argued earlier, incumbents might well be at a disadvantage in the context of an election campaign because incumbents inevitably, have a record of performance including errors to defend.

Questions which have been explored in this thesis with regard to the role of the press are: what role did the press play in the coverage of these five elections and how did this role affect the outcome of elections? Also, what does the inherent dynamics between politics and the press, discerned over the decade imply for the evolution of democracy and press freedom, in what is essentially a small, parliamentary democracy, operating in a multi-ethnic environment and evolving from a largely State - dominated media environment, feeling its way towards a liberal democratic model in a young country that has not yet fully established all the institutions and traditions of a solid democratic State in which development challenges, typical post-colonial societies, require solutions and resolutions?

Given what exists in terms of the tension between the press and politics at the current time, what would be the most desirable route forward in terms of strengthening the role of the press, enhancing the democratic process and system in the country and developing a working model that is a win-win for freedom and independence of the press, a strong system of governance and a healthy democracy? It is the view of the writer that an adjustment needs to be made to the liberal model created by Hallin and Mancini (2004) while at the same time there is need to incorporate elements of the social responsibility model developed by Siebert, Peterson and Schramm (1963). In this regard, I am making a case for recognition of an 'emerging liberal democratic model' (ELDM) of media and politics which has the capacity to evolve into full, liberal democratic model but with a healthy sense of social responsibility, taking into account the relative youth of the society and in recognition of the fact that democracy involved a process of growth including the evolution and mutual strengthening of key institutions. Also recognising that it is largely democratic and liberal but still emerging, and therefore finding its foothold is vital. Such a model is reflective of fundamental realities - that Trinidad and Tobago is a small, developing, post-colonial and multi-ethnic society grounded in democratic traditions but still in transition, forging its way to a stronger democracy and more.

To achieve this, such a country must tread carefully, balancing boldness with the need to recognise fragility inherent in such societies. The evidence is clear in this thesis that the media have enjoyed considerable freedom and have generally been able to flourish under a liberal system of democracy. Nevertheless, the media on its own, have shown restraint (as in the case of its reportage on the volatile issue of race in the elections, and on the issue of internal party conflicts) and demonstrated a sense of social responsibility, thus carving out a developmental role for itself in the democratic process. It is the view of the author of this thesis that this approach should perhaps be more self-consciously pursued, as an emerging democratic model evolves under conditions of freedom and mutually respectful engagement.

While this model draws extensively on existing models, this author is of the view that such a proposition for an ‘emerging liberal democratic model’ has an element of freshness and may well work for other Caribbean and possibly, other developing countries with a commitment to democracy.

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APPENDIX A

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR MEDIA IN TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO

This questionnaire is being administered by Mrs. Indrani Bachan-Persad, a final year doctoral student of Media and Politics at Coventry University, England. The objective of this questionnaire is to source primary data from practicing journalists and other media personnel from the press media to strengthen my thesis on the role of the media in political campaigns during the last five (5) elections in Trinidad and Tobago: 2000-2010. Please fill out and return questionnaire by July 30, 2011. For further enquiries and clarifications I can be contacted at (w), (H) or (c). The names of all participants will be treated with the strictest of confidentiality. Thank You.

1. Name of person being interviewed (optional)

.....
.....
.....

2. State current place of employment

.....
.....
.....

3. What title do you currently hold?

.....
.....
.....

4. What is your gender?

☐ Male ☐ Female

5. What is your ethnicity?

☐ African ☐ East Indian ☐ Mixed
☐ Other (please specify)

6. What religion do you belong to?

- ☐ Hindu ☐ Moslem ☐ Christian
☐ Other (please specify)

7. Which of the following age groups do you belong to?

- ☐ 18-30 yrs ☐ 31-40 yrs ☐ 41-50 yrs ☐ above 50 yrs

8. Please indicate number of years working experience in media?

- ☐ 1-10 ☐ 11-20 ☐ 21-30 ☐ Above 30

9. How long have you worked at current media house?

- ☐ 1-10 ☐ 11-20 ☐ 21-30 ☐ Above 30

10. Please list other media for which you have worked over the last 10 years.

- ☐ **Print**
☐ **Radio**
☐ **Television**
☐ **All of the above**

11. What is the highest level of education you have completed?

- ☐ Secondary
☐ Diploma
☐ Undergraduate
☐ Graduate
☐ Post graduate

12. How do you source information for writing political news stories?

- ☐ Politicians
☐ Press / Public Relations Officers
☐ Other media
☐ Attendance at press conferences/meetings
☐ Private individuals
☐ All of the above

13. How many editors must your work go through prior to being printed?

- ☐ 1 Editor
- ☐ 2 Editors
- ☐ 3 Editors
- ☐ None

14. Are you pleased with the editing process?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No
- ☐ somewhat
- ☐ Don't care

15. How would you rate the type of coverage given to the PNM, during the 2010

- ☐ Poor
- ☐ Fair
- ☐ good
- ☐ very good

16. How would you rate the type of coverage given to the UNC and the People's Partnership, during the 2010 elections?

- ☐ Poor
- ☐ Fair
- ☐ good
- ☐ very good

17. How would you classify your relationship with the PNM government during 2010 elections?

- ☐ Poor
- ☐ Fair
- ☐ good
- ☐ very good

18. How would you classify your relationship with the UNC/People's Partnership, during 2010 elections?

- ☐ Poor
- ☐ Fair
- ☐ good
- ☐ very good

19. How would you classify your media house relationship with PNM government, during the 2010 elections?

- ☐ Poor
- ☐ Fair
- ☐ good
- ☐ very good

20. How would you classify your media house relationship with UNC Opposition and People's Partnership during the 2010 elections?

- ☐ Poor
- ☐ Fair
- ☐ good
- ☐ very good

21. How would you rate the volume of coverage given to the PNM in relation to the UNC/People's Partnership during the 2010 campaign period?

- ☐ Much less
- ☐ less
- ☐ same
- ☐ more than

22. How would you rate the volume of coverage given to the UNC/People's Partnership during the 2010 campaign period?

- ☐ Very high ☐ high ☐ moderate ☐ low
☐ Very low

23. To what extent do you agree or disagree with allegations made by former Prime Minister Patrick Manning that the Guardian was prejudiced against the PM and the PNM during the 2010 elections?

- ☐ Strongly disagree
☐ Disagree
☐ Neither agree nor disagree
☐ Agree
☐ Strongly agree

Please elaborate.

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

24. To what extent you agree with allegations made by the PNM that “journalists create their own stories for some agenda, during the 2010 elections?”

- ☐ Strongly disagree
☐ Disagree
☐ Neither agrees nor disagrees
☐ Agree
☐ Strongly agree

Please elaborate

.....

.....

.....

.....

25. To what extent do you agree with allegations made by former PNM Party Chairman, Conrad Enill that the media “came together to band against the PM and PNM and that the PNM’s achievements were lost to the national population, during the 2010 elections?”

- ☐ Strongly disagree
☐ Disagree
☐ Neither agrees nor disagrees
☐ Agree

☐ Strongly agree

Please elaborate

.....
.....
.....
.....
.....

26. To what extent do you agree with allegations that the media was hostile to the PNM generally?

- ☐ Strongly disagree
☐ Disagree
☐ Neither agrees nor disagrees
☐ Agree
☐ Strongly agree

Please elaborate

27. To what extent do you agree that the media exhibited bias towards any political parties during 2010 elections?

- ☐ Strongly disagree
☐ Disagree
☐ Neither agrees nor disagrees
☐ Agree
☐ Strongly agree

Please elaborate

28. On reflection, is it your opinion now that stories leading up to and during the 2010 election campaign were more favourable to UNC/PP than the PNM?

☐ Yes ☐ Not sure ☐ I don't know ☐

Please elaborate

29. How important in determining the slant of reporting was the fact that the leader of the UNC/PP was a woman?

- ☐ Very Important
- ☐ Not Important at all
- ☐ Somewhat important
- ☐ Not sure
- ☐ Don't know

30. Besides 2010, in any of the elections of the last decade that you recall (elections of 2000, 2001, 2002 and 2007) in which you think media bias occurred? If yes what election and what do you think might have triggered it?

31. What do you think of the state use of free time allocated to them under the Telecommunications Authority during the 2010 campaign? Please elaborate?

How do you see your role as a journalist in the country? Please elaborate.

32. Journalists and journalism in Trinidad and Tobago generally strive to be objective and non partisan in their coverage of elections campaign

☐ Agree ☐ Disagree ☐ Most of the time ☐ Some of the time

Please elaborate

33. Give at least three (3) suggestions to improve the practice of journalism as it relates to political coverage during elections, in Trinidad and Tobago?

34. Do you think that media bias in political coverage during elections can occur?

☐ Yes
☐ No

35. If yes, what do you think can contribute to media bias in these instances?

APPENDIX B
THE BRIEFING SHEET
Participant Information Sheet

- 1. Study title**
The role of the press in a political campaign based on a case study of five (5) elections in Trinidad and Tobago: 2000, 2001, 2002, 2007 and 2010 .
- 2. What is the purpose of the study?**
The purpose of the study is to document and analyze the role of the print media in the coverage of these campaigns, to determine whether a case can be made for media bias, and if it can, to determine the nature and extent of the bias.
- 3. Why have I been chosen?**
For the purpose of this study, I need to interview media personnel such as journalists and editors who have worked in the press media and who have a vested interest in developing the role the media play in the democratic process. I also need to speak to persons in the media who are not afraid to give an opinion and speak on sensitive issues such as media bias,
- 4. Do I have to take part?**
No. Participation is entirely voluntary. If you change your mind about taking part in the study you can withdraw at any point during the interview. You can withdraw by contacting me on email or by telephone. If you withdraw, all your data will be destroyed and will not be used in the study.
- 5. What will happen to me if I take part?**
You will be interviewed by me for approximately one hour at a time, mutually convenient to both of us, in a comfortable and neutral environment. If I cannot interview you directly, the questionnaire will be emailed to you to be filled out and returned within a reasonable time.
- 6. What are the possible disadvantages and risks of taking part?**
You will be asked questions which could make you uncomfortable and which may reflect badly on your organization. Some of the things you say may be quoted in the research. The thesis may be eventually published so that the information would be available to a large population within the region as well as other researchers outside the Caribbean. However your individual identity will not be disclosed at any point.
- 7. What are the possible benefits of taking part?**
The information gained from the interview would be used to improve the role of the media in the Caribbean and to strengthen democracy in Trinidad and Tobago. You will also be part of a dynamic and innovative project in an under-researched area in the region which may be used as a point of reference by other researchers around the world.

- 8. What if something goes wrong?**
If something goes wrong with the project it will most likely be abandoned and a lot of work will have been wasted. But you personally will not be jeopardized in any way.
- 9. Will my taking part in this study be kept confidential?**
Yes, I would be the only one with access to the information provided during the interview. The information will be used only for research purposes and to inform my thesis in the field of media media and politics.
- 10. What will happen to the results of the research study?**
The results of the study would most likely be published as a book on media and politics in Trinidad and Tobago which would be used by communication students and other researchers in the field.
- 11. Who is organising and funding the study?**
The research is organized by Indrani Bachan-Persad, a PhD student in Media and Communications at Coventry University, England. The study is self-funded with partial funding by my employer. Additional funding will be sourced from scholarships, grants and self.
- 12. Who has reviewed the study?**
As a split-site doctoral student, both my Director of Studies at Coventry and my local supervisor at the University of the West Indies will review my research. The study has also been reviewed and approved by Coventry Ethics Committee for graduate studies.
- 13. Contact for further information?**
For further information, please contact Indrani Bachan-Persad at indrani.bachan-persad@sta.uwi.edu and/or

Phone numbers removed from the electronic version.

APPENDIX C: THE CONSENT STATEMENT

Participant Reference Code-----

I have read and understand the attached participant information sheet and by signing below I consent to participate in the study.

I understand that I have the right to withdraw from the study without giving a reason at any time during the study itself.

I understand that I also have the right to change my mind about participating in the study for a short period after the study has concluded.....

Signed: _____

Print Name: _____

Witnessed by: _____

Print Name: _____

Researcher's Signature: _____

APPENDIX D: NEWSPAPER CLIPPINGS

2000

FRONT PAGES

Express

1. Danny, Phoolo, "Panday fears close finish" November 10, 2000, p. 1
2. Joseph, Terry and Ria Taitt, "He goes, I go" November 18, 2000, p. 1
3. Milne, Anthony, "What the PNM would do in office: More pay, less tax" November 13, 2000, p. 1
4. Taitt, Ria, "I will be back: UNC Govt holds last Cabinet meeting" December 7, 2000, p. 1
5. Taitt, Ria, "Manning on dual citizen: Arrest both of them – DPP orders probe" November 25, 2000, p. 1
6. Taitt, Ria, "One love born again" November 6, 2000, p. 1
7. Taitt, Ria, "PM Daphne: Panday leaves for Miami fund-raiser" November 11, 2000, p. 1
8. Taitt, Ria, "The big fumble" November 24, 2000, p. 1
9. Taitt, Ria, "The Long Campaign" November 3, 2000, p. 1
10. Taitt, Ria, "Too late to turn back, Gypsy" November 23, 2000, p. 1
11. Taitt, Ria, "Voter fraud: EBC naps 252" November 21, 2000, p. 1
12. Taitt, Ria, "We won't meddle" December 5, 2000, p. 1
13. Viarruel, Alva and Keino Swamber, "Voter padding Problem: Partap's Office Searched" November 4, 2000, p. 1

Trinidad Guardian

1. "Come with it – Manning and Smart" November 3, 2000, p. 1
2. "Gap closes between PNM and UNC" November 5, 2000, p. 1
3. "Good to go – EBC can't touch Gypsy, Chaitan; it's up to DPP" December 2, 2000
4. "Showdown too close to call" December 10, 2000, p. 1
5. Alexander, Gail, "Manning stresses PNM contrast with UNC" November 13, 2000, p. 1
6. Alonzo, Robert, "Cops moving on URP bosses: Dhanraj targeted in bank records search" November 8, 2000, p. 1
7. Alonzo, Robert, "Sumairsingh murder suspect nabbed" November 12, 2000 p. 1

8. Andrews, Erlene and Wendy Campbell, "Decision day 5 marginals hold the key to victory" December 11, 2000 p. 1
9. Andrews, Erlene, "Power at all cost: Manning fears worst from UNC" November 6, 2000, p. 1
10. Guardian South Bureau, "EBC must explain – Rowley calls for more details on voters' list changes" November 23, 2000, p. 1
11. Guardian Tobago Bureau, "Panday tells why UNC not running in Tobago – Anybody but PNM" November 22, 2000, p. 1
12. Lord, Richard, "All can vote EBC says vote padding accused have rights too" December 8, 2000, p. 1
13. Lord, Richard, "EBC rejects 252 names Sando West, Tunapuna 'hottest' seats" November 21, 2000, p. 1
14. Lord, Richard, "New EBC chief urges big voter turnout" December 6, 2000 p. 1
15. Lord, Richard, "PNM: UNC bringing 'Canadian' voters – Votes from foreign" November 20, 2000, p. 1
16. Lord, Richard, "Seems like history repeating itself says PM in announcing election date" November 3, 2000, p. 1
17. Lord, Richard, "We like pressure: Party stronger under attack, Panday says" November 6, 2000, p. 1
18. Ofosu, Natasha, "Police offended by conspiracy charge: Guy blasts Jack 'the ripper'" November 14, 2000 p.1
19. Rampersad, Kris, "Oh, to woo the undecideds!" November 19, 2000, p. 1
20. Rostant, Rory "Let good sense prevail says EBC chairman" December 9, 2000, p. 1
21. Rostant, Rory, "Arouca UNC in revolt" November 18, 2000, p. 1
22. Rostant, Rory, "Candidates with dual citizenship – UNC hangs tough" November 24, 2000, p. 1
23. Rostant, Rory, "PNM ups heat on Gypsy, Chaitan – win or lose we will oppose them says party big guns" December 7, 2000, p. 1
24. Rostant, Rory, "Vote padding not for us say election watchers" December 5, 2000, p. 1
25. Sookraj, Radhica, "3 charged in vote padding" November 30, 2000, p.1
26. Sookraj, Radhica, "Police Service 'needs fixing' PM promises changes in second term" December 4, 2000, p. 1
27. Sookraj, Radhica, "Wife of Dhanraj grilled by cops" November 28, 2000, p. 1
28. Wanser, Debra, "Hecklers disrupt UNC meeting: Cops called to keep peace in Grande" November 11, 2000, p. 1
29. Wanser, Debra, "Panday thinks of election code of conduct" November 17, 2000, p. 1

Newsday

1. "After last Cabinet meeting – Panday: See you next Wednesday" December 7, 2000, p. 1
2. "Decision Day!" December 11, 2000, p. 1
3. "Double for Panday" December 12, 2000, p. 1
4. "Elections and Boundaries Commission can't stop votes for Gypsy and Chaitan" December 2, 2000, p. 1
5. "Gypsy and Chaitan dual citizenship issue court to decide ... as PNM consults lawyers" November 23, 2000, p. 1
6. "Manning promises: PNM will cut taxes" November 13, 2000, p. 1
7. "Panday decides election day" November 3, 2000, p. 1
8. "Panday tells huge rally: give me 24 seats" November 6, 2000, p. 1
9. "PNM wants cops to jail Gypsy and Chaitan" November 25, 2000, p. 1
10. "Three in court on Vote padding charges" November 30, 2000, p. 1
11. Sunday Newsday, December 10, 2000, p. 1
12. Voter padding scandal: EBC sends 252 names to police" November 21, 2000, p. 1

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1. "Panday's déjà vu" November 3, 2000, p. 8
2. "Results in God's hands, says Manning ... surprises in store for Central, Tobago" November 13, 2000, p. 7
3. Cambridge, Uciell, "Daphne goes PNM" December 10, 2000, p. 3
4. Cambridge, Uciell, "Panday stars at Macoya" December 10, 2000, p. 10
5. Chouthi, Sandra, "Parties rally today" November 5, 2000, p. 3
6. Chouthi, Sandra, "Party prepares for grand rally today: PNM sets stage" November 12, 2000, p. 6
7. Chouthi, Sandra, "UNC calls out the vote" December 10, 2000, p. 11
8. Hackett, Jeff, "UNC wins ... walks away with five marginal constituencies" December 12, 2000, p. 3
9. Marajh, Camini, "Election cost parties \$27 m" November 19, 2000, p. 11
10. Marajh, Camini, "Manning promises victory" December 10, 2000, p. 10
11. Milne, Anthony, "Remember, remember the fifth of November!" November 6, 2000, p. 6

12. Persad, Siewdath, "PNM under mafia control, says Panday" December 10, 2000, p. 11
13. Taitt, Ria, "Election day today" December 11, 2000, p. 3
14. Taitt, Ria, "UNC way out already paved, says Rowley" November 13, 2000, p. 6
15. Wilson, Fulton, "Gordon: Apologise and move on" November 9, 2000, p. 3

Trinidad Guardian

1. "Good to go, EBC can't touch Gypsy, Chaitan; it's up to DPP", December 2, 2000
2. "3 charged in vote padding", November 30, 2000
3. "Decision Day-5 marginals hold the key to victory", December 11, 2000
4. "EBC must explain, Rowley calls for more details on voters' list changes", November 23, 2000
5. "E-Day Dec 11", November 3, 2000
6. "Gap closes between PNM and UNC", November 5, 2000
7. "Panday tells why UNC not running in Tobago, Anybody but PNM", November 22, 2000
8. "The mother of all elections", November 16, 2000
9. "UNC/PNM in 'neck-and-neck' race to the finish line", December 10, 2000
10. Alenxander Gail, "A breed apart, Manning stresses PNM contrast with UNC", November 13, 2000
11. Alonzo, Robert, "Cops move on URP bosses-Dhanraj targeted in bank records search", November 8, 2000
12. Alonzo, Robert, "Sumairsingh murder suspect nabbed" November 12, 2000
13. Andrews, Erlene, "Power at all cost-Manning fears worst from UNC", November 6, 2000
14. Lord, Richard, "All can vote-EBC says vote padding accused have rights too", December 8, 2000
15. Lord, Richard, "EBC rejects 252 names Sando West, Tunapuna 'hottest' seats", November 21, 2000
16. Lord, Richard, "New EBC chief urges big voter turnout", December 6, 2000
17. Lord, Richard, "PNM, UNC bringing 'Canadian' voters- Votes from foreign", November 20, 2000
18. Lord, Richard, "We like pressure- Party stronger under attack, Panday says", November 6, 2000
19. Ofosu, Natasha, "Police offended by conspiracy charge-Guy blasts jack 'the ripper'", November 14, 2000

20. Rampersad, Kris, "Oh, to woo the Undecideds!" , November 19, 2000
21. Rostant, Rory, "Arouca UNC in revolt" , November 18, 2000
22. Rostant, Rory, "Let good sense prevail says EBC chairman" , December 9, 2000
23. Rostant, Rory, "PNM ups heat on Gypsy, Chaitan-Win or lose we will oppose them say party big guns" , December 7 , 2000
24. Rostant, Rory, "UNC hangs tough" , November 24, 2000
25. Rostant, Rory, "Vote padding not for us says election watchers" , December 5, 2000
26. Sookraj, Radhica, " PM promises changes in second term" , December 4, 2000
27. Sookraj, Radhica, "Wife of Dhanraj grilled by cops" , November 28, 2000
28. Wanser Debra, "Hecklers disrupt UNC meeting, Cops called to keep peace in Grande" , November 11, 2000
29. Wanser, Debra, "Panday thinks of election code of conduct" , November 17, 2000

Newsday

1. "Five tumultuous years –Panday seizes more and more power" December 10, 2000, p. 9
2. "Scenes from yesterday's political rallies" December 10, 2000, p. 8
3. "UNC never won an election says Robinson-Regis" November 5, 2000, p. 7
4. "Voter Padding: 99 suspect names found in San Fernando West" November 21, 2000, p. 4
5. Ali, Azard, "Long before he became prime minister...Panday pumped iron" November 12, 2000, p. 8
6. Ali, Azard, "PM Panday files for extension tomorrow" November 5, 2000, p. 7
7. Forde, Lennox, "In the run-up to Election Day – Panday says UNC can win on performance" November 2, 2000, p. 5
8. Manmohan, Earl, "Campaign 2000 heats up" November 5, 2000, p. 9
9. Manmohan, Earl, "Manning promises lower taxes" November 13, 2000, p. 3
10. Manmohan, Earl, "Panday claims PNM planning dirty tricks" December 2, 2000, p. 5
11. Manmohan, Earl, "Panday promises: 20,000 new jobs every year if UNC wins" November 6, 2000, p. 3
12. Manmohan, Earl, "Panday: Vote for me dead or alive" December 10, 2000, p. 3

13. Manmohan, Earl, "PM accuses CCN of brutality against caged boy" November 18, 2000, p. 6
14. Manmohan, Earl, "PM announces election day – December 11" November 3, 2000 p. 3
15. Manmohan, Earl, "PNM calls on cops to lock up Gypsy and Chaitan: EBC writes solicitor general for advice" November 25, 2000, p. 5
16. Monsegue, Horace, "The way it was" November 5, 2000, p. 40-41
17. Nanton, Sampson, "Blows for NAR, Charles, Moore on PNM Tobago platform" November 19, 2000, p. 9
18. Thomas, Charleen, "Manning: Monday is judgment day" December 10, 2000, p. 3
19. Thomas, Charleen, "Panday: I'll see you on Wednesday" December 7, 2000, p. 3
20. Wilson, Sascha, "Minister Partap denies his office was searched" November 5, 2000, p. 7

EDITORIALS

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1. "Chance to simplify voting" November 13, 200, p. 16
2. "Leveling the playing field" November 2, 2000, p. 16
3. "Setting a new tone" November 3, 2000, p. 16
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49. Raphael, Clevon, "...and they are off" April 21, 2010, p.31
50. Raphael, Clevon, "A most curious election" April 14, 2010, p.31
51. Raphael, Clevon, "Campaign 2010: The ugly side" May 19, 2010, p.27
52. Raphael, Clevon, "Have they really gone mad?" April 28, 2010, p.27
53. Seetahal, Dana, "A hell of a mature decision" April 18, 2010, p.23
54. Seetahal, Dana, "Not a time this time" May 23, 2010, p.31
55. Wilson, Anthony, "Are our parties peas in a pod?" April 15, 2010, p.3

Newsday

1. Ali, Yusuff, "New govt inherits empty treasury" May 23, 2010, p.12
2. Ali, Yusuff, "Profile of a new prime minister" May 16, 2010, p.12
3. Anatol, Marlon, "Politics vs elections" May 23, 2010, p.13
4. Deosaran, Ramesh, "Kamla, the Volney protest and the politics of violence" May 9, 2010, p.13
5. Douglas, Sean, "Election 2010: An election campaign season to remember" May 23, 2010, p.14
6. Drayton, Helen, "Elections – What should citizens demand" April 25, 2010, p.13
7. O'Callaghan, Marion, "Devils and Spirits" May 17, 2010, p.11
8. O'Callaghan, Marion, "When PNM followed NAR" May 3, 2010, p.11
9. O'Connor, Peter, "Campaign contradictions" April 25, 2010, p.11
10. O'Connor, Peter, "Significant elections" May 23, 2010, p.11
11. O'Connor, Peter, "Voting 'Indian'?" May 9, 2010, p.11
12. Sheppard, Susanne, "Let the healing and cleansing begin" May 23, 2010, p. 12

13. Sheppard, Suzanne, "This country needs servant leadership, May 16, 2010, p12
14. Yawching, Donna, "An example of political maturity" May 23, 2010, p.13

Appendix E

Inter-coder reliability test

Out of the five elections, three were done manually by this researcher. They were 2000, 2002 and 2010. The other two elections: 2001 and 2007 were coded by two student assistants: Research Assistant 1 coded 2002 and Research Assistant 2 coded 2007. Inter-coder reliability was conducted on the latter two elections.

A sample of the first five news articles for each of the three newspapers for these two elections was selected and recoded by this researcher and the results compared to the codes found from these same articles by the two research assistants. The differences were recorded as a variability or deviation from the original codes found.

In both elections, there was little difference found in two of the frames: Issue and governing frames. This is in keeping with the trends found in the 2000 and 2010 elections which were coded manually by this researcher. In terms of politician as personality, while the difference was somewhat high, it was observed that the research assistant tended to code both names of politicians and pronouns which referred to those politicians.

Table 6.6: Inter coder reliability test for 2001 election

Newspaper	Coder	Issue	Politician	Governing	conflict	HR
Express	³²² Coder (Researcher)	23	78	Nil	10	6
	³²³ Coder 2	22	98	Nil	1	14
	Variability	1	20	Nil	9	8
Guardian	Coder 1	2	43	Nil	3	18
	Coder 2	3	37	Nil	1	9
	Variability	2	6	Nil	2	9
Newsday	Coder 1	5	51	Nil	19	5
	Coder 2	5	69	Nil	5	17
	Variability		18		14	11

³²² This Researcher

³²³ Research Assistant 1

However, the results did not affect the overall trend observed in other elections coded which showed that politician as a personality was the most popular frame used by journalists when reporting on elections

Table 6.7: Inter coder reliability test for 2007 election

Newspaper	Coder	Issue	Politician	Governing	conflict	HR
Express	Coder 1	0	43	-	8	14
	³²⁴ Coder 3	0	49	-	1	3
	Variability	-	5	-	7	11
Guardian	Coder 1	0	30	1	18	31
	Coder 3	0	34		2	3
	Variability	-	4	1	16	28
Newsday	Coder 1	14	62	1	21	3
	Coder 3	15	66	-	6	--
	Variability	1	4	1	15	3

There was some variability in the conflict and horserace frame, since there appeared to be some difficulty by the research assistants in differentiating between conflict and horserace frame. This is understandable since much of the coding was subjective and based on the interpretation of the coders. However, this researcher recoded the entire sampling of news stories in the *Express*, for the 2002 Elections, looking specifically at the horserace and conflict frames, having discovered the greatest variance this particular area. The figures were adjusted accordingly in the main research analysis above.

³²⁴ Research Assistant 2

APPENDIX F: CODING SYSTEM

2000

EXPRESS

Election year : 2000
Newspaper : Express
ion : News Stories and front pages

Codes for Frames:

- *I-Issue (governance)*
- *Politicians (as personality)-P (Panday); M (Manning); O (other)*
- *G- Governing (unity, coalitions)*
- *C-conflict*
- *H-Horserace (opinion polls)*

Subject	FRAMES								BIAS SCALE			
	Date & page #	Issue Frame (I)	Politician (Panday) (P)	Politician (Manning) (M)	Politician (Other) (O)	Governing (Unity, coalitions) (G)	Conflict (C)	Horserace (Opinion Polls) (H)	UNC	PNM	Other Parties	Comments/photos
1. The long campaign: Election date Dec 11	3/11 -FP		11	1	1	1	1	7	+			Large photo of Panday and small one of Manning
2. Panday's déjà vu	3/11-p.8	20	1	7		4		10	+	-		
3. Partap's Office searched	4/11-FP		2	1	4			5	-			Bold headline and small photo of Partap (1/2 page)
4. Parties rally	5/11-FP								0	0		Both PNM and UNC equally represented in campaign photo
5. Parties rally today	5/11 -p. 3	Nil	3	7	6			10	0	0		

6. One love born again	6/11-FP	6	16	5	5			3	+			Half photo of Panday being embraced by diverse supporters –bold headline
7. Remember, remember the fifth of November	6/11-p.6	1	6		15			3	+			Photo of campaigners-banner forever PNM never
8. Gordon's Olive branch-CCN chairman offers 'amicable settlement'	9/11-FP								+			Bold headline and head shots of Ken Gordon and Panday- ½ page
9. Gordon apologise and move on	9/11 p. 3		14				13		+			Court case against Panday by Gordon for libel
10. Panday fears close finish	10/11 FP		10	8	0			5	+	-		Bold headline and ¼ pg photo of black mother and child supporting Panday
11. PM Daphne-Panday leaves for Miami fundraiser	11/11 FP		10	2	3			3	+			Bold headline and head shot of Daphne
12. PNM sets stage 13. Lucky tells of good fortune under UNC 14 And Moonilal	12/12 p. 6		2	9				2		+		Positive to PNM

vows to unseat Manning												
15. He goes, I go	18/11 FP		8				2	3	-			
16. Jack in a box	19/11 FP				1				-			
17. Election cost parties \$27m	19/11 p. 11	7	16	8				7	-			Full page photo of Jack Warner
18. Voter fraud-EBC nabs 252	21/11 FP		3	3			1	12	-			
19. Too late to turn back, Gypsy	23/11 FP	4	1		6				-			
20. The big fumble	24/11 FP		3	5	7		2		-			
21Manning on dual citizenship: Arrest both of them...DPP orders probe	25/11 FP	9		4	10		1	1	-			
22. Battle of the ballots....and here are the candidates	25/11 p. 10-11								0	0		Photos of both the PNM and UNC slate of candidates
23. Voter padding arrests	30/11 FP						1		-			Continue voter padding issue
24. Voter padding probe: 7 charged	2/12 FP						1			-		Continue voter padding issue
25.Election observers: It's up to the Government and EBC... We won't meddle	5/12 FP						2		0	0		Objective reporting on voter padding issue and international observer group

26. US Government probes \$6M man- Questions over payment to Kuei Tung's daughter	6/12 FP	1			1				-			Focus was on corruption- article published the day before election
27. I will be back...UNC Government holds last cabinet meeting	7/12 FP			5					+			Half page photo of Panday
28. UNC draws big crowd, but... 'Daphne goes PNM'	10/12 FP								+	+		
29. Daphne goes PNM 30. Gillettes line up behind PNM, UNC Manning, Carter to spend day in St. Joseph	10/12 p.3			11						+		
31. Manning promises victory 32. Panday stars at Macoya	10/12 p.10	7	14 1	15 8	2			2 1		+	+	Entire page positive to PNM headline misleading
33. UNC calls out the vote PNM under mafia control, says Panday	10/12 p. 11	2 3	13 15	 5	24	 1		7 5	+			Entire page positive to the UNC
34. You decide:	11/12								0	0		Illustration of

<i>UNC or PNM</i>	<i>FP</i>											<i>Manning and Panday- full page</i>
<i>35. Election Day today</i>	<i>11/12 p.3</i>	8	4	3	4			12	+			
<i>36. Bas is back 19-16-1</i>	<i>12/12 FP</i>								+	-		<i>Entire front page depicting UNC victory- happy UNC supporters and sad head shot of Manning</i>
<i>37. UNC wins...walks away with five marginal constituencies</i>	<i>12/12 p. 8</i>	5	4	12	2			7	+	+		<i>Issue of Manning challenging UNC on Gypsy and Chaitan- 2 seats to have them null – go to PNM</i>
<i>Total</i>		65	159	124	100	6	24	105	14 +	6+	8 + 40%	<i>Express tend to be bias towards the UNC</i>
		11%	27%	21%	17%	1%	1%	18%	9-	4-	4- 28.5%	
								<i>Difference</i>				

Major issues: Voter padding and dual citizenship of Winston “Gypsy” Peters and Bill Chaitan

Conflict- libel case against Panday by Ken Gordon for calling him “Psuedo-racist” matter was settled amicably Express extended an olive branch to Panday

Election year : 2000
 Newspaper : Express
 ion : Editorials

Codes for Frames:

- *I-Issue (governance)*
- *Politicians (as personality)-P (Panday); M (Manning); O (other)*
- *G- Governing (unity, coalitions)*
- *C-conflict*
- *H-Horserace (opinion polls)*

Subject	FRAMES								BIAS SCALE			
	Date & page No	Issue Frame (I)	Politician (Panday) (P)	Politician (Manning) (M)	Politician (Other) (O)	Governing (Unity, coalitions) (G)	Conflict (C)	Horserace (Opinion Polls) (H)	UNC	PNM	Other Parties	Comments/photos
1. Levelling the playing field	2/11 p.16	5	1	2					-			
2.Setting a tone	3/11	11	2					2	Obj			
3. A fair electoral process	5/11	1	3		2			6	obj			
4. Vote-padding no light matter	9/11		10	5				2	-			
5..Different ball game here, Mr. PM	10/11	11	10						-			
6. . Civics not politics	11/11	8	2		8			1	-			
7. Politicising the police	12/11	5	14	5	3			1	-	-		
8. Chance to simplify voting	13/11											US elections
9. Leave police out of politics	15/11	7	3		9			6	-			Jack Warner
10. On the other side	19/11	7	8					2	Obj			

<i>Subject</i>	FRAMES								BIAS SCALE			
	<i>Date & page No</i>	<i>Issue Frame (I)</i>	<i>Politician (Panday) (P)</i>	<i>Politician (Manning) (M)</i>	<i>Politician (Other) (O)</i>	<i>Governing (Unity, coalitions) (G)</i>	<i>Conflict (C)</i>	<i>Horserace (Opinion Polls) (H)</i>	<i>UNC</i>	<i>PNM</i>	<i>Other Parties</i>	<i>Comments/photos</i>
<i>11. Right of belonging</i>	23/11	33		2				2	+	-		<i>Dual citizenship</i>
<i>12. Tobagonians no double duty</i>	25/11	4	4	1	8 (NAR)	1		13	obj			
<i>13. Stay strong, Machel</i>	26/11											
<i>14. Promises, promises</i>	30/11	8	5					9	obj			<i>Election promises</i>
<i>15. The EBC must speak up now</i>	1/12	6						7	Obj			
<i>16. Aflood of blame</i>	2/12	6	3						obj			
<i>17. Corruption taken too lightly</i>	5/12	13	2	3				4	obj			<i>Corruption</i>
<i>18. In search of a millennium hero</i>	6/12											
<i>19. Do your duty</i>	7/12	5	3	5				16	Obj			
<i>20. Testing time for democracy</i>	9/12											
<i>21. Play by the rules</i>	10/12	8	1	3	3(NAR)	1		8	Obj			
<i>22. Single vote can make a difference</i>	11/12	7	7					7	Obj.			
<i>23 Government and politics</i>	12/12	23							obj			

TRINIDAD GUARDIAN

Election year : 2000
Newspaper : Guardian
ion : front pages

Codes for Frames:

- *I-Issue (governance)*
- *Politicians (as personality)-P (Panday); M (Manning); O (other)*
- *G- Governing (unity, coalitions)*
- *C-conflict*
- *H-Horserace (opinion polls)*

Subject	FRAMES						BIAS SCALE			
	Date & page No	Both	Politician (Panday) (P)	Politician (Manning) (M)	Politician (Other) (O)	Rallies and supporters	UNC	PNM	balanced	Comments/photos
1. E-day Dec. 11	3/11		1				-			
2. Gap closes between PNM and UNC	5/11	1							1	
3. Wet start to campaign 2000	6/11	1								
4. Cops move on URP bosses: Dhanraj targeted in bank records research	8/11						-			
5. Hecklers disrupt UNC meeting	11/11								1	
6. Sumairsingh murder suspect nabbed	12/11	1			1				1	
7. A breed apart: Manning stresses PNM contrast with UNC	13/11					1		+		
8. Police offended by conspiracy charge: Guy blasts Jack 'the Ripper'	14/11						-			
9. The mother of all elections	16/11	1							1	
10. Arouca UNC in revolt	18/11						-			
11. Oh, to woo the undecided	19/11								1	
12. PNM:UNC bringing Canadian voters-votes from foreign	20/11				1				1	
13. EBC rejects 252 names, Sando West, Tunapuna "hottest seats"	21/11								1	
14. Panday tells UNC not running in Tobago-Anybody but PNM	22/11								1	
15. EBC must explain: Rowley calls for more details on votes list of charges	23/11				1				1	

<i>Subject</i>	<i>FRAMES</i>						<i>BIAS SCALE</i>			
	<i>Date & page No</i>	<i>Both</i>	<i>Politician (Panday) (P)</i>	<i>Politician (Manning) (M)</i>	<i>Politician (Other) (O)</i>	<i>Rallies and supporters</i>	<i>UNC</i>	<i>PNM</i>	<i>balanced</i>	<i>Comments/photos</i>
<i>16. UNC hangs Tough: candidates with dual citizenship -PNM presses EBC for action</i>	<i>24/11</i>								<i>1</i>	
<i>17. Wife of Dhanraj grilled by cops</i>	<i>28/11</i>						-			
<i>18. 3 charged in voter padding</i>	<i>30/11</i>								<i>1</i>	
<i>19. Good to go: EBC can't touch Gypsy, Chaitan; it's up to the DPP</i>	<i>2/12</i>				<i>1</i>				<i>1</i>	
<i>20. Police Service need fixing: PM promises changes in second term</i>	<i>4/12</i>								<i>1</i>	
<i>21. Vote padding not for us say election watchers</i>	<i>5/12</i>								<i>1</i>	
<i>22. PNM storms Keith and Daphne show</i>	<i>6/12</i>							-		
<i>23. PNM ups heat on Gypsy, Chaitan-win or lose we will oppose them</i>	<i>7/12</i>								<i>1</i>	
<i>24. All can vote: EBC says vote padding accused have rights too</i>	<i>8/12</i>								<i>1</i>	
<i>25. Let good sense prevail says EBC chief</i>	<i>9/12</i>					<i>1</i>			<i>1</i>	
<i>26. Showdown-Too close to call</i>	<i>10/12</i>	<i>1</i>					<i>UNC</i>	<i>PNM</i>	<i>1</i>	
<i>Total</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>0</i>	<i>1</i>			<i>5 (+)</i>	<i>1 (-)</i>		
							<i>0 (-)</i>	<i>1(+)</i>	<i>19</i>	

NEWSDAY

Election year : 2000
 Newspaper : Newsday
 ion : News Stories and front pages

Codes for Frames:

- *I-Issue (governance)*
- *Politicians (as personality)-P (Panday); M (Manning); O (other)*
- *G- Governing (unity, coalitions)*
- *C-conflict*
- *H-Horserace (opinion polls)*

Subject	FRAMES								BIAS SCALE			
	Date & page No	Issue Frame (I)	Politician (Panday) (P)	Politician (Manning) (M)	Politician (Other) (O)	Governing (Unity, coalitions) (G)	Conflict (C)	Horserace (Opinion Polls) (H)	UNC	PNM	Other Parties	Comments/ photos
1. Panday says UNC can win on performance	2/11 (5)	6	5	4				2	+			UNC photo
2. Dhanraj not returning to TNT	2/11 ((5)	3	2	8	2	-	-	-	-	+		
3. UNC candidate S. Rodriguez makes her debut speech	2/11 (5)								+			
4. Sheriff's photo in Government directory	2/11 (5)								-			
5. Panday decides on election date	Front page-3/11								+			Entire photo of Panday
6. PM announces election date-Dec. 11	3/11(3)	16	8			1	1	1	+			¾ page UNC/rest on PNM
7. Manning upset at PM's announcement	3/11(3)	1	6	6			2	1		+		2 pages on elections smiling UNC and sad PNM
8. The way it was	5/11								+	+		

<i>Subject</i>	<i>FRAMES</i>								<i>BIAS SCALE</i>			
	<i>Date & page No</i>	<i>Issue Frame (I)</i>	<i>Politician (Panday) (P)</i>	<i>Politician (Manning) (M)</i>	<i>Politician (Other) (O)</i>	<i>Governing (Unity, coalitions) (G)</i>	<i>Conflict (C)</i>	<i>Horseshoe (Opinion Polls) (H)</i>	<i>UNC</i>	<i>PNM</i>	<i>Other Parties</i>	<i>Comments/ photos</i>
	(40/41)											
9. Minister Partap denies his office was searched	5/11 (7)								-	+		
10. UNC never won and election- Robinson Regis	7/11 (7)	3	10			3	1	1	-	+		
11. Pm Panday files for extension tomorrow	5/11 (7)	8					5		0			
12. Campaign 2000 heats up	5/11(9)								0	0		
13. PNM taking another look	5/11 (9)								0	0		
14. Panday tells huge rally-Give me 24 seats	Front Page-6/11								+			UNC rally alone (panday)
15. 20, 000 new job every year if UNC win	6/11 (3)	10	13	3				4	+			Full page with UNC (Panday)
16. UNC supports rally under grey skies	6/11 (3)								+			
17. Panday pumped iron	12/11 (8)								+			Photo of panday
18. Manning promises PNM will cut taxes	13/11- Front Page	21		13				1		+		Full page with PNM rally
19. Manning promises lower taxes	13/11 (3)									+		

<i>Subject</i>	<i>FRAMES</i>								<i>BIAS SCALE</i>			
	<i>Date & page No</i>	<i>Issue Frame (I)</i>	<i>Politician (Panday) (P)</i>	<i>Politician (Manning) (M)</i>	<i>Politician (Other) (O)</i>	<i>Governing (Unity, coalitions) (G)</i>	<i>Conflict (C)</i>	<i>Horseshoe (Opinion Polls) (H)</i>	<i>UNC</i>	<i>PNM</i>	<i>Other Parties</i>	<i>Comments/ photos</i>
<i>20. Thousands rally around the baliser</i>	<i>13/11 (3)</i>									+		<i>Full page on PNM rally</i>
<i>21. PM accuses CCN of brutality against caged boy</i>	<i>18/11 (6)</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>1</i>			<i>3</i>		+			
<i>22. IRO reminds politicians to reject violence</i>	<i>18/11(6)</i>								<i>0</i>	<i>0</i>		
<i>23. Blows for NAR, Charles, Moore on PNM platform</i>	<i>19/11 (9)</i>	<i>10</i>	<i>4</i>	<i>14</i>	<i>12</i>	<i>1</i>			-	+	<i>-NAR</i>	<i>Page mostly on the pNM</i>
<i>24. Tough talk Sadiq</i>	<i>19/11 (9)</i>								-			
<i>25. Voter padding scandal: EBC sends 252 names to police</i>	<i>Front Page (21/11)</i>								<i>0</i>	<i>0</i>		<i>Balanced photo of Manning and Panday Headline negative to UNC</i>
<i>26. Voter padding: 99 suspect names found in San Fernando West</i>	<i>21/11 (4)</i>								-	+		<i>½ page on voter padding</i>
<i>27. Gypsy and Chaitan duel citizenship court to decide..as PNM consults lawyers</i>	<i>Front Page- 23/11</i>								-	+		<i>Full page photo of Gypsy and Chaitan Bold headline “Court to Decide”</i>

<i>Subject</i>	<i>FRAMES</i>								<i>BIAS SCALE</i>			
	<i>Date & page No</i>	<i>Issue Frame (I)</i>	<i>Politician (Panday) (P)</i>	<i>Politician (Manning) (M)</i>	<i>Politician (Other) (O)</i>	<i>Governing (Unity, coalitions) (G)</i>	<i>Conflict (C)</i>	<i>Horseshoe (Opinion Polls) (H)</i>	<i>UNC</i>	<i>PNM</i>	<i>Other Parties</i>	<i>Comments/ photos</i>
28. PNM wants cops to jail Gypsy and Chaitan	Front Page- 25/11								-	+		Full page photo of Gypsy and Chaitan : “ Jail Gypsy & Chaitan
29. EBC writes Solicitor-General to lock up Gypsy and Chaitan	25/11(5)	4	1	2			3		0	0		
30. Who want s to be PNM	25/11 (8/9)								0	0		Full page-one for Manning and Panday.
31. There is count in voter padding	Front Page- 30/1								0	0		Full page –person charged with voter padding
32. EBC: Can’t stop votes for Gypsy and Chaitan	Front page- 2/12								-			Voter padding/ ½ page on Gypsy and Chaitan
33. Nominations of Gypsy and Chaitan cannot be changed	2/12 (5)								0	0		
34. Panday claims PNM planning	2/12 (5)	1	7	11					+	-		
35. See you next Wednesday	Front Page - 7/12								+			Full page on Panday

<i>Subject</i>	<i>FRAMES</i>								<i>BIAS SCALE</i>			
	<i>Date & page No</i>	<i>Issue Frame (I)</i>	<i>Politician (Panday) (P)</i>	<i>Politician (Manning) (M)</i>	<i>Politician (Other) (O)</i>	<i>Governing (Unity, coalitions) (G)</i>	<i>Conflict (C)</i>	<i>Horserace (Opinion Polls) (H)</i>	<i>UNC</i>	<i>PNM</i>	<i>Other Parties</i>	<i>Comments/ photos</i>
36. No goodbyes... Panday: I'll see you next Wednesday	7/12 (3)	10	9	1					+			
37. UNC "Daphne" Jones PNM- Let the voting begin	Front Page - 10/12								0	0		PNM and UNC rally collage
38. 947,477 registered to vote tomorrow	10/12 (3)								0	0		Full page on elections coverage of UNC and PNM
39. Scenes from yesterday's political rallies	10/12 (8)								0	0		Full page photos on rallies
40. Five tumultuous years: Panday seizes more power	10/12 (9)	4	21	14	4			2	-			Headline and photo uncomplimentary to Panday
41. Decision Day!	Front Page- 11/12								0	0		
42. All new registered electors can vote	11/12 (3)								0	0		Full page: ½ Manning and ½ Panday
43. Double for Panday:UNC	Front page-								+			Full page of UNC alone continue on

<i>Subject</i>	<i>FRAMES</i>								<i>BIAS SCALE</i>			
	<i>Date & page No</i>	<i>Issue Frame (I)</i>	<i>Politician (Panday) (P)</i>	<i>Politician (Manning) (M)</i>	<i>Politician (Other) (O)</i>	<i>Governing (Unity, coalitions) (G)</i>	<i>Conflict (C)</i>	<i>Horseshoe (Opinion Polls) (H)</i>	<i>UNC</i>	<i>PNM</i>	<i>Other Parties</i>	<i>Comments/ photos</i>
<i>19, PNM 16 and NAR 1</i>	<i>12/12</i>											<i>back page- sad Manning</i>
<i>44. Panday says UNC can win on performance</i>	<i>2/11 (5)</i>	<i>6</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>4</i>				<i>2</i>	<i>+</i>			<i>UNC photo</i>
<i>45. Dhanraj not returning to TNT</i>	<i>2/11 ((5)</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>8</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>-</i>	<i>-</i>	<i>-</i>	<i>+</i>	<i>-</i>		

Election year : 2000
 Newspaper : Newsday
 ion : Commentaries

Codes for Frames:

- *I-Issue (governance)*
- *Politicians (as personality)-P (Panday); M (Manning); O (other)*
- *G- Governing (unity, coalitions)*
- *C-conflict*
- *H-Horserace (opinion polls)*

Subject	FRAMES								BIAS SCALE			
	Date & page No	Issue Frame (I)	Politician Panday (P)	Politician (Manning) (M)	Politician (Other) (O)	Governing (Unity, coalitions) (G)	Conflict (C)	Horserace (Opinion Polls) (H)	UNC	PNM	Other Parties	Comments/photos
1. PM Panday announces Dec. 11 as Elections Day	3/11 p. 11	15	21	6	1	6		1		+		
2. Campaign finance and elections (H. Ghany)	5/11 p. 11	5	5	9	2			1	0	0		
3. Voter padding issue will make fencesitters decide (George Alleyne)	5/11 p. 12	20						1	0	0		
4. Government sins cannot continue (D. Abdullah)	26/11 p.14		1	1			4	1	0	0		
5. Instability and the transfer of power (H. Ghany)	12/11 p. 11	14	15	8	1	1	1	11	0	0		
6. The lessons of the UD Presidential elections (H. Ghany)	19/11 p. 11	2		2	1			14	0	0		
7. Neither UNC or PNM can take country further (H. Ghany)	10/12 p. 13	13	12	8			2	15				

<i>Subject</i>	<i>FRAMES</i>								<i>BIAS SCALE</i>			
	<i>Date & page No</i>	<i>Issue Frame (I)</i>	<i>Politician Panday) (P)</i>	<i>Politician (Manning) (M)</i>	<i>Politician (Other) (O)</i>	<i>Governing (Unity, coalitions) (G)</i>	<i>Conflict (C)</i>	<i>Horseshoe (Opinion Polls) (H)</i>	<i>UNC</i>	<i>PNM</i>	<i>Other Parties</i>	<i>Comments/photos</i>
<i>8. Power stronger than principle (G. Alleyne)</i>	<i>3/12 p. 12</i>	<i>8</i>						<i>7</i>				
<i>9. Als should be run out of town (D. Aabdullah)</i>	<i>3/12 p. 13</i>	<i>17</i>	<i>20</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>3</i>		<i>12</i>		<i>-</i>			
<i>10. Legal challenges and religious controversy (H. Ghany)</i>	<i>3/12 p. 11</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>1</i>				<i>8</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>-</i>			
<i>11. Opinion polls and outcomes (H. Ghany)</i>	<i>10/12 p. 11</i>		<i>6</i>	<i>13</i>		<i>4</i>	<i>4</i>	<i>30</i>	<i>0</i>	<i>0</i>		
<i>12. TNT will be sold to the highest bidder (G. Alleyne)</i>	<i>10/12 p. 12</i>	<i>6</i>					<i>11</i>	<i>4</i>	<i>-</i>			
<i>13. Election Strategy and electoral system</i>	<i>26/11 p. 11</i>		<i>8</i>	<i>11</i>	<i>5</i>			<i>47</i>	<i>0</i>	<i>0</i>		

2001

EXPRESS

Election year : 2001
 Newspaper : Express
 ion : front pages (Headlines and photos)

Codes for Frames:

- *I-Issue (governance)*
- *Politicians (as personality)-P (Panday); M (Manning); O (other)*
- *G- Governing (unity, coalitions)*
- *C-conflict*
- *H-Horserace (opinion polls)*

<i>Subject (Headlines)</i>	<i>FRAMES</i>						<i>BIAS SCALE</i>			
	<i>Date & page No</i>	<i>Both Manning and Panday (I)</i>	<i>Politician (Panday alone) (P)</i>	<i>Politician (Manning alone) (M)</i>	<i>Politician (Other) (O)</i>	<i>Other Party Team Unity</i>	<i>PNM +/_</i>	<i>UNC +/_</i>	<i>Balanced</i>	<i>Comments/photos</i>
1)Ramesh Blocked: Court Wants to Hear Panday	10/11/2001		<i>I</i>		1	<i>I</i>		+		
2)Humphrey, Gypsy, Chaitan on Hold: Carson, Montano Join Panday	11/11/2001		<i>I</i>		1			+		
3)Obeah Politics:- Seer-Woman to Panday: Watch the 3Ms	19/11/2001	<i>I</i>							B	
4)Nomination Fever	20/11/2001	<i>I</i>			1	<i>I</i>			B	
5)Poppycock! PM Dismissive as US\$50,000 Cheque Deposit Slip Turns Up	28/11/2001		1					-		
6) Savannah Showdown: Panday, Ramesh Fight for Aranguez Turf	02/12/2001		1		1	1		+		
7) McClean Back With PNM: Hector Crosses Again	06/12/2001				1		+			
8) Humphrey For President ... if UNC Wins	08/12/2001				1			+		

<i>Subject (Headlines)</i>	<i>FRAMES</i>						<i>BIAS SCALE</i>			
	<i>Date & page No</i>	<i>Both Manning and Panday (I)</i>	<i>Politician (Panday alone) (P)</i>	<i>Politician (Manning alone) (M)</i>	<i>Politician (Other) (O)</i>	<i>Other Party Team Unity</i>	<i>PNM +/_</i>	<i>UNC +/_</i>	<i>Balanced</i>	<i>Comments/photos</i>
9) No Voting Without Photo ID, says EBC	09/12/2001								B	No pictures of politicians or political imagery
10) FINAL NACTA POLL: Dead Heat – Toss-Up for Marginal Seats	09/12/2001	1			1	1			B	
11) 18-18 TIE. Robinson to Decide: Panday, Manning Stake Claim to be PM	11/12/2001	1							B	
12) Ramesh Saves Deposit as Team Unity Fails to Show	11/12/2001					1				
13) PNM Wipes Out Nar in Tobago	11/12/2001						+			No pictures of politicians or political imagery

Election year : 2001
 Newspaper : Express
 ion : News Stories

Codes for Frames:

- *I-Issue (governance)*
- *Politicians (as personality)-P (Panday); M (Manning); O (other)*
- *G- Governing (unity, coalitions)*
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<i>Subject</i>	<i>FRAMES</i>								<i>BIAS SCALE</i>			
	<i>Date & page No</i>	<i>Issue Frame (I)</i>	<i>Politician Panday) (P)</i>	<i>Politician (Manning) (M)</i>	<i>Politician (Other) (O)</i>	<i>Governing (Unity, coalitions) (G)</i>	<i>Conflict (C)</i>	<i>Horserace (Opinion Polls) (H)</i>	<i>PNM</i>	<i>UNC</i>	<i>balanced</i>	<i>Comments/ photos</i>
1) DOMA, NAR Talk of Reviving Port of Spain	04/11/2001 Pg 4	12		2	6						B	
2) Setback for Ramesh	10/11/2001 Pg 3		9		9		1	13			B	
3)Carson, Montano on Panday's Election Slate	11/11/2001 Pg 3		7	1	22					+		
4)Hanoomansingh Sent on Leave	11/11/2001 Pg 3	1	2	1	17						B	
5)About-Face on Commissions PM Trying to Fool Voters, says Ramesh	12/11/2001 Pg 5	9	12		10			1		-		
6) Imbert Calls on EBC to Extend Deadline	12/11/2001 Pg 5				9			9			B	
7)Yetming gets the Nod for St Augustine. PM wants Humphrey for Higher Office	13/11/2001 Pg 3		6		18					+		
8) Panday: Maraj, Seukeran Latest Security Threat	14/11/2001 Pg 6	2	17		9			1	-			
9) PNM presents Voter-	14/11/2001				6			7		-		

<i>Subject</i>	<i>FRAMES</i>								<i>BIAS SCALE</i>			
	<i>Date & page No</i>	<i>Issue Frame (I)</i>	<i>Politician Panday) (P)</i>	<i>Politician (Manning) (M)</i>	<i>Politician (Other) (O)</i>	<i>Governing (Unity, coalitions) (G)</i>	<i>Conflict (C)</i>	<i>Horseshoe (Opinion Polls) (H)</i>	<i>PNM</i>	<i>UNC</i>	<i>balanced</i>	<i>Comments/photos</i>
Padding "Proof"	Pg 6											
10) Media Blocking UNC govt, says Panday	14/11/2001 Pg 4		5		1					–		
11) Yetming has Humphrey's Backing	15/11/2001 Pg 5		2		21					+		
12) UNC POS South Candidate Ready to Work for Constituency	15/11/2001 Pg 5	2	2		5					+		
13) Publish all deleted names, says Imbert	15/11/2001 Pg 5				12			5			B	
14) Ruling on EBC's Decision Today	16/11/2001 Pg 8		2		5			6		+		
15) Dark cloud over my head, says Chaitan	17/11/2001 Pg 6		2		7					–		
16) Rafeeq wants healthy fast food	17/11/2001 Pg 6	3			8						B	
17) NAR may not run in Trinidad	17/11/2001 Pg 6				2						B	
18) Transparency wants curbs on campaign funding	17/11/2001 Pg 6	3									B	
19) Political leader Anthony Smart resigns NAR calls in Ramesh	18/11/2001 Pg 3		1		30	2					B	
20) STOP PRESS Maharaj loses again	18/11/2001 Pg 3				3		1	1			B	
21) Montano: I'll get rid of Manning	18/11/2001 Pg 3			2	8					+		

<i>Subject</i>	<i>FRAMES</i>								<i>BIAS SCALE</i>			
	<i>Date & page No</i>	<i>Issue Frame (I)</i>	<i>Politician Panday (P)</i>	<i>Politician (Manning) (M)</i>	<i>Politician (Other) (O)</i>	<i>Governing (Unity, coalitions) (G)</i>	<i>Conflict (C)</i>	<i>Horseshoe (Opinion Polls) (H)</i>	<i>PNM</i>	<i>UNC</i>	<i>balanced</i>	<i>Comments/ photos</i>
22) 9,000 deaths remain on register, says EBC	18/11/2001 Pg 3							9			B	
23) PNM leader promises \$\$ for everybody	19/11/2001 Pg 3	13		9	6				+			
24) Panday: Manning and Ramesh trying obeah	19/11/2001 Pg 3		20	5	10			1	-			
25) Panday: Manning low on Credibility	20/11/2001 Pg 6	5	13	6	7				-			
26) PM wants early Christmas gift	20/11/2001 Pg 6		5		8					+		
27) NAR, Team Unity enter election alliance	20/11/2001 Pg 6				4	2		1			B	
28) VOTER-PADDING AT PANDAY'S HOUSE Ramesh claims two ministers involved	21/11/2001 Pg 5	1	9		16			3		-		
29) PM: I hope evidence goes to police	21/11/2001 Pg 5		4		5			1		-		
30) CCN Group the devil and the son, says UNC leader	21/11/2001 Pg 5		4	2	2					-		
31) Manning accused of rewriting UNC manifesto	21/11/2001 Pg 5		10	3	1				-			
32) PNM finance plan... Cut corruption and save, says Mannning	22/11/2001 Pg 7	7		11	1					-		
33) NAR Tobago knocks alliance with Ramesh	22/11/2001 Pg 7	1			10	3					B	

<i>Subject</i>	<i>FRAMES</i>								<i>BIAS SCALE</i>			
	<i>Date & page No</i>	<i>Issue Frame (I)</i>	<i>Politician Panday (P)</i>	<i>Politician (Manning) (M)</i>	<i>Politician (Other) (O)</i>	<i>Governing (Unity, coalitions) (G)</i>	<i>Conflict (C)</i>	<i>Horseshoe (Opinion Polls) (H)</i>	<i>PNM</i>	<i>UNC</i>	<i>balanced</i>	<i>Comments/photos</i>
34) PSA not taking on promises	22/11/2001 Pg 7	1	1	3					–			
35) Panday calls for clear majority	22/11/2001 Pg 7		6								B	
36) Manning has my full support, says Rowley	23/11/2001 Pg 7	3		7	8				+			
37) Panday warns supporters, Hide your trees	23/11/2001 Pg 7		7	5	11				–			
38) Bereaux charges voter padding in La Brea	23/11/2001 Pg 7				2	2					B	
39) UNC alderman defects to PNM	24/11/2001 Pg 6	1			13					–		
40) EBC rejects ballot request	24/11/2001 Pg 6				1	2			–			
41) Lucky slims down on campaign trail	24/11/2001 Pg 6			2	11						B	
42) PNM only wants to copy from UNC, says Khan	24/11/2001 Pg 6			1	11				–			
43) PM: Office of ex-AG under investigation	25/11/2001 Pg 4	1	13		4						B	
44) Valley: 10% of Government Contracts for Small Business	25/11/2001 Pg 4	6	2	1	11				+			
45) Team Unity-NAR Alliance –Two dead men	26/11/2001 Pg 6		8		20	1					B	

<i>Subject</i>	<i>FRAMES</i>								<i>BIAS SCALE</i>			
	<i>Date & page No</i>	<i>Issue Frame (I)</i>	<i>Politician Panday) (P)</i>	<i>Politician (Manning) (M)</i>	<i>Politician (Other) (O)</i>	<i>Governing (Unity, coalitions) (G)</i>	<i>Conflict (C)</i>	<i>Horseshoe (Opinion Polls) (H)</i>	<i>PNM</i>	<i>UNC</i>	<i>balanced</i>	<i>Comments/photos</i>
says Panday												
46) Ramesh to PM: Investigate other ministers too	26/11/2001 Pg 6	2	4		7	2				–		
47) Don't worry, Oropouche supporters tell Moonilal	26/11/2001 Pg 6		4	1	17					+		
48) UNC \$1,000 pension plan not true, says Manning	26/11/2001 Pg 7	10		17				2		–		
49) Montano: PNM promises will result in devaluation	26/11/2001 Pg 7			7	12				–			
50) Valley: Our HOME not your HOME	27/11/2001 Pg 9	4	4		12		1				B	
51) PM promises relief for Rio Claro Cops	27/11/2001 Pg 9	2	6		13					+		
52) Panday betrayed me, says Sudama	28/11/2001 Pg 7		19		30					–		
53) Manning: PM knew about Benzes	28/11/2001 Pg 7		9	4	2					–		
54) Ryan predicts PNM win	28/11/2001 Pg 7							4	+			
55) Robinson-Regis calls on FIFA to clear its name	29/11/2001 Pg 7	1	2	5	7			1		–		
56) PM: EBC anthrax scare politically	29/11/2001 Pg 7		11		3			10	–			

<i>Subject</i>	<i>FRAMES</i>								<i>BIAS SCALE</i>			
	<i>Date & page No</i>	<i>Issue Frame (I)</i>	<i>Politician Panday) (P)</i>	<i>Politician (Manning) (M)</i>	<i>Politician (Other) (O)</i>	<i>Governing (Unity, coalitions) (G)</i>	<i>Conflict (C)</i>	<i>Horseshoe (Opinion Polls) (H)</i>	<i>PNM</i>	<i>UNC</i>	<i>balanced</i>	<i>Comments/photos</i>
motivated												
57) Panday urges Couva South voters: Don't let Ramesh split votes	30/11/2001 Pg 28		4		21						B	
58) Manning: LNG will fund PNM's HOME	01/12/2001 Pg 4	2		8					+			
59) Night court coming to cut backlog, says AG	01/12/2001 Pg 4	4			13					+		
60) Team Unity, UNC square off: Battle for Aranguez Savannah	02/12/2001 Pg 3		15		24		1			-		
61) PNM promises free school books	02/12/2001 Pg 3	7	3	9	3				+			
62) The hiring of Karl and Lindquist Ramesh to the defence	02/12/2001 Pg 3				7						B	
63) Ramesh: Govt ship stinking	02/12/2001 Pg 9	2	7		13					-		
64) Tunapuna loses 3,046 voters Hart: PNM supporters "illegally" struck off list	02/12/2001 Pg 9				11			12	-			
65) Sudama feels sorry for Panday	02/12/2001 Pg 9	2	5		14					-		
66) Panday drops two	03/12/2001	9	12	1	1					+		

<i>Subject</i>	<i>FRAMES</i>								<i>BIAS SCALE</i>			
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election bombs	Pg 5											
67) PM hints of gas finds off Tobago	03/12/2001 Pg 5	4	12		11					+		
68) Yetming loses his cool...Storms out on journalists	04/12/2001 Pg 5	8	4		32					-		
69) Hinds: PNM first to introduce book grant	05/12/2001 Pg 5	6	2	4	10						B	
70) Panday tells last Cabinet meeting: Campaign Hard	06/12/2001 Pg 3	4	12		4					-		
71) Valley calls on Assam to explain \$.5m deposit	07/12/2001 Pg 8	5		4	8					-		
72) Treasury is full says Humphrey	07/12/2001 Pg 8	3	1		13			1		+		
73) Maraj declares: No govt without Team Unity	07/12/2001 Pg 8	2	3		12						B	
74) Humphrey Panday's pick for next President	08/12/2001 Pg 3		6		13					+		
75) Duprey predicts a close election	08/12/2001 Pg 4	1									B	
76) Sudama: Team Unity	09/12/2001 Pg 3		5		22	1					B	

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	<i>Date & page No</i>	<i>Issue Frame (I)</i>	<i>Politician Panday) (P)</i>	<i>Politician (Manning) (M)</i>	<i>Politician (Other) (O)</i>	<i>Governing (Unity, coalitions) (G)</i>	<i>Conflict (C)</i>	<i>Horseshoe (Opinion Polls) (H)</i>	<i>PNM</i>	<i>UNC</i>	<i>balanced</i>	<i>Comments/photos</i>
77) Baksh is first to vote	09/12/2001 Pg 3				4	1					B	
78) Ferreira complains about polling cards	09/12/2001 Pg 3				6	3					B	
79) Come out Monday, PM tells supporters	09/12/2001 Pg 3		3		4						B	
80) Ramesh: I am at peace with myself	09/12/2001 Pg 5	1	4		16						B	
81) Shooting at QP Savannah send supporters scampering	09/12/2001 Pg 5		1							-		
82) EBC ready... Election will be free and fair, says Cayenne	10/12/2001 Pg 7	2	5	1	5			4			B	
83) Panday, Manning call on Robinson: Make me PM	11/12/2001 Pg 3		7	7	15			4			B	
84) Baksh celebrates with fireworks	11/12/2001 Pg 3			1	6					+		
85) President to choose prime minister	11/12/2001 Pg 3				2						B	

Trinidad Guardian

Election year : 2001

Newspaper : Guardian

ion : Front Pages (Headlines and editorials)

Codes for Frames:

- *I-Issue (governance)*
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- *G- Governing (unity, coalitions)*

- *C-conflict*
- *H-Horserace (opinion polls)*

<i>Subject</i>	<i>FRAMES</i>						<i>BIAS SCALE</i>			
	<i>Date & page No</i>	<i>Both Manning and Panday</i>	<i>Politician (Panday alone) (P)</i>	<i>Politician (Manning alone) (M)</i>	<i>Politician (Other) (O)</i>	<i>Other Party +/- (Team Unity/NAR)</i>	<i>PNM +/-</i>	<i>UNC +/-</i>	<i>Balanced</i>	<i>Comments/photos</i>
1. Millions for PNM campaign	9/11/01	-	-	-	-					
2. Panday changes mind on inquiries	11/11/01	-	-	-	1				B	Photo of John Humprey
3. Missing: 80,000 voters	12/11/01	-	-	-	-				B	
4. Dr. Tim Charged	14/11/01	-	-	-	1					Photo of Tim Gopeesingh
5. EBC calls in Cops	15/11/01	-	-	-	-				B	
6. Panday prays in election pooja	16/11/01	-	-	-	-				B	
7. Ramesh loses round two: UNC conflict no concern for court	17/11/01	-	-	-	-	-			-	Team Unity
8. NAR SoS to Ramesh: Anthony Smart resigns as party leader	18/11.01				1	-				NAR –photo of A. Smart
9. Promises aplenty as campaign starts in earnest: : Manning offers a 100-day plan/Panday promises \$1,000 pension	19/11/01	1							B	
10. Three-way fight for 110 candidates	20/11/01	-	-	-	-				B	
11. Government didn't play fair: Appeal court rules against Panday in CCN cellular case	24/11/02		1							
<i>Subject</i>	<i>FRAMES</i>						<i>BIAS SCALE</i>			

	<i>Date & page No</i>	<i>Both Manning and Panday</i>	<i>Politician (Panday alone) (P)</i>	<i>Politician (Manning alone) (M)</i>	<i>Politician (Other) (O)</i>	<i>Other Party +/- (Team Unity/NAR)</i>	<i>PNM +/-</i>	<i>UNC +/-</i>	<i>Balanced</i>	<i>Comments/photos</i>
12. PNM leads in Sando West, Tunapuna UNC moves to axe gang of 8	25/11/02				1	-	+			Photo of R. Maharaj-Team Unity
13. Probe your own office, Mr. Prime Minister	26/11/02	-	-	-	-			-		Team Unity
14. UNC still mum on Panday cheque	29/11/02									
15. Cash and free books-Panday	3/11/02		1							
16. UNC\$ on hold till Dec 11	4/11/02					-		-		
17. UNC ahead: But poll finds one-third of voters still "don't know"	6/11/02							+		
18. Now it's voters turn: countdown to close finish after 12-hour polling	10/11/02								B	

Election year : 2001
 Newspaper : Guardian
 ion : News Stories

Codes for Frames:

- *I-Issue (governance)*
- *Politicians (as personality)-P (Panday); M (Manning); O (other)*
- *G- Governing (unity, coalitions)*
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<i>Subject</i>	<i>FRAMES</i>						<i>BIAS SCALE</i>					
	<i>Date & page No</i>	<i>Issue Frame (I)</i>	<i>Politician Panday) (P)</i>	<i>Politician (Manning) (M)</i>	<i>Politician (Other) (O)</i>	<i>Governing (Unity, coalitions) (G)</i>	<i>Conflict (C)</i>	<i>Horserace (Opinion Polls) (H)</i>	<i>PNM</i>	<i>UNC</i>	<i>Balanced</i>	<i>Comments/ photos</i>
1) Lindquist wants to testify on airport project.	9/11/2001 Pg 4	3	2		8						B	
2) 5000 missing from new EBC list-Seukeran	9/11/2001 Pg 4				2			3			B	
3) Maraj: Fight to the Privy Council	9/11/2001 Pg 4		2		14		1			—		
4) Ramash fails to file against EBC	9/11/2001 Pg 4		1		3			2			B	
5) 1338 names left out Couva South says Maharaj	9/11/2001 Pg 4				5			4			B	
6) Ferreira back where he belong - Diane	9/11/2001 Pg 4				3			1	+			
7) NAR hopes to split UNC vote	10/11/2001 Pg 4				7			1		—		
8) Seukeran seeks to score another	10/11/2001 Pg 4	1	1	4	16			1	+			
9) EBC misleading	12/11/2001				3			10			B	

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voters- Rahael	Pg 3											
10) Panday corruption probe mere gimmick says Maraj	12/11/2001 Pg 3	3	8		12					–		
11) Humphrey sets eyes on Presidency Yetming for St Augustine	13/11/2001 Pg 3		6		19					+		
12) Maharaj UNC begins court battle today	13/11/2001 Pg 3		2		5		1	7		–		
13) Manning dares Panday: Commission before polls	13/11/2001 Pg 3	2	6	7						–		
14) I was not screened says Raffique Shah	13/11/2001 Pg 3				3						B	
15) Last-minute EBC head office	13/11/2001 Pg 3							2			B	
16) Gov't collapsed under corruption says Rowley	14/11/2001 Pg 7	3	6	1	16					–		
17) UNC PoS executive does not want Alexis	14/11/2001 Pg 7		2		8					–		
18) Serious omissions in Arima says PNM	14/11/2001 Pg 7							3			B	
19) Robin Montano queries Achong dead voters claim	16/11/2001 Pg 4			2	19			5	–			
20) St Augustine UNC divided Call for Yetming to	16/11/2001 Pg 4		3		25						B	

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'start on right foot'												
21) Judge to give ruling today in battle for UNC	16/11/2001 Pg 4		5		6			13			B	
22) Tobago PNM launches campaign today	16/11/2001 Pg 4			1	2							
23) Motion against EBC decision Mark Montano hail judge's ruling	17/11/2001 Pg 4		1		9			2				
24) Montano will help UNC win- Kamala	18/11/2001 Pg 5		1	3	25					+		
25) Gerard, Danny on PNM platform	19/11/2001 Pg 5			1	12				+			
26) Panday predicts easy victory	20/11/2001 Pg 7	1	7		7					+		
27) Tobago in trouble says Hochoy	20/11/2001 Pg 7	2	3		6						B	
28)NAR wants ties with Ramesh Team Unity	20/11/2001 Pg 7				17	2		2			B	
29) Manning will raise taxes says Panday	21/11/2001 Pg 4	11	21	13					-			
30) 'PNM team devoted to development of T & T'	21/11/2001 Pg 4	16	2	10					+			
31) Team Unity apologises to Tobago	21/11/2001 Pg 4				3						B	
32) Lucky Kicks off campaign in Macaulay	21/11/2001 Pg 4				6					+		
33) Point Mayor to Carlos John: Put people	22/11/2001 Pg 11	2	1	1						-		

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above Partisan politics												
34) Deeper role for Servol in Govt plans says PM Panday	22/11/2001 Pg 11	2	4							+		
35) PNM caught with pants down – PM	24/11/2001 Pg 4	4	21	7	9				–			
36) Kamala brings meeting to life in El Socorro	24/11/2001 Pg 4	2	1		21					+		
37) Commission of inquiry to probe Ramesh – PM	25/11/2001 Pg 4	2	8	2	4					–		
38) Ramnath blessed before hitting campaign trial	26/11/2001 Pg 3		1		9					+		
39) PNM stole our 'Home' - Baksh	26/11/2001 Pg 3	7		3	16				–			
40) Manning pledges special prosecutor if he wins	26/11/2001 Pg 3	11		9					+			
41) Moonilal slams PNM ad	27/11/2001 Pg 7	1		7	13				–			
42) We broke no rules says Maharaj team	27/11/2001 Pg 7		8		14			8			B	
43) NAR desperate - London	27/11/2001 Pg 7	1			11						B	
44) PNM fired me – UNC woman	28/11/2001 Pg 5	4			18				–			
45) Mistake to return Panday party to power –	28/11/2001 Pg 5							1		–		

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Ryan												
46) Address by Basdeo Panday, political leader of the United National Congress Panday mixes the new with the old	29/11/2001 Pg 2	28		15	64			3		+		
47) A humble and contrite Manning Address by Patrick Manning, political leader of the People's National Movement	30/11/2001 Pg 1	84		10				2		+		
48) Wave your manifesto	2/12/2001 Pg 3	1			8					+		
49) Jobs for all in 10 years - Yetming	3/12/2001 Pg 4	4	1		6					+		
50) Activist comments on ad 'baffles' UNC	3/12/2001 Pg 4	2	1	1						-		
51) Corruption Probes part of Team Unity manifesto - Ramesh	3/12/2001 Pg 4	4	1		5						B	
52) PNM plans to export nurses	4/12/2001 Pg 7	2	3		8				+			
53) If UNC wins, no money for THA says London	4/12/2001 Pg 7	1	7		17					-		
54) Has Anthony's vision gone sour forever?	4/12/2001 Pg 6	1	1		69	3		1			B	

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Smarter than the average												
55) 17 new school buses coming says Panday	6/12/2001 Pg 3	1	11							+		
56) Manning has no time for election observers	6/12/2001 Pg 3		1	3				4	-			
57) Montano wants apology, \$ from newspaper	7/12/2001 Pg 3				5						B	
58) Former candidate quits UNC	7/12/2001 Pg 3	1	2		10					-		
59) Police charge 2 in savannah shooting	10/12/2011 Pg 3		2							-		
60) UNC office firebombed	11/12/2011 Pg 3				13						B	
61) 10 minutes of agony	11/12/2001 Pg 3							3			B	
62) Manning wants the president to name a PNM govt	11/12/2001 Pg 3		2	7		1			+			
63) I will continue to reign as Prime Minister says Panday	11/12/2001 Pg 3	5	12		4					+		
64) Cautious mood at Balisier House	11/12/2001 Pg 13			2	2				+			
65) Emotional response from UNC faithful	11/12/2001 Pg 13		5		9					-		
66) Tempers flare, tears flow in Tunapuna	11/12/2001 Pg 14				1			3	+			

NEWSDAY

Election year : 2001
Newspaper : Newsday
ion : front pages (photos and headlines)

Codes for Frames:

- *I-Issue (governance)*
- *Politicians (as personality)-P (Panday); M (Manning); O (other)*
- *G- Governing (unity, coalitions)*
- *C-conflict*
- *H-Horserace (opinion polls)*

<i>Subject</i>	<i>FRAMES</i>						<i>BIAS SCALE</i>			
	<i>Date & page No</i>	<i>Both politicians (I)</i>	<i>Politician (Panday alone) (P)</i>	<i>Politician (Manning alone) (M)</i>	<i>Politician (Other) (O)</i>	<i>Other Party Team Unity</i>	<i>PNM</i>	<i>UNC</i>	<i>Balanced</i>	<i>Comments/photos</i>
1)Cops Step Up Voter Padding Inquiry	11/11/2001		1		1			-		
2)Ramesh Loses Party Symbol to Panday	17/11/2001							+		No pictures of politicians or political imagery
3)PNM and UNC Launch Campaigns Tomorrow	17/11/2001									No pictures of politicians or political imagery
4) Ramesh Abandons Fight for Rising Sun as UNC, PNM Launch Campaigns	19/11/2001	1					+	+		
5) Grand Entry	20/11/2001					1			B	
6) Rowley Wants Action on "Stolen" \$10M Airport	29/11/2001				1			-		
7) PM Had Lindquist Report Before Airport Money	29/11/2001							-		No pictures of politicians or political imagery
8) Election Candidate Saved from Fraud	02/12/2201									No pictures of politicians or political imagery

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9) PNM Women Shake Up St James	02/12/2001						+			No pictures of politicians or political imagery
10) Montano Stamps on UNC and Panday	08/12/2001		1		1			-		
11) NAR, UNC, PNM and Tean Unity Square Off in Fight for Power	09/12/2001			1		1			B	
12) 18-18: It's Back to the Polls for TT	11/12/2001	1							B	

Election year : 2001
 Newspaper : Newsday
 ion : News Stories

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<i>Subject</i>	<i>FRAMES</i>								<i>BIAS SCALE</i>			
	<i>Date & page No</i>	<i>Issue Frame (I)</i>	<i>Politician (Panday) (P)</i>	<i>Politician (Manning) (M)</i>	<i>Politician (Other) (O)</i>	<i>Governing (Unity, coalitions) (G)</i>	<i>Conflict (C)</i>	<i>Horserace (Opinion Polls) (H)</i>	<i>PNM</i>	<i>UNC</i>	<i>Bal.</i>	<i>Comments/ photos</i>
1)PM's hands and heart clean	9/11/2001 Pg 5	5	8	1	26		2	1		+		
2)Battle for UNC and the Rising Sun symbol: Panday wins round two	10/11/2001 Pg 4		2		2		3	15		+		
3) Panday blanks Moore – Miggins	10/11/2001 Pg 4		4		16					+		
4) WASA manager sent home	11/11/2001 Pg 3		1		6					–		
5) Major is Seukeran's campaign manager Ferreira: the best man for the job is a woman	12/11/2001 Pg 5				10			2	+			
6) Court will uphold EBC's decision says Israel Khan	12/11/2001 Pg 5		3		0			6		+		
7) Yetming for Humphrey in St Augustine	13/11/2001 Pg 4		3		36			1		+		
8) Maharaj Faction ask EBC whether review was done	13/11/2001 Pg 4				4			4			B	
9) Manning to EBC:	13/11/2001			10	1			6			B	

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Extend electoral re-registration	Pg 4											
10) National consultation on economic initiatives – Panday takes Ralph and Dianne to task	14/11/2001 Pg 4		16	2	16			1	–			
11) Lasse claims over 2000 voted illegally for PNM	14/11/2001 Pg 4		1		8			4	–			
12) Statements made at chamber dinner - Panday sued by Daltons	15/11/2001 Pg 4		2		3					–		
13) Maraj: Panday should respect Divali	15/11/2001 Pg 4		8		9			4		–		
14) Parties unhappy with EBC list	15/11/2001 Pg 5				20			5			B	
15) Nizam Baksh for Naparima	15/11/2001 Pg 5		1		15					+		
16) EBC investigate false cards	15/11/2001 Pg 5				6			15			–	
17) ASJA congratulates Baksh	15/11/2001 Pg 5				4					+		
18) Seukeran: Panday clutching at straws	15/11/2001 Pg 6		6		10					–		
19) No Pointe – a – Pierre candidate yet for UNC	15/11/2001 Pg 6		3		7					–		
20) New Party to contest elections	15/11/2001 Pg 6				2			2			B	
21) Kernahan starts campaign	15/11/2001 Pg 6	4			7						B	

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22) Concerned citizens write to the President	15/11/2001 Pg 6				2			3			B	
23) Ramesh loses UNC party symbol	17/11/2001 Pg 3		5		5			15		+		
24) Maharaj appeals Mendonca's decision	17/11/2001 Pg 3		1		2			3		+		
25) Panday's UNC move to use Rising Sun symbol on Dec 10	17/11/2001 Pg 3	5	4		6		1	2		+		
26) Ramesh loses again	18/11/2001 Pg 3		1		5			2		+		
27) Dr Rowley falls ill at funeral	18/11/2001 Pg 3				4						B	
28) 'Rainbow' candidates to be presented tomorrow	18/11/2001 Pg 3				3						B	
29) Ramesh abandons fight for UNC's Rising Sun Settles for Team Unity and Rainbow symbol	19/11/2001 Pg 3		2		12		1	13			B	
30) Now Ramesh to form alliance with NAR	19/11/2001 Pg 3				14	2					B	
31) Battle for UNC money today	19/11/2001 Pg 3		3		7		1				B	
32) London: It's a no contest for the PNM in Tobago	20/11/2001 Pg 3				13				+			
33) DPP orders arrest of man for voter – padding	21/11/2001 Pg 4							6			B	

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34) Robinson – Regis: Montano must tell us what he has promised	21/11/2001 Pg 4		1	1	12					–		
35) Manning promises Christmas gift to public servants	21/11/2001 Pg 4	2		7	2				+			
36) Ramesh wants Panday to say what he knows about voter – padding	21/11/2001 Pg 4	2	10		26			2		–		
37) Joe Pires: ‘I feel victory in Diego Martin East’	22/11/2001 Pg 4	8	1		25					–		
38) Panday in St James: Manning wants to create 20000 ten days	22/11/2001 Pg 4	9	11	10	2				–			
39) Rowley blames Kamla for Ibis School fiasco	23/11/2001 Pg 4	1	2	2	15					–		
40) Panday wants UNC win in La Brae and Pt fortin	23/11/2001 Pg 4	2	12	6	1						B	
41) EBC turns down PNM ballot requests	24/11/2001 Pg 4				1			8			B	
42) Another UNC local govt member crosses the floor to the PNM	24/11/2001 Pg 4	1			23					–		
43) UNC’s John starts ‘ground war’ for Tobago East	24/11/2001 Pg 4	2			17					+		

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44) Ramesh: Panday afraid of corruption lion	25/11/2001 Pg 4	13			16			1		–		
45) Panday promises political landslide PM: NAR dead and gone	26/11/2001 Pg 4		13		19					+		
46) Montano tells why he left the PNM	26/11/2001 Pg 4		1	7	22				–			
47) Callender, Job slam NAR	27/11/2001 Pg 5				31						B	
48) Panday makes another faux pas	27/11/2001 Pg 5	2	4	1	2					–		
49) Manning: Security forces will better equipped to fight crime	27/11/2001 Pg 5	6	1	7					+			
50) HOME not created by Bakash	27/11/2001 Pg 5	1			5					–		
51) Team Unity at San Juan and Chaguana	27/11/2001 Pg 5				13						B	
52) Increase in murders, rape, robberies, firearms... PM: We will never win this battle	28/11/2001 Pg 4	7	13							+		
53) Piarco Airport scandal: Rowley calls for action on 'stolen' \$10M airport money	29/11/2001 Pg 3	3	7		25					–		
54) AG says she awaits arrival of Lindquist	29/11/2001 Pg 3	1			9						B	
55) PM had damaging	29/11/2001	1	2		1					–		

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Lindquist report when he opened the airport	Pg 3											
56) PNM meets EBC for two hours: PNM comfortable with EBC's move for free and fair election	30/11/2001 Pg 6				11			11			B	
57) Battle for use of Aranguez savannah – Team Unity wins out	30/11/2001 Pg 6		3		13			2		–		
58) Rousillac man to be charged with voter padding	1/12/2001 Pg 4				1			5			B	
59) PNM must win on Dec 10, says Manning	1/12/2001 Pg 4	1		5							B	
60) PNM women shake up St James	2/12/2001 Pg 3	6	3	2	18			1	+			
61) Battle for Aranguez Savannah continues.... 'Reply by 4 pm, or else'	2/12/2001 Pg 3		9		3					–		
62) Panday drops 'Education bomb'	3/12/2001 Pg 4	27	19	1						+		
63) Sheldon Blackman responds to Rowly: 'I can do what I want with my father's music'	4/12/2001 Pg 5	2			6				–			
64) UNC rally shifted to Queen's Park Savannah	4/12/2001 Pg 4	4	2		12					+		
65) Manning to Panday:	4/12/2001	3	4	3				1		–		

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Come better than that Bas	Pg 4											
66) UNC has no ideas for us to steal, says Manning	5/12/2001 Pg 4	5	1	8						–		
67) Seukeran offers her vision for Sando	5/12/2001 Pg 4	8			11				+			
68) Panday confident of returning to Whitehall	6/12/2001 Pg 5	2	16		11					+		
69) PM accuses former AG of taking all Lindquist documents	6/12/2001 Pg 5		9		2						B	
70) Manning: Panday know education ideas belong to PNM	6/12/2001 Pg 5	4	8	8						–		
71) Dr Rafeeq denies health woes hampering campaign	6/12/2001 Pg 5				12						B	
72) Election observers meet with EBC	7/12/2001 Pg 5							2			B	
73) UNC supporters told 'Go ahead and multiply'	7/12/2001 Pg 5	4	4		26			1		+		
74) PM back in Tobago today	7/11/2001 Pg 5		1		3						B	
75) Montano stamps on UNC, Panday	8/12/2001 Pg 3		5		22						B	

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	<i>Date & page No</i>	<i>Issue Frame (I)</i>	<i>Politician (Panday) (P)</i>	<i>Politician (Manning) (M)</i>	<i>Politician (Other) (O)</i>	<i>Governing (Unity, coalitions) (G)</i>	<i>Conflict (C)</i>	<i>Horserace (Opinion Polls) (H)</i>	<i>PNM</i>	<i>UNC</i>	<i>Bal.</i>	<i>Comments/ photos</i>
76) Montano gets leave in case	8/12/2001 Pg 3				9						B	
77) Manning tells PNM rally... 'We will go after those who did wrong'	9/12/2001 Pg 3	10	2	11	7				+			
78) Panday: I have done all to root out corruption	9/12/2001 Pg 3	5	25		9					+		
79) Over 840000 eligible voters Tight security at polling stations today	10/12/2001 Pg 5				5			2			B	
80) Sudama, Maraj Lose Deposits.... Dead – heat: 18 – 18	11/12/2001 Pg 3	1	8	1	21			2		+		
81) Panday: We've work untiringly to improve the lives of everyone	11/12/2001 Pg 3		6							+		
82) Cayenne: The EBC will be 'more ready' next election	11/12/2001 Pg 3				5			7			B	
83) Sadiq wins Sando West	11/12/2001 Pg 3		2		10					+		
84) Manning: I am ready to be PM again	11/12/2001 Pg 3		2	5	2				+			

<i>Subject</i>	<i>FRAMES</i>								<i>BIAS SCALE</i>			
	<i>Date & page No</i>	<i>Issue Frame (I)</i>	<i>Politician (Panday) (P)</i>	<i>Politician (Manning) (M)</i>	<i>Politician (Other) (O)</i>	<i>Governing (Unity, coalitions) (G)</i>	<i>Conflict (C)</i>	<i>Horserace (Opinion Polls) (H)</i>	<i>PNM</i>	<i>UNC</i>	<i>Bal.</i>	<i>Comments/ photos</i>
85) Panday: I'll accept results	11/12/2001 Pg 3		9		2			2		—		
86) Ramesh: Team Unity will continue the struggle	11/12/2001 Pg 6	3	2		33						B	
87) Manning was looking forward for 19	11/12/2001 Pg 6	1		14	1			3			B	
88) Sudama alleges threats against Team Unity supporters	11/12/2001 Pg 6		2		16					—		
89) Moonilal predicted Sudama's defeat	11/12/2001 Pg 6				12					+		

2002

EXPRESS

Election year : 2002
Newspaper : Express
ion : front pages (photos and headlines)

Codes for Frames:

- *I-Issue (governance)*
- *Politicians (as personality)-P (Panday); M (Manning); O (other)*
- *G- Governing (unity, coalitions)*
- *C-conflict*
- *H-Horserace (opinion polls)*

Subject	FRAMES					BIAS SCALE			
	Date & page No	Both politicians (I)	Politician (Panday alone) (P)	Politician (Manning alone) (M)	Politician (Other) (O)	PNM	UNC	Balanced	Comments/photos
1)Lucky 7 but for whom?	29/8/2002	1						B	
2)Oma's lottery luck: Ex-PM's wife in US \$150,000 National Lottery payout	1/9/2002						-		Only photo of Oma Panday
3)NLCB hit over big-money donations: Lottery Giveaway	2/9/2002						-		No pictures of politicians or political imagery
4) Panday moves to block London probe	3/9/2002		1				-		
5) NLCB files go to police	8/9/2002						-		No pictures of politicians or political imagery
6) Mottley blanks UNC	9/9/2002				1		-		
7) Manning, Abu Bakr meet land for Jamaat	12/9/2002			1			-		
8) Raining promises	16/9/2002	1			1			B	
9) Signing up	17/9/2002	1			1			B	

<i>Subject</i>	<i>FRAMES</i>					<i>BIAS SCALE</i>			
	<i>Date & page No</i>	<i>Both politicians (I)</i>	<i>Politician (Panday alone) (P)</i>	<i>Politician (Manning alone) (M)</i>	<i>Politician (Other) (O)</i>	<i>PNM</i>	<i>UNC</i>	<i>Balanced</i>	<i>Comments/photos</i>
10) Panday Charged	19/9/2002		1				-		
11) Special branch uncovers...plot to disrupt polls	29/9/2002	1						B	
12) Fracas in Fyzabad: PNM activist charged	2/10/2002					-			No pictures of politicians or political imagery. Only picture of PNM activist
13) UNC candidate admits to Jamaat link: 'Bakr is no terrorist'	3/10/2002				1		-		
14) Vanished: Carlos John's brother gone without a trace	4/10/2002				1			B	
15) Rescued	5/10/2002				1	+			
16) All systems go	7/10/2002							B	

Election year : 2002
 Newspaper : Express
 ion : News Stories

Codes for Frames:

- *I-Issue (governance)*
- *Politicians (as personality)-P (Panday); M (Manning); O (other)*
- *G- Governing (unity, coalitions)*
- *C-conflict*
- *H-Horserace (opinion polls)*

<i>Subject</i>	<i>FRAMES</i>								<i>BIAS SCALE</i>			
	<i>Date & page No</i>	<i>Issue Frame (I)</i>	<i>Politician (Panday) (P)</i>	<i>Politician (Manning) (M)</i>	<i>Politician (Other) (O)</i>	<i>Governing (Unity, coalitions) (G)</i>	<i>Conflict (C)</i>	<i>Horserace (Opinion Polls) (H)</i>	<i>PNM</i>	<i>UNC</i>	<i>Bal</i>	<i>Comments/ photos</i>
1)Judiciary can't make PM call elections	28/08/2002. pg7	1		8	6		2				B	
2)Ramchand hopes for another 18/18 tie	29/08/2002. pg7	1		3	11	1					B	
3)Panday to RBTT: Careful with PNM govt	31/08/2002. pg9	3	6	1			2		-	+		
4)Oma's lottery luck	1/09/2002.	2	1		3		2			-		
5)Oma's lottery hand-out for probe, says Manning	2/09/2002. Pg3	1	1	3	1		1		-	-		
6)Ex-Nipdec GM took concerns to Panday	5/9/2002. pg3	1	9		4					-		
7)Bereaux bows out of election race	6/9/2002. Pg6			12	11		1				B	
8)Carlos is back	7/9/2002. pg3		3		17						B	
9)Panday: Govt owing \$650m in	8/9/2002.	3	6	2			1	1	-			

<i>Subject</i>	<i>FRAMES</i>								<i>BIAS SCALE</i>			
	<i>Date & page No</i>	<i>Issue Frame (I)</i>	<i>Politician (Panday) (P)</i>	<i>Politician (Manning) (M)</i>	<i>Politician (Other) (O)</i>	<i>Governing (Unity, coalitions) (G)</i>	<i>Conflict (C)</i>	<i>Horserace (Opinion Polls) (H)</i>	<i>PNM</i>	<i>UNC</i>	<i>Bal</i>	<i>Comments/ photos</i>
VAT taxes	pg4											
10)Panday: PNM misused \$30m UNC left for Tobago	9/9/2002. Pg3	1	3		3			2	-			
11)UNC, NAR fail to reach agreement	10/9/2002. Pg9		3		2	1	2				B	
12)Dookeran for St.Augustine	12/9/2002. Pg6	4	9	3	14		1	2			B	
13)Hazel moves to clear up SEA queries	14/9/2002/ PG7	2			4						B	
14)Oma's London account down to £14,700	15/9/2002. Pg4	1	2							-		
15)Manning promises bag of goodies	16/9/2002. Pg3	10	1	7			2		-	-		
16)Panday denies prior knowledge of 1990 coup	17/9/2002. Pg3	1	5	1	5						B	
17)Manning: I had no idea	17/9/2002. Pg3		3	5			1				B	
18)Hazel: No guarantee Jamaat will get funds for school	18/9/2002. Pg3	2			6						B	

<i>Subject</i>	<i>FRAMES</i>								<i>BIAS SCALE</i>			
	<i>Date & page No</i>	<i>Issue Frame (I)</i>	<i>Politician (Panday) (P)</i>	<i>Politician (Manning) (M)</i>	<i>Politician (Other) (O)</i>	<i>Governing (Unity, coalitions) (G)</i>	<i>Conflict (C)</i>	<i>Horseshoe (Opinion Polls) (H)</i>	<i>PNM</i>	<i>UNC</i>	<i>Bal</i>	<i>Comments/ photos</i>
19) Panday charged under old act	19/9/2002. Pg 3	1	5							-		
20) PNM to promote 'good race relations'	25/9/2002. Pg7	9		4	6		3		+	-		
21) Carlos woos Tunapuna	25/9/2002. Pg7	8	3	2	8		1				B	
22) Panday: Use your 'finger' to defend T&T	26/9/2002. Pg 15	15	6				2		+	-		
23) Kamla promises permanent anti-corruption commission	27/9/2002. Pg6	2	1	2	13		1		-	+		No pictures of politicians or political imagery
24) Basdeo Panday: We made no secret deals with criminals	28/9/2002. PG7	4	5	2	3		1		-			
25) PM: \$10 minimum wagw if I win election	28/9/2002. PG7	9		6	2				+			
26) Panday: PM reluctant to make Jamaat pay \$15m	19/9.2002. pg7	7	8	4			1		-			
27) Jack goes to town on PNM	29/9/2002. Pg4	10	3	4	13		2		-			
28) Not a damn seat for them	30/9/2002. Pg9	3		2	12		4		+			

<i>Subject</i>	<i>FRAMES</i>								<i>BIAS SCALE</i>			
	<i>Date & page No</i>	<i>Issue Frame (I)</i>	<i>Politician (Panday) (P)</i>	<i>Politician (Manning) (M)</i>	<i>Politician (Other) (O)</i>	<i>Governing (Unity, coalitions) (G)</i>	<i>Conflict (C)</i>	<i>Horseshoe (Opinion Polls) (H)</i>	<i>PNM</i>	<i>UNC</i>	<i>Bal</i>	<i>Comments/ photos</i>
29) PM: social services officers to fight crime	3/10/2002. Pg7	4		5	2		2		+	-		
30)PNM imported spy equipment, says Panday	5/10/2002. Pg5	5	6	2	1		2		-			
31)PM: UNC plans to disrupt poll	5/10/2002. Pg5	3	2	11	1		5				B	
32)Deadlock broken PM clinches 20-16 victory	8/10/2002. Pg3		3		7						B	

TRINIDAD GUARDIAN

Election year : 2002
Newspaper : Guardian
ion : front pages (Headlines and photos)

Codes for Frames:

- *I-Issue (governance)*
- *Politicians (as personality)-P (Panday); M (Manning); O (other)*
- *G- Governing (unity, coalitions)*
- *C-conflict*
- *H-Horserace (opinion polls)*

<i>Subject (Headlines)</i>	<i>FRAMES</i>						<i>BIAS SCALE</i>			
	<i>Date & page No</i>	<i>Both Manning and Panday (I)</i>	<i>Politician (Panday alone) (P)</i>	<i>Politician (Manning alone) (M)</i>	<i>Politician (Other) (O)</i>	<i>Other Party CoP</i>	<i>PNM +/_</i>	<i>UNC +/_</i>	<i>Bal.</i>	<i>Comments/photos</i>
1)EBC slams Govt	21/9/2002			1			-			
2)UWI election poll in marginals shows PNM, UNC: Neck-to-neck in	22/9/2002				1				B	
3)More promises: \$22m to fight hunger says Manning	23/9/2002			1			+			
4)PNM finds more names on EBC's Voter's List	27/9/2002								B	
5)New rules for EBC	28/9/2002								B	
6) UWI poll shows Afro/Indo, UNC/PNM clearly: Split down the middle	29/9/2002								B	
7) \$1,500 for newborns: Panday promises Unit Trust fund for each baby	30/9/2002		1					+		
8) EBC calls for...More cops for marginal	1/10/2002								B	
9) Soldiers for Election	2/10/2002								B	
10) UWI election poll in marginals shows PNM, UNC in deadheat 4 too close to call	6/10/2002	1			1				B	
11) Marginals to decide outcome in critical election	7/10/2002	1							B	

<i>Subject</i>	<i>FRAMES</i>								<i>BIAS SCALE</i>			
	<i>Date & page No</i>	<i>Issue Frame (I)</i>	<i>Politician Panday) (P)</i>	<i>Politician (Manning) (M)</i>	<i>Politician (Other) (O)</i>	<i>Governing (Unity, coalitions) (G)</i>	<i>Conflict (C)</i>	<i>Horse race (Opinion Polls) (H)</i>	<i>PNM</i>	<i>UNC</i>	<i>Bal.</i>	<i>Comments/ photos</i>
1)They can't muzzle me: School Principal at the hustings	21.9.02 p4	1	-	2	4	-	12	2			B	
2. UNC eyes PNM	21/9/02 p.4	3	-	2	-	-	--	-			b	
3. PNM to focus on race relations	21/9/02 p. 12	18	-	8	3	-	-	-	+			
4. Counting the youth vote	22/9/02 p.2	6	-	-	10			9			B	
5. Vote to PNM a vote for terrorists-Panday	23/9/02 p. 8	-	5	1	2	-	-	-	-			
6. Voter padding accusation fly	24/9/02 p.5	4	-	-	6	-	-	4			B	
7. Two more leave NTU	24/9/02 p. 5	-	-	-	11	1	7	4			B	
8. Roger Boynes: I will be back	25/9/02 p.4	14	-	-	12	-	-	6			b	
9. Anil Juteram: Here to perform	25/9/02 p.4	11	-	-	11	-	-	1			b	
10. Manning moving at break neck speed	26/9/02 p.9	-	-	3	2	-	-	7	+			
11. Panday: I can't go now	26/9/02 p.5	9	6	1	-	-	-	-			B	
12. Meetings, yes but not regular- PM	27/9/02 p.3	2	-	6	-	-	3	-			B	
13. Bakr: Vote UNC and get locked up	27/9/02 p.3	6	-	5	5	-	3		-			

<i>Subject</i>	<i>FRAMES</i>								<i>BIAS SCALE</i>			
	<i>Date & page No</i>	<i>Issue Frame (I)</i>	<i>Politician Panday) (P)</i>	<i>Politician (Manning) (M)</i>	<i>Politician (Other) (O)</i>	<i>Governing (Unity, coalitions) (G)</i>	<i>Conflict (C)</i>	<i>Horserace (Opinion Polls) (H)</i>	<i>PNM</i>	<i>UNC</i>	<i>Bal.</i>	<i>Comments/ photos</i>
14. 100,000 houses in next 10 years says Bureaux	28/9/02 p. 7	12	-	-	5	-	-	-			b	
15. Panday warns of violence	28/9/02 p.7	-	3	1	-	-	-	-	-			
16. Panday meet Cop on PNM thugs	29/9/02 p.3	-	7	-	1	-	5	3	-			
17. PM: Tide with Tunapuna		2	-	3	4	-	-	-			B	
18. Sanderson: I'll take Fyzabad for PNM	30/9/02 p. 7	6	-	-	9	-	7	12	+			
19. Man with a vision for La Brea	"	15	-	-	19	-		-				Third party-Democratic Party of T&T
20. COP comfort Panday: Have no fear	1/10/02 p3	10	6	1	2	-	-	4	-			
21. Election violence in Fyzabad	2/10/02 p.4	-	-	-	5	-	10	-	-			
22. Carlos: I'm no \$52m man	3/10/02 p.3	5	-	-	5	-	3	-		-		
23. Panday tells Manning: Apologize to T&T women	3/10/02 p.11	11	3	-	-	-	-	-	-			
24. Confident PM reveals plans for the elderly	3/10/02 p.11	17	-	2	-	-	-	1	+			

<i>Subject</i>	<i>FRAMES</i>								<i>BIAS SCALE</i>			
	<i>Date & page No</i>	<i>Issue Frame (I)</i>	<i>Politician Panday) (P)</i>	<i>Politician (Manning) (M)</i>	<i>Politician (Other) (O)</i>	<i>Governing (Unity, coalitions) (G)</i>	<i>Conflict (C)</i>	<i>Horseshoe (Opinion Polls) (H)</i>	<i>PNM</i>	<i>UNC</i>	<i>Bal.</i>	<i>Comments/ photos</i>
25. Montano: plot to switch ballot boxes	4/10/02 p. 3	1	-	-	3	-	-	6	-			
26. Hart charges voter fraud in Tunapuna	'	7	-	-	4	-	-	2		-		
27. Manning beefs up his security	5/10/02 p.8	18	-	4	-	-	-	2		-		
28. Terrorism the only way PNM can win-Panday	"	3	2	1	4	-	-	7	-			
29. My hands are clean-Manning	6/10/02 p.3	6	2	5	-	-	-	2	+			
30. 'Time' praised Piarco airport-Panday	"	3	12	5	2	9	-	3		+		
31. Manning 'stung' in Aranguez	8/10/02 p.8	5	3	4	14	4	2	2	-			
32. PM denies love child	7/10/02 p.3	-	-	6	-	2	7	2	-			

NEWSDAY

Election year : 2002
Newspaper : Newsday
ion : front pages (photos and headlines)

Codes for Frames:

- *I-Issue (governance)*
- *Politicians (as personality)-P (Panday); M (Manning); O (other)*
- *G- Governing (unity, coalitions)*
- *C-conflict*
- *H-Horserace (opinion polls)*

<i>Subject</i>	<i>FRAMES</i>						<i>BIAS SCALE</i>			
	<i>Date & page No</i>	<i>Both politicians (I)</i>	<i>Politician anday alone) (P)</i>	<i>Politician (Manning alone) (M)</i>	<i>Politician (Other) (O)</i>	<i>CoP</i>	<i>PNM</i>	<i>UNC</i>	<i>bal</i>	<i>Comments/ photos</i>
1. October 7 back to the polls	29/8/02 FP	1	-	-	1				B	
2. Carlos John denies depositing \$52M in bank account	1/9/02 FP	-	-	-	1			-		
3. Shot fired at Seukeran's home: UNC to support NAR in Tobago	9/9/02 FP	-	-	-	1				B	
4. Last minute rush at EBC: Carlos talks peace, mum on \$52M	13/9/02 FP	-	-	-	-			-		
5. Manning bows to public pressure: No land for Jamaat	15/9/02 FP	-	-	-	-		-			
6. Hectic start to Election race	16/9/02 FP	-	-	-	-				B	
7. 101 file nominations	17/9/02 FP	1	-	-	-				B	
8. London Bank account: Panday charged	19/9/02FP		1		1			-		
9. Wilson charges: Manning wants PNM EBC	21/9/02FP	-	-	-	1			-		
10. Rowley Blasts Baksh: Disrespecting airport commission of inquiry	22/9/02 FP	-	-	-	-			-		

<i>Subject</i>	<i>FRAMES</i>						<i>BIAS SCALE</i>			
	<i>Date & page No</i>	<i>Both politicians (I)</i>	<i>Politician anday alone) (P)</i>	<i>Politician (Manning alone) (M)</i>	<i>Politician (Other) (O)</i>	<i>CoP</i>	<i>PNM</i>	<i>UNC</i>	<i>bal</i>	<i>Comments/ photos</i>
11. Panday's last run: Until Piarco audit,: No more money for Birk Hillman	26/9/02 FP	-	-	-	-			-		
12. Robinson denies Jamaat Link	27/9/02 FP	-	-	-	-				B	
13. NACTA Poll: PNM has edge in election race	29/9/02FP	-	-	-	-		+			
14. UNC gives \$1500 to newborns	30/9/02 FP	-	-	-	-			+		
15. DPP:No politics in Panday, Gopeesingh cases	1/10/02 FP	-	-	-	-				B	
16. Baksh hiked Calmaquip contract	2/10/02FP	-	-	-	-			-		
17. Panday tells supporters: Lose your life, not Ortoire/Mayaro!	3/10/02 FP	-	-	-	1			-		
18. Search on for Carlos'brother	4/10/02FP	-	-	-	1				B	
19. Abductors: Give us \$2M of the \$52M. Ronnie John found in shack	5/10/02 FP	-	-	-	1				B	
20. Massive turnout at PNM/UNC rallies: Onward to Victory	6/10/02 FP	-	-	-	-				B	

Election year : 2002
 Newspaper : Newsday
 ion : News Stories

Codes for Frames:

- *I-Issue (governance)*
- *Politicians (as personality)-P (Panday); M (Manning); O (other)*
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<i>Subject</i>	<i>FRAMES</i>								<i>BIAS SCALE</i>			
	<i>Date & page No</i>	<i>Issue Frame (I)</i>	<i>Politician (Panday) (P)</i>	<i>Politician (Manning) (M)</i>	<i>Politician (Other) (O)</i>	<i>Governing (Unity, coalitions) (G)</i>	<i>Conflict (C)</i>	<i>Horserace (Opinion Polls) (H)</i>	<i>PNM</i>	<i>UNC</i>	<i>Bal.</i>	<i>Comments/ photos</i>
1. D-Day for Manning, PNM	28/8/02 p. 5	6	-	6	1	-	-	3	-			
2.UNC MPs check in at the Crowne Plaza	“	1	1	-	4	-	-	1			B	
3. October 7 is Election Day	29/8/02 p3	4	3	10	16	-	-	8			B	
4. Carlos John for Tunapuna	31/8/02 p.5	-	1	-	12	2	-	16		+		
5. \$52M in bank account	1/1/02 p.3	1	1	-	31	-	-	-		-		
6. PNM campaign launch- Sept. 15	2/9/02 p.5	2	-	12	-	-	-	12	+			
7. Pm convinced kidnappings related to elections	7/9/02 p. 7	6	-	4	--	-	-	4			B	
8. Hedwidge Bereaux has a change of heart	“	-	-	6	10	-	4	11	-			
9. Shot fired at Seukaran's house	9/9/02 p.3	1	-	1	4	-	-	2			B	

<i>Subject</i>	<i>FRAMES</i>								<i>BIAS SCALE</i>			
	<i>Date & page No</i>	<i>Issue Frame (I)</i>	<i>Politician (Panday) (P)</i>	<i>Politician (Manning) (M)</i>	<i>Politician (Other) (O)</i>	<i>Governing (Unity, coalitions) (G)</i>	<i>Conflict (C)</i>	<i>Horse race (Opinion Polls) (H)</i>	<i>PNM</i>	<i>UNC</i>	<i>Bal.</i>	<i>Comments/ photos</i>
10. UNC/NAR vs. PNM in Tobago	“	1	4	1	5	3	3	10			B	
11. Election action at Balisier	<i>10/8/02 p.3</i>	-	-	3	22	-	-	11	+			
12. NAR/UNC alliance not just to beat PNM	<i>11/8/02 p.7</i>	-	4	-	4	8	-	2			B	
13. NAR will not split if it joins with the UNC	“	-	3	-	8	4	3	4			B	
14. Rowley promises honest Government	<i>11/9/02p.11</i>	7	-	-	3	-	-	-	+			
15. General Council member quits PNM	“	-	-	1	5	-	2	-	-			
16. Crowds rush EBC offices	<i>13/9/02 p. 3</i>	-	-	-	6	-	-	18			B	
17. Manning suggests code of ethics for Carlos John	<i>14/9/02p.5</i>	2	-	4	22	-	1	2		-		
18. Manning blanks Jaamat	<i>15/9/02 p.3</i>	4	-	4	-	-	1	-			B	
19. UNC wants National Front Government	<i>16/9/02 p.3</i>	10	11	3	-	1	1	1	-			
21. PNM promises to rescue TT	“	29	3	11	-	-	-	-	+			
22. Now PNM worried	<i>17.9.02 p.5</i>	4	-	-	3	-	-	6		-		

<i>Subject</i>	<i>FRAMES</i>								<i>BIAS SCALE</i>			
	<i>Date & page No</i>	<i>Issue Frame (I)</i>	<i>Politician (Panday) (P)</i>	<i>Politician (Manning) (M)</i>	<i>Politician (Other) (O)</i>	<i>Governing (Unity, coalitions) (G)</i>	<i>Conflict (C)</i>	<i>Horse race (Opinion Polls) (H)</i>	<i>PNM</i>	<i>UNC</i>	<i>Bal.</i>	<i>Comments/ photos</i>
about voter deletion												
23. EBC to meet with parties on complaints	18/9/02 p.3	3	-	-	1			3			B	
24. Panday charged	19/9/02 p. 3	7	4	-	-	-	-	-		-		
25. Food and Drug Division to mix electoral ink	19/9/02 p4	5	-	-	14	-	1	1			B	
26. Panday's charges nothing to do with the PNM	20/9/02 p. 5	2	6	8	2	-	10	2		-		
27. Race relations major issue says Manning	21/9/02 p.5	13	1	4	-	-	-				B	
28. Rowley blasts Baksh	22/9/02 p.3	9	1	-	5	-	5	-		-		
29. Gypsy promises a stadium for Mayaro	23/9/02 p.5	1	4	-	13	-	-	-		+		
30. More than 300,000 below the poverty line in TT-Manning	24/9/02 p.5	27	-	3	-	-	-	-	+			
31. Rowley: Woe to TT under UNC	25/9/02 p. 5	6	11	4	21	-	-	-		-		
32. Parliament to sit by October 16 if PNM wins	26/9/02 p.5	11	1	5	-	-	-	-	+			
33. Zero tolerance for law breakers	27/9/02 p.5	24	-	-	4	-	-	-	+			
34. Panday wants	28/9/02 p.5	21	7	-	11	-	-	-		-		

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Presidency-to avoid court says Rowley												
35. Manning, Hart walk in rain to meet Tunapuna constituents	<i>29/9/02 p. 3</i>	-	<i>1</i>	<i>7</i>	<i>10</i>	-	-	-	+			
36. Manning: UNC real desperate : PM talks of UNC virus	<i>30/9/02 p4</i>	<i>15</i>	-	<i>9</i>	-	-	-	-		-		
37. Manning hits back over national security voting	<i>2/10/02 p.3</i>	<i>1</i>	-	<i>4</i>	-	-	<i>5</i>	<i>1</i>		-		
38. Manning: TT will be paradise	<i>6/10/02p.3</i>	<i>18</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>9</i>	<i>4</i>	-	<i>2</i>	<i>4</i>	+			

2007

EXPRESS

Express

Election year : 2007
Newspaper : Express
ion : front pages (photos and headlines)

Codes for Frames:

- *I-Issue (governance)*
- *Politicians (as personality)-P (Panday); M (Manning); O (other)*
- *G- Governing (unity, coalitions)*
- *C-conflict*
- *H-Horserace (opinion polls)*

Subject	FRAMES					BIAS SCALE			
	Date & page No	Both politicians (I)	Politician (Panday alone) (P)	Politician (Manning alone) (M)	Politician (Other) (O)	PNM	UNC	Bal.	Comments/photos
1) Bacchanal	28/9/07				1	-			
2) PM reveals election date at last: November 5	29/9/07			1	1			B	
3) Woodford Square presentation on Saturday: New PNM Face	30/9/07		1		1			B	
4) PNM wants Wendy: Former Miss Universe tipped for Valley's seat	1/10/07							B	Only picture of Went Fitzwilliam
5) Stand-Off	2/10/07				1	-			
6) PNM Uproar	3/10/07				1	-			
7) Kamla in Front	4/10/07				1		+		
8) It's Bas and Jack	5/10/07		1		1		-		
9) UNC members angry, hurt over Kamla's treatment: The Great Betrayal	6/10/07				1		-		
10) Winning poll: kicks off campaign 2007	7/10/07			1				B	
11) Sweet Orange	8/10/07				1			B	
12) Cadiz resigns; Blasts Panday on	9/10/07		1		1		-		

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Alliance leadership: Power-Hungry									
13) 48 Hours: UNC Alliance gives CoP new deadline for unity	10/10/07				1	-			Positive CoP
14) Dookeran: Unity with UNC Alliance out of the question; CoP stands alone	11/10/07				1	+	-		Positive CoP
15) Respected Selwyn Ryna poll finds PNM, CoP in tight election race	17/10/07			1	1	+	-		Positive CoP
16) Latest NACTA poll: PNM: 25-26; UNC: 15-16; No seat for Congress of the People	21/10/07	1			1	+	+		Negative CoP
17) Stop the violence: Paul calls for restraint as election vandals strike again	23/10/07		1		1			B	
18) CoP, UNC Alliance want to revive sugar but Manning says: Over my dead body	24/10/07			1		-	+		Positive CoP
19) TRAITOR: Manning blows the whistle on Ramesh in Panday's fall from power	25/10/07			1	1		-		
20) Gun, cutlass and wood attack in Laventille: CoP man beaten; candidate heavily sedated at Mt. Hope	28/10/07					-			Picture of PNM rally and artistes performing, no politicians
21) CoP man blames PNM/ Blind pensioner stabbed in bedroom: Granny killed for land	2/11/07				1	-			
22) Jesse Jackson fails to show at UNC Alliance rally: Plane tlk, bad excuse	4/11/07					-			No pictures of politicians, pictures of UNC and PNM supporters

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23) Who will be Prime Minister?: Countdown; Answer in the hands of 990,352 voters today	5/11/07	1			1			B	
24) PNM Celebrates 20-16	8/10/07	1						B	

Election year : 2007
 Newspaper : Express
 ion : News Stories

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	<i>Date & page No</i>	<i>Issue Frame (I)</i>	<i>Politician (Panday) (P)</i>	<i>Politician (Manning) (M)</i>	<i>Politician (Other) (O)</i>	<i>Governing (Unity, coalitions) (G)</i>	<i>Conflict (C)</i>	<i>Horserace (Opinion Polls) (H)</i>	<i>PNM</i>	<i>UNC</i>	<i>Bal</i>	<i>Comments/ photos</i>
1) Manning: I will heed the call of the party masses: We will hear cries	28/9/07, pg 3		1	6	16	4			-			
2) PM: No insult to Hindus	29/9/07, pg 3			6				1	-			
3) Manning prepared to move on if he loses	29/9/07, pg 3			8							B	
4)Manning urges electorate to get ready for change: New face of PNM	30/9/07, pg 3			9	12		1	2			B	
5) ...warns opposition will pull race card	30/9/07, pg 3			7	2		3		-			
6) Wendy tipped for Diego	1/10/07, pg 3			2	7		1				B	
7) Diego exec defies PNM	2/10/07, pg 3			1	18		3		-			
8) More candidates face screening today	2/10/07, pg 3			3	9						B	

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9) UNC Alliance leadership race: Persad-Bissessar ahead	4/10/07, pg 3		4	1	22		1	2		+		
10) PNM to scream others today for Diego Central	4/10/07, pg 3			4	6		2				B	
11) Coudray joins battlefield with CoP	5/10/07, pg			1	10			2				Positive CoP
12) Researcher tipped to challenge Manning for Sando East seat	5/10/07, pg			1	2						B	
13) Last rites for Valley	6/10/07, pg 3			3	16		5		+			
14) Manning mum on replacements	6/10/07, pg 3			4	1			1			B	
15) PM: No trouble in PNM	7/10/07, pg 3		1	9	9		5		-			
16) 32 new faces on the slate	7/10/07, pg 3			2	61						B	
17) Hinds: Some supporters not voting	7/10/07, pg 3			1	7		1		-			
18) Ramesh: CoP aims to wipe out UNC	8/10/07, pg 4		3		9		2					Negative CoP
19) Alliance presents only 21 candidate	8/10/07, pg 4		5		33						B	
20) Cadiz: Panday changed his stance on Alliance leadership	9/10/07, pg 3	1	15		15		7			-		

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21) Bas confident of party's chances	9/10/07, pg 3		4		1			8		+		Negative CoP
22) Experts: UNC still a force to be reckoned with	9/10/07, pg 3		2		1			3		-		
23) UNC leaves door open for CoP: 2 more days or else...	10/10/07, pg 3		3		8	6	9				B	
24) Bas: I'm not power-hungry	1/10/07, pg 3		8		2		1				B	
25) PNM dismisses Valley claims	10/10/07, pg 3	1		3	7		5	1			B	
26) Dookeran: No unity with UNC	11/10/07, pg 3	1	5		23	7	4	3			B	
27) Valley backs Browne for Deigo Central	11/10/07, pg 3	1		2	13		1	2	+			
28) PNM, CoP in dead heat: much volatility, confusion, indecision among voters	17/10/07, pg 3	1						7			B	
29) Smith slapped with five charges	21/10/07, pg 3				8			1		-		
30) Another CoP office hit: Warning for election vandals	23/10/07, pg 3	2		1	13		7				B	
31) Smith tells court: I still love her	23/10/07, pg 3				15					-		

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32) PM: No more cutting canes	24/10/07, pg 3	2		10			1	1			B	
33) PM names Ramesh	25/10/07, pg 3	1	5	14	11					-		
34) CoP candidate beaten	28/10/07, pg 3				20		4				B	
35) Dookeran slams attack	28/10/07, pg 3	3		1	6			1	-			
36) Dookeran threatened on walkabout	1/11/07, pg 4	3	3	5	12		3		-	-		Positive CoP
37) Panday: New approach to marijuana	1/11/07, pg 4	11	6	1	1					+		
38) Latest NACTA poll: Landslide for PNM	1/11/07, pg 6				5	3		14			B	
39) Ramesh touting long list of lies	1/11/07, pg 6	3	2		12	1	4			-		
40) CoP candidate blames PNMites for attack	2/11/07, pg 3				10		6		-			
41) UNC-A pulls ahead in 3, says NACTA	3/11/07, pg 4							13			B	
42) Kamla: T&TEC erecting hazardous poles	3/11/07, pg 4	4			3					+		

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43) Donaldson: Civil rights activist chose to stay out	4/11/07, pg 3	4			9		3		+	-		
44) After five weeks of politicking: Decision day	5/11/07, pg 3	5	1	2	2			7			B	
45) Jack to vote early as polling station opens	5/1/07, pg 3		2	2	9						B	
46) Panday blames plot between CoP, PNM	6/11/07, pg 3	1	5	1	7		2					Negative CoP
47) Dookeran loses St. Augustine seat	6/11/07, pg 3				7							Positive CoP
48) Ramesh wins in Tabaquite	6/11/07, pg 3				9			2			B	

Election year : 2007
Newspaper : Newsday
ion : front pages (photos and headlines)

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1) Ramesh writes PM: 7 Days or else	19/10/07			1	1				B	
2)Floods in North, Central: Mud Bowl	20/10/07								B	
3) PM's wife hits separation ole talk: Hazel stands by her Manning	21/10/07			1	1		+			
4) Mc Nicolls cries bias: Judge" I'm not stepping down	23/10/07								B	
5) No move to mansion: PM waits till Nov 5	24/10/07			1	1		-			
6) Bas jets off to meet Mandela	25/10/07		1		1			+		
7) PNM, CoP slam appeal to legendary figure: Mandela blanks UNC	26/10/07				1			-		
8) Youth power	28/10/07						+			

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9) Sick-out cripples Crown Point, Piarco: Grounded/ Beaten candidate still in the race	29/10/07				1	+				
10) Less School, More home time: Junior Sec mess/ Bas: CoP is the enemy	30/10/07				1		+			
11) Panday slams 'CoP' Pundits, Maha Sabha: Do not use Hindus	31/10/07		1		1		+	-		
12) NACTA: CoP splits UNC-A, PNM steppin' up	1/11/07				1	-	+			
13) Campaign stress relief: Honey and prayers	2/11/07								B	No pictures of politicians, picture of PNM supporters
14) Not him and TT politicians: Jackson blanks UNC rally	4/11/07							-		No pictures/names of politicians. Pictures of supporters for each political party
15) 993,000 to vote today: EBC warns parties leave voters in peace	5/11/07	1			1				B	
16) PM: 'This is God's Victory'	6/11/07			1			+			

TRINIDAD GUARDIAN

Election year : 2007
Newspaper : Guardian
ion : front pages (Headlines and photos)

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<i>Subject (Headlines)</i>	<i>FRAMES</i>						<i>BIAS SCALE</i>			
	<i>Date & page No</i>	<i>Both Manning and Panday (I)</i>	<i>Politician (Panday alone) (P)</i>	<i>Politician (Manning alone) (M)</i>	<i>Politician (Other) (O)</i>	<i>Other Party CoP</i>	<i>PNM +/_</i>	<i>UNC +/_</i>	<i>Bal.</i>	<i>Comments/photos</i>
1) Balisier Bacchanal: Valley, Hart, Hinds supporters mob PNM Hq	28/9/07				1		-			
2) Stalemate: Screening Committee Dumps Valley Again	30/9/07				1		-			No pictures relating to politics/elections. Picture of East-Indian Dancers at competition
3) No Entry: PNM blocks protesting members from Balisier House	3/10/07								B	
4) Kamla out; Alliance makes interim decision: Bas & Jack lead the pack	5/10/07		1		1					
5) They're Out: Tears for Valley, Hinds	6/10/07				1				B	Both pictures of same size and parallel, more captions for PNM. CoP news not related to elections but Dookeran's personal life

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										(brother's funeral)- sympathetic tone and photo used
6) War of Words	7/10/07			1	1	+	-			
7) No Woman No Cry	8/10/07				1			+		
8) Valley opens up on feud with Manning: Dictator in the Making	9/10/07			1	1		-			
9) Fiery Human Rights Lawyers to Battle for Tabaquite: Ramesh vs Anand	12/10/07				1				B	
10) EBC Bans Cells: Commission disallows cellphones in polling stations	13/10/07								B	No pictures of politicians.
11) Caribbean Airlines flight attendants say no to rectal exams	14/10/07								B	No picture of politicians or any imagery of elections. Picture of Muslim woman participating in Eid
12) Nomination day today: tassa for election contenders	15/10/07	1			1				B	
13) Schools vex EBC: Principals object to polling stations	17/10/07								B	No picture of politicians or any imagery of elections. Picture of Amerindian Heritage Day

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										celebrations
14) Cop caught in PNM row: Who authorized Corporal for political ad?	19/10/07	1					-			
15) Army rebuffs CoP Candidate: You're no Captain, Gary	20/10/07					-				
16) Hazel defends Patrick: He is no Dictator	21/10/07			1	1				B	Headlines about Manning but picture of Kamla speaking at UNC Meeting
17) We're not pals	22/10/07			1	1		-			Half of the page is about the PNM. The lower half is a picture of an Amerindian Tribal dance
18) Dual Citizenship row: CoP to Bharath, Meighoo: Step Down	23/10/07					+				No pictures of politicians. Picture of election Santa
19) PM cuts out cane:over my dead body says Manning	24/10/07			1				-		No pictures of Politicians. Picture of cane farmers looking sad
20) Manning credits Maharaj for PNM power: Ramesh ratted on Panday	25/10/07			1	1			-		
21) Lies:Gillain Fingers UNC in brawl; Lies: CoP denies PNM secret	26/10/07				1	-	-	-		No images of politicians. Picture of girls in Carnival costumes

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meeting. Lies: PNM candidate slams Ganga's 'Dirty Tricks'										
22) CoP Candidate in a coma; Dookeran seeks police protection	28/10/07				1	-				No images of politicians. East Indian Dancers
23) UNC con?: Warner denied Mandela meeting; Panday gets in as FIFA delegate	30/10/07		1		1		+	-		
24) Deadly road rage: Businessman kills enraged driver	2/11/07								B	No pictures of politicians or political related events. Picture of 2 young boys covered in blood for Halloween pictures
25) Outrage: Court ruckus as jury clears cop of killing schoolboy	3/11/07								B	No pictures of politicians or political related events.
26) Election fever	4/11/07	1			1				B	
27) PNM Wins	6/11/07								B	Only picture of Trinidad and constituencies won by each political party

Election year : 2007
Newspaper : Guardian
ion : News Stories

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- **H-Horserace (opinion polls)**

<i>Subject</i>	<i>FRAMES</i>								<i>BIAS SCALE</i>			
	<i>Date & page No</i>	<i>Issue Frame (I)</i>	<i>Politician (Panday) (P)</i>	<i>Politician (Manning) (M)</i>	<i>Politician (Other) (O)</i>	<i>Governing (Unity, coalitions) (G)</i>	<i>Conflict (C)</i>	<i>Horserace (Opinion Polls) (H)</i>	<i>PNM</i>	<i>UNC</i>	<i>balanced</i>	<i>Comments/photos</i>
1) PNMites mob Balisier House: No Valley, no vote. No Hinds, no vote.	28/9/07, pg 3			3	15				-			
2) EBC on Elecections: We Ready	29/9/07, pg 3			3	1		2	3			B	No pictures of politicians or elections imagery. Picture of the President watching Arabian Belly dancers.
3) New stalemate on election eve: Screening team dumps Valley	30/9/07, pg 3			2	10				-			
4)Valley: It's up to the Lord	1/10/07, pg 3			2	11		1		-			No pictures of politicians or elections imagery. Picture of Synergy Supermodel at fashion show
5) Ramesh offers to run for UNC	1/10/07, pg 7			5	14	3				+		
6) Three more days for Valley	2/10/07, pg 5			3	24		2		-			
7) Protesting PNM supporters denied entry: Blocked at	3/10/07, pg 3		2	3	23		1		-	+		Portrayed Dookeran (CoP) positively

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Balisier House												
8) Talks on Alliance leadership continue today: Kamla a front-runner	4/10/07, pg 3		4		17	1		1			B	
9) Bas, Jack to share Alliance leadership	5/10/07, pg 3		11		16	1		1			B	
10) Valley accuses Manning of bias	6/10/07, pg 3			6	9		2		-			
11) CoP in vain plea...Kamla stays with UNC	7/10/07, pg 3				14	3			-	+		CoP portrayed negatively as being desperate and begging other politicians to join them, eg. Kamla
12) Coudray states her position	7/10/07, pg 3		1	1	9						B	
13) Ramesh declares 'war' on CoP	8/10/07, pg 4	1	1	1	14	1	2			-		CoP portrayed negatively
14) CoP blanks UNC again	9/10/07, pg 3		4	1	21	11	1				B	
15) PNM vex with Valley	10/10/07, pg 3			3	12		1				B	No political pictures. Article negative towards Valley not PNM as whole
16) CoP's Gopaul-McNicol: Valley only has himself to blame	10/10/07, pg 9	1		6	18		1		-			One small picture of Gopaul-McNicol. Largest picture not political related, woman in ethnic wear, folk-dancing
17) Hugs and kisses for Donna Cox	11/10/07, pg 5				23		1				B	
18) IMF kicks, kisses	12/10/07, pg 2	2									B	

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	<i>Date & page No</i>	<i>Issue Frame (I)</i>	<i>Politician (Panday) (P)</i>	<i>Politician (Manning) (M)</i>	<i>Politician (Other) (O)</i>	<i>Governing (Unity, coalitions) (G)</i>	<i>Conflict (C)</i>	<i>Horseshoe (Opinion Polls) (H)</i>	<i>PNM</i>	<i>UNC</i>	<i>balanced</i>	<i>Comments/photos</i>
for Govt	pg 4											
19) PM blames neglect for Couva's Plight	12/10/07, pg 4	2		6	4				-			
20) EBC bans cell-phones at polling stations	13/10/07, pg 3	1		1							B	Only picture of Versil Charles-Wright; acting Chief Elections Officer
21) Manning on Sando East protest: Those guys were paid	14/10/07, pg 3			15			2	1	-			
22) Panday tells Tabaque meeting: Alliance Tsunami sweeping T&T	15/10/07, pg 4		4		8			3		+		Only picture of CoP supporters on this Pg 4, October 15
23) PNM doesn't allow for dictators-Manning	15/10/07, pg 4	11		5	2				+			
24) Dookeran hints at woman PM under CoP	15/10/07, pg 4	2		3	15	2		2	-			Positive CoP
25) Assam to Sando East: Don't vote against yourself	16/10/07, pg 3		4	6	12			1	-			Positive CoP
26) EBC runs into obstacles' at schools: Principals say not to polling stations	17/10/07, pg 3				3						B	Only picture of Versil Charles-Wright; acting Chief Elections Officer
27) Manning's 'secret' constitution leaked	18/10/07, pg 3			5	3			1	-	+		
28) Manning says: No new constitution without consultation	19/10/07, pg 3	1		8	4				+			
29) Now army vex	20/10/07,				12		1					Negative CoP

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over CoP ad	pg 5											
30) Dookeran and the 'little people'	20/10/07, pg 5			1	14		2			-		Positive CoP
31) Cop still locked in PNM as row	20/10/07, pg 5								-			
32) Police arrest UNC candidate	No date. pg 4		4	15						-		
33) Kamla warns: New constitution gives Manning total control	21/10/07, pg 3	2		7	11		2		-	+		
34) PM on secret constitution: PNM committed to consultation	21/10/07, pg 3	4		7	1		4		+	-		Negative CoP
35) Manning: I did not reject Valley	22/10/07, pg 3			9	14		2		+			
36) CoP to UNC candidates: Step down or face courts	23/10/07, pg 3				17		5	1		-		Positive CoP
37) Cane again? Over my dead body- PM	24/10/07, pg 3	3		10				2	+			Picture of UNC candidate; Ramnath
38) Manning: Ramesh sold out Panday...and gave PNM the government	25/10/07, pg 3		5	12	19		2		-	-		No pictures of politicians or election imagery
39) Lucky revisits 'teacup brawl': UNC asked me to lie	26/10/07, pg 3		3		23		4			-		

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40) UNC Alliance goodies: Public safety, better healthcare, more houses...	27/10/07, pg 4	16	4		5	1		2		+		
41) Election violence in Grande: PM must clear the air- CoP candidate	27/10/07, pg 4			3	19		7		-			
42) CoP candidate assaulted	28/10/07, pg 3	1		1	12	2					B	
43) Musical 'quake	28/10/07, pg 3			6				3			B	
44) Dookeran on draft constitution: Manning must declare his hand	29/10/07, pg 9	4		4	12		1		-			Positive CoP
45) CoP deems Nacta poll 'inaccurate'	29/10/07, pg 9				1		2	5			B	
46) Manning wants instant apology from Express	29/10/07, pg 9	1		6	2				-			
47) Panday's meeting with Mandela strictly social	30/10/07, pg 3		9		9		2	1		-		
48) Poll observers chief: We know what we have to do	2/11/07, pg 3	3		3			1	4			B	
49) CoP in Grande: Threats to our people	3/11/07, pg 4	4			4			1	-			
50) Kamla: Concern	3/11/07, pg 4	2			7				-			

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	<i>Date & page No</i>	<i>Issue Frame (I)</i>	<i>Politician (Panday) (P)</i>	<i>Politician (Manning) (M)</i>	<i>Politician (Other) (O)</i>	<i>Governing (Unity, coalitions) (G)</i>	<i>Conflict (C)</i>	<i>Horse race (Opinion Polls) (H)</i>	<i>PNM</i>	<i>UNC</i>	<i>balanced</i>	<i>Comments/photos</i>
over 'revolving ballot'	pg 4											
51) Panday wants 'blaze of glory' send-off	4/11/07, pg 3		4					1			B	
52) Kamla writes CoP Paul	4/11/07, pg 3				7				-			
53) Cops search for 3 men in PNM T-shirts	4/11/07, pg 3				3				-			CoP portrayed positively
54) PNM back in Govt	6/11/07, pg 5	2	4	6	8			1			B	

NEWSDAY

Election year : 2007
Newspaper : Newsday
ion : News Stories

Codes for Frames:

- *I-Issue (governance)*
- *Politicians (as personality)-P (Panday); M (Manning); O (other)*
- *G- Governing (unity, coalitions)*
- *C-conflict*
- *H-Horserace (opinion polls)*

<i>Subject</i>	<i>FRAMES</i>								<i>BIAS SCALE</i>			
	<i>Date & page No 3</i>	<i>Issue Frame (I)</i>	<i>Politician (Panday) (P)</i>	<i>Politician (Manning) (M)</i>	<i>Politician (Other) (O)</i>	<i>Governing (Unity, coalitions) (G)</i>	<i>Conflict (C)</i>	<i>Horserace (Opinion Polls) (H)</i>	<i>PNM</i>	<i>UNC</i>	<i>Bal.</i>	<i>Comments/ photos</i>
1)Hazel stands by her Manning	21/10/07,	9	3	10	17		1		+	-		
2)Lennox Smith charged	20/10/07,	3	1		8		1			-		
3)Seven days or else	19/10/07,	1		6	11		1		-			
4)Gillian Lucky unfazed	19/10/07,	2			10		3				B	
5)PM waits till Nov 5	24/10/07,	3		5	3			1			B	
6)NACTA tight race in marginals: UNC ahead in 2, PNM in 1	24/10/07,					2		12			B	
7)Bas off to meet Mandela	25/10/07,		4		12			1			B	
8)Mandela blanks UNC	26/10/07,	1	12		12			2		-		

<i>Subject</i>	<i>FRAMES</i>								<i>BIAS SCALE</i>			
	<i>Date & page No 3</i>	<i>Issue Frame (I)</i>	<i>Politician (Panday) (P)</i>	<i>Politician (Manning) (M)</i>	<i>Politician (Other) (O)</i>	<i>Governing (Unity, coalitions) (G)</i>	<i>Conflict (C)</i>	<i>Horserace (Opinion Polls) (H)</i>	<i>PNM</i>	<i>UNC</i>	<i>Bal.</i>	<i>Comments/photos</i>
9)\$\$ for female candidates	26/10/07,		2		12						B	
	<i>Date & page No</i>	<i>Issue Frame (I)</i>	<i>Politician (Panday) (P)</i>	<i>Politician (Manning) (M)</i>	<i>Politician (Other) (O)</i>	<i>Governing (Unity, coalitions) (G)</i>	<i>Conflict (C)</i>	<i>Horserace (Opinion Polls) (H)</i>	<i>PNM</i>	<i>UNC</i>	<i>Bal.</i>	<i>Comments/photos</i>
10)10 days before Nov 5: Manning picks cabinet	27/10/07, pg 3	4	1	8			1		+			
11) CoP candidate planassed	28/10/07, pg 3	4			11		2				B	
12) Injured CoP man still in race	29/10/07, pg 3	1	1		19		1	1			B	
13) Election violence fears: CoP meets COP	30/10/07, pg 3	5			4		1				B	
14) Panday attacks Hindu pundits, Maha Sabha	31/10/07, pg 3	1	12		4		3		+			Negative CoP
15) UNC Alliance: 18 seats locked down	31/10/07, pg 3		3		7			1	+			
16) Kamla claims voter padding	No date	3			11		1					
17) Civil Aviation blanks UNC	No date		1		4				+			
18) Bas: Manning talking 'damn stupidity'	No date	1	2	3	3					-		
19) Election campaign	2/11/07,		6		17			2			B	

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winds down: Politicians stock up on prayers, honey	pg 3											

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20) Beaten CoP candidates forgives attackers	2/11/07, pg 3			1	8		1				B	
21) CoP Paul pleads for law and order	3/11/07, pg 3	4			2							Positive CoP
22) Final NACTA poll: PNM has edge in close race	4/11/07, pg 3		1					5			B	
23) 993,000 to vote today	5/11/07, pg 3		2								B	
24) EBC warns parties: Leave voters in peace	5/11/07, pg 3	3		1							B	
25) PNM romps home	6/11/07, pg 3		2	3	31		1	1		+		

2010

EXPRESS

Election year : 2010
Newspaper : Express
Item : Front pages

Codes for Frames:

- *I-Issue (governance)*
- *Politicians (as personality)-P (Panday); M (Manning); O (other)*
- *G- Governing (unity, coalitions)*
- *C-conflict*
- *H-Horserace (opinion polls)*

Subject	FRAMES								BIAS SCALE			
	Date & page No	Issue Frame (I)	Politician (Kamla) (P)	Politician (Manning) (M)	Politician (Other) (O)	Governing (Unity, coalitions) (G)	Conflict (C)	Horserace (Opinion Polls) (H)	UNC	PNM	Other Parties	Comments/photos
1.The Race is on: Midnight dissolution of Parliament clears way for General Election	April 9			1						+		¼ page with smiling PM
2. Hunt is out; Penny Pressed: PM Grills Beckles	10				2					-		Two large photos of Hunt and Beckles (Beckles not looking happy)
3. Baliser Protest: Mayaro executive criticizes Manning, screening committee	11			1						-		Unhappy PM –large headline

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4. Summoned: Election campaign in high gear tonight	12									-		Large photo with Hart-large headline
5.Ship out: Manning offers Arima's Penelope Beckles diplomatic post	13				1					-		Bold headline and a small photo of Beckles not smiling
6. He's In	14				1					+		Jubilant Rowley among PNM supporters
7. Phew!: Hart Quizzed	15				1					-		Large photo of Rowley Hart home being attacked by Samad
8.No Penny, no vote: protests also erupt over Dumas and Roberts	16				1					-		Protesting PNM crowd
9. May 24: PM calls date at last	17		+	+					Bal	Bal		Smiling Manning and Kamla
10.United Force: kamla Persad-Bissessar selected as prime ministerial candidate	18								+			Full page of jubilant UNC supporters

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11. I'm not weak: Dookeran hits back at Manning' claim	19				1						+COP	Full page photo of a smiling Dookeran looking In control and businesslike
12.Last call: Registration for May 24 poll officially ends today	20				1					+		A third page of new PNM candidate St. Ann's East
13. UNC soldier dies	21				1				B			Photo of crash scene
14.Ready for War: UNC, COP, NJAC, Labour sign historic unity pack in Fyzabad	22		+						+			A full page photo of leaders of the coalition: Jack, Mc Cloud, Kamla, Dookeran, Ashton Jack-United Force going into battle
15. No politics	23											

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16 No Entry: American strategist for UNC election campaign blocked at airport.	24										-		Large photo of American strategist with block sign
17 Taylor Bowls out: We have no problem finding alternatives	25				1						-		Head shot of unhappy Taylor; half page of jubilant die hard PNM supporter waving a baliser With caption “PNM till ah dead!”- irony
18.PM Panicking: Kamla, Dookeran say Manning scared of United Front	26				1						-		Photo of Dookeran being stopped by a police officer during a protest around the savannah
19Joseph	27				1						-		Large head

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backs down: Nat. Security deportation against B. Campbell.													shot of Martin Joseph and B. Campbell
20.Volney for UNC seat	28				1					+	-		Large photo of judge with caption : Judge in sudden resignation to fight general election in St. Joseph
21.Election Eruption: The resignation of Justice Herbert Volney PM: Has the UNC interfered with the independence of the Judiciary	29	1								B	B		The front page focuses on the issue of the independence of the judiciary

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22. Volney: PM a Tyrant: Former judge interference in the Judiciary by AG John Jeremie for his resignation; fires back at Manning: Penny blanked again	30				1						-		Large photo of Volney
23.Pandays booted out: End of an era as Mickela, Subhas rejected by the UNC	May 1									-			Photo of unhappy Subhas and confused Mickela
24.Rowley speaks at last Bernie’s back in T&T	2				1					B	B		Head shot of Rowley smiling and large photo of jacked Bernie outside Mid center Mall.
25.Tremors: Rowley	3									B	B		Three photos: kamla

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excites but does not speak; Percy shakes up UNC Rally; Manning bags out goodies; Kamal, coalition won't collapse													smiling; Manning and Rowley shaking hands and Percy doing the X
26. Disorder: Brad Boyce protesters spring surprise on Volney at St. Joseph meeting	4				1					-			Large photo of protesters at UNC rally in St. Joseph and head shot of Volney with a rubber snake with its head shopped off
27. Why I fredd Brad Boyce: Baptist advice for PM	5			1				-		-			Frightened Manning being approached by a Baptistd
29.Jack's wife hit: Rowley on board	7				1					Bal	Bal		Large photo of K. Rowley but the focus of the page is

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													twofold re UNC and PNM campaign-reporting the news
30 I am PNM Support for their leader	8												
31. I am PNM: Support for their leader	9				2					+	+	COP	Focus on both Rowley and Dookeran
32. It's super duper: PM kicks off manifesto Kamla rips it apart	12		1	1						Bal	Bal		Large photo of PM kicking a ball looking happy A smaller photo of Kamla looking angry
33. PM: I made mistakes: Blasts Kamla fro tearing up manifesto	13			1						-	+		Large head shot off PM
34. Nalis blanks UNC:	14		1							+	-		Bold headline and headshot

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Manifesto launch today not allowed at Gov't building													of Kamla holding UNC manifesto
35. Election plot: Cops link AK-47 rifle, ammo to planned disruption of May 24 polls	15									Bal.	Bal.		1/2 photo of acting COP
40.An untruth: Manning's statement raises more questions than answers	18		1	1							-		1/2 pg photo of church and headshot of Kamla and Manning
41.Vote PNM, not PM Kamlamania	19		1		1					+	-		Negative PNM headline, unhappy Rowley Estatic faces of UNC supporters

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42. Probe Kennedy Latest MFO Poll	20		1	1	1				+	-		Large photo of Kennedy and caption re corruption charges Head shot of Kamla(65%) and Manning (52%)- indicating the UNC leader ahead
43. Father Kennedy: Archbishop confirms Gov't Minister still priest: The \$5.3M house is not mine	21				1					-		Headline negative but photo of jubilant PNM supporters surrounding Swartsingh- suggesting that the PNM will protect corrupt Ministers
44. Rowley leads: Exclusive Ryan poll: 67% of survey in Diego Martin west choose candidate as the best PNM leader if party loses election	22									+		¾ page photo of a jubilant PNM crowd with baliser in hands
46 T&T's turn	24		1	1					Bal	Bal		Two equal sized photos of PM and Kamla

Election year : 2010
Newspaper : Express
Item : News Stories

Codes for Frames:

- *I-Issue (governance)*
- *Politicians (as personality)-P (Panday); M (Manning); O (other)*
- *G- Governing (unity, coalitions)*
- *C-conflict*
- *H-Horserace (opinion polls)*

<i>Subject</i>	<i>FRAMES</i>								<i>BIAS SCALE</i>			
	<i>Date & page No</i>	<i>Issue Frame (I)</i>	<i>Politician Panday) (P)</i>	<i>Politician (Manning) (M)</i>	<i>Politician (Other) (O)</i>	<i>Governing (Unity, coalitions) (G)</i>	<i>Conflict (C)</i>	<i>Horserace (Opinion Polls) (H)</i>	<i>UNC</i>	<i>PNM</i>	<i>Other Parties</i>	<i>Comments/photos</i>
1. Hunt sent flying	April 10 (3)	4	2	8	15					-		Focussed on Beckles
2. Penny chastised for congratulating Kamla	April 10 (3)		2	6	22					-		Focussed on Beckles
3. No date from PM	April 13 (3)	4	1	14	3	3		6	Bal	Bal		
4. Kamla: Cepep and Gate to stay	April 13 (3)	6	9	7	2			2	Bal	Bal		
5. PNM Pick Rowley	14 (3)	4		12	13		4	2				Rowley – conflict bet. Manning and Rowley
6. Baliser House erupts into cheers, chants	14 (3)			5	14		3					Rowley vs Manning
7. Poll date set at last	17 (3)		3	5				10	Bal	Bal		
8. UNC/COP finally reach agreement	17 (3)		8			7						Coalition started between COP/UNC
9. Kamla to lead united opposition	18 (3)		7	3	10	9						Coalition talks
10. Manning: UNC/COP coalition a farce	18/3	11	7	10	8	10						Coalition talks will fall

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11. No deal on President	19 (3)	1	2	5		11	4					
12. Kamla UNC to contest 24 seats	19 (3)	1	8					16				Screening of candidates
13. PM gets his way: Roberts out in St. Ann's East	20 (3)			10	10							Anthony Roberts
14 Declaration made: Parties sign unity deal	22 p. 3	20	4	1	4	2			+			Large happy photo of coalition
15. PNM's Taylor booed in Moruga: Minister told to leave	22 p. 3			4	5					-		Booing of PNM MP
16. MPs must do their jobs or go	23 p. 3	8	5	1					+			Photo of Kamla doing pooja
17. Plot to get rid of Dookeran, says PM	24 (4)	4	3	8	6				-			Conspiracy theory
18. Kamla slams PNM for abuse of power	24 p. 4	2	7	8	3	1				-		
19. Manning: UNC out of order to dismiss Panday: PTSC buses shuttle PNM supporters to Palo Seco	25 p. 4		7	11					B	b		
20. Mad grab for seats in Barrackpore	25 p. 4		5		6				B	B		
21. More \$\$ for CEPEP workers	26 p.4	9		6	1					+		Photo of happy PM with East Indian female supporter
22. Campbell: I'll be back after Kamla wins	26 (4)	6	4	3						-		
23. PM: Kamla not ready: observe her in 4 weeks	27 (4)	9	5	13								Issue of media bias raised by the PM

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24. Something wrong with PM says Kamla	27 (4)	12	7	8		2		2				Issue of media bias raised by Kamla
25. One love in El Dorado	28 (4)	1		2	6	5		3		+		Bharat and Vasant holding hands
26. Volney rules for UNC...to contest St.Joseph	28 (3)	11	1		3			2	B	B		
27. PM has questions on Volney	29 (4)	12	9									
28. Kamla praises Volney : A distinguished former judge	29 (3)	22	2							+		
29. Judges should stay independent	29 (3)	13						2	B	B		
30. It's no wipeout, says Kamla: Mikela, Subhas Panday wiped out	May 1 (3)	3	5			2		7				
31. Rowley to speak at PNM rally today	2 (3)	4		9	10			6	B	b		
32. Hulsie opts for internal role this general election...looking forward to woman Prime Minister	2 (3)	2			2	2		8	B	B		
33. PNM show off its 41	3 (6)				12			15	B	B		
34. 97 set to face polls on May 24	4 (4)					4		4	B	B		
35.Volney spits fire against AG	4 (3)	8		8	11			1				
36. UNC to CoP: Probe St. Joseph protest	5 (5)	11							B	B		
37. Swaratsingh: Not me	5 (5)				3	6						Conflict bet Volney and Swaratsingh

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38. Robbie inspires Kamla	7 (3)	3		6	7	4			+			Large photo of happy group sitting
39. Rowley sounds battle cry	7 (3)	4	12	1	7	7				+		Estatic PNM crowd
40. Man out, strongwomen in	9 (5)	2	4	1	2			1	+			Photo of Kamla, Stacy, verna, Carolyn
41. Moms-to-be hit campaign trail for mother's day			5	4				4	B	B		Head shot of Lezama and Ramkissoon
42. Hugs and kisses fro kamla in St. Barb's	10 (7)		8	2	11			2	B	B		2 photos of Kamla meeting the people in St. Barbs Complemented by a photo of PNM Christine Kangaloo giving out flowers for mothers day
43. PM: Toll for six new highways	11(4)	8		4					B	B		Baliser supporter ringing bell
44. Warner pledges own money for foundation to uplift Laventille	11 (4)	6		2	6				B	B		
44. PNM busses and angry letters to the editor	12 (7)	12		6	7			1		-		Issue of media bias – Colm Imbert
45. PM: None shall escape	13 (4)	6	3	9				1				
46. Rowley: UNC promoting squatting	13 (4)	5	5		4			1	-	+		Photo of PNM supporter and child
47. Schoolmarm puts grammar before party	14 (7)	9	7	6	10			3	B	b		Photo of Mc. Intosh
48 Gunman hijack Kamla's SUV: Niece of UNC leader, driver traumatized, Philbert:	15 (3)		5	2					B	B		

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robbery not political												
49. People's Partnership launches Manifesto with plan for first 120 days: 'laptops, bigger pensions, less crime'	15 (3)	35							+			Group photo of PP holding manifesto
50. Kamla: New evidence of Manning-church link	16 (3)		5	5			6			-		Conflict of interest PM approval for controversial church
51. Kamla: it's an untruth	18 (3)	7	5	14			4			-		PM denial of involvement in church and PM means Project Manager Issue of abortion
52. Vote not for who like who	19 (3)	9	1		17		6			+		Conflict between Rowley and Manning- Vote PNM not Manning
53. Swaratsingh: It's not true	20 (3)	6			8		4			-		Minister of Public Administration able to move to a \$7.5 m house in less than a year
54. Leave my family alone	21 (3)	1	1		7		4			-		Conflict re Swaratsingh and church and acquiring \$5.3 m property in Moka
55. Swaratsingh not leaving	22 (3)		1	2	8		2			-		Ongoing conflict with Swaratsingh
54. PM: Greatest victory for PNM	23 (3)	9	1	20				7				
55. Day of Decision	24 (3)		4	6				8				

TRINIDAD GUARDIAN

Election year : 2001
 Newspaper : Guardian
 ion : Front Page

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- *G- Governing (unity, coalitions)*
- *C-conflict*
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Subject	FRAMES								BIAS SCALE			
	Date &	Issue Frame (I)	Politician (Kamla) (K)	Politician (Manning) (M)	Politician (Other) (O)	Governing (Unity, coalitions) (G)	Conflict (C)	Horserace (Opinion Polls) (H)	UNC	PNM	Other Parties	Comments/photos
1. The Fight is on: T&T heads for snap elections B. Kamla: PM is a coward	9/4		1	1					B	B		
2. PNM MPs Face axe B Manning: Gary Hunt is out: old guard versus new brief	10/4				2					-		
3. Calder Hart is back: PNM campaign to exceed \$150 million	11/4				1					-		
4. The battle begins: PNM, UNC launch campaign	12/4											
5. Obama men help Kamla	13/4				1				B	B		
6. I'm not leaving: Penny tells Manning -Diego rallies with Rowley	14/4				2					-		

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7. Hart gone again: after cops search Cascade home -Enill ready for war	15/4				1					-		Photo of Hart-larger than life with "Art of War" in hand
8. Enill Rejected: St. Ann's PNMites rally for Roberts	16									-		Protesting PNM supporters
9. Safe seats for UNC: Dookeran may not face May 24 polls	17		1	1	1				B	B	B	Photos of Manning, Kamla and Dookeran
10. Dooks for President...in UNC/COP unity deal	18		1		1				B		B	Large photo of Kamla and smaller one of Dookeran
11. Labour Force..Daaga likely to fight in Laventille -Abdullah,McCloud join Kamla in election race	19				2				+			Small photos of labour leaders Abdullah and McCloud
12. McCloud: Kamla is my leader	20		1		1				+			Two large photos of Kamla and McCloud
13. Killed...UNC campaign boss, family perish in crash -COP woes Penny	21				1				B	-		Small photo of Penny
14. Exactly 40 years later, Daaga claims...People's Power -Taylor Jeered in Moruga	22		1		4				+	-	+	Group shot of Kamla, and union leaders and Daaga holding hands -smaller photo of Taylor
15. Dookeran for Tunapuna: Ramadhar for St. Augustine	23		1		3				+			Kamla being fed cake by Rudy Indarsingh while Wade Mark and Monilal looks on.

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16. Ramesh, Vasant fight Kamla: Tabaquite, St. Augustine protest for MPs	24		1		2				-			Photo of Bharat and Ramesh holding hands with angry looking photo of Kamla pointing
17. Caution...economists say next gov't to face hard times -Rowley returns, Taylor our	25/4			1	2					-		Photos of Manning, wife and Rowley
18. Protest outside Bharath's Office	26/4								B			Small photo of Bharath
19. Two PNMites Out -UNC man in	27/4				3				B	B		Photos of two PNM candidates and UNC strategist
20. Manning blanks Kamla: No Debate	28/4		1	1					B	B		Photos of both Kamla and Manning
21. Unity can't work: COPs Mayers -Pm and the pholourie	29/4		1		1				-			Mayers and Manning eating a pholourie
22. I'm not corrupt: Volney says Manning needs hearing aid -Penny Beckles back in the race	30/4				2					-		Large photo of UNC candidate, Volney and head shot of a smiling Penny
23. Kamla blanks Panday clan	1/5		1		3				-			
24. Rowley to talk	2/5				1					-		Large photo of Rowley looking unhappy

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25. Promises, Promises -Manning: Gov't to help pay property tax -Kamla vows to reduce poverty, free computers for secondary school teachers	3/5		1	1					B	B		Photos of Kamla and Manning looking happy
26. Volney's fire: retired judge in first political speech slams AG - Bas: Kamla burying Mickela	4/5				1				B	B		Photo of Volney holding a rubber snake and behind him PNM supporters with Baliser in hand
27. Brad Boyce, Volney and me: Political protest evoked new pain for mom of slain youth	5/5			1	1				B	B		Photo of Volney and Brad Boyce, Jason Johnson (killed) and his mom
28. \$5 hit on Kamla	6/5		1						+			Large photo of Kamla (evoke sympathy)
29. Rowley: Leave Manning alone	7/5				1					+		Large photo of Rowley
30. As Manning, Kamla talk crime....Mom killed in gang war	8/5								-	-		The suggestion is that politicians are not doing anything about crime
31. Rowley tells all: runs for PNM against the odds	9/5				1					-		Large photo of Rowley
32. Kamla woes Laventille	10/5		1						+			Kamla surrounded by children in Laventille (mother to all)
33. Warner fund for Laventille -PNM: Kamla	11/5				1				B	B		Photo of Jack Warner (Godfather)

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misrepresented Robbie meeting												
33. Manning on the ball	12/5			1						+		Light hearted PM playing with a ball
34. Kamla' s wicked intentions -PNM: Tearing of manifesto signals attack on GATE, CDAP	13/5		1						-			Large photo of Kamla tearing up the PNM manifesto
35. Sabotage: Nalis blanks UNC manifesto launch, Jack charges...	14/5		1		1				+			Photo of smiling Kamla and Subhas holding hands (reconciliation amongst the Panday clan)
36. Election terror plot	15/5								B	B		Ag. Commissioner of Police at a Press conference
37. Kamla on high alert: UNC leader cancels engagement -PNM fetes youths	16/5								B	B		Crowd shot of PNM youth rally
38. Manning: Udecott cut corners Kamla: None shall escape	17/5		1	1					+	-		Photo of Manning looking down on Kamla (one breaks the rule the other upholds it)
39. Manning's big boast: PM addresses nation, audience at Crowne Plaza	18/5			1						-		Grimacing Manning with wife behind leaving Crowne Plaza

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39. Rowley rallies PNM troops: Vote or we lose	19/5			1	2					+		Photo of Manning, wife and Rowley sitting together on a PNM platform (patching things up)
40. Karen, Anil stand-off: Finance Minister storms COP office	20/5				2					-		Photo of angry PNM Finance Minister and UNC candidate, Anil Roberts (PNM cracking)
41. Police Abuse: Magistrate slams Abdullah's arrest - \$4.8 B UNC pension promise	21/5								B	B		Issue of police brutality and abuse of citizens
42. PNM/COP clash : Warner in rowdy conflict	22/5				1				B	B		C. Bachan in conflict with PNM supporter
43. Dead Heat in marginals	23/5		1	1					B	B		Happy photos of both Kamla and Manning
44. Election Day: PNM versus Coalition forces	24/5		1	1					B	B		Prayerful faces of both leaders
45. First female PM wins landslide: Kamla rises	25/5		1						+			Happy face of Kamla

Election year : 2010
 Newspaper : Guardian
 ion : News stories

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1. UNC, COP move to wrap up unity talks	10.4 (A5)		4		12	7			+			
2. UNC St. Augustine sticks to Bharath	10.4 (A5)		4		11			14	B	B		
3. PNM's Nafeesa: It's just a matter of time	10.4 (A5)	4		10					B	B		2 of three articles on UNC
4. Hart plays 'peekaboo' in Cascade with media	12.4 (A5)	2			1		4			-		
5. Kamla: Manning faced palace coup	12.4 (A5)	9	5	12						-		
6. Shift for PNM MPs	12.4 (A5)			6			7			-		
7. Manning keeps poll date in back pocket	13.4 (A5)	3		10	6				B	b		
8. Kamlamania in Point-a-Pierre	13.4 (A5)	1	5	4	3				+			
9. Baliser ablaze in St. Augustine	14.4 (A12)		1	8	5			5		+		
10. Crowd too hot to handle – COPs	14.4 (A12)		9		2			1	B	B		
11. Rowley firepower on board with PNM	15. 4 (A5)			14	18		2	9	B	B		
12. St. Ann's says no to Enill	16.4 (A3)			8	6		14			-		

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13. UNC, COP seeking lasting pact	16. 4 (A3)		4		10	3			B	B		
14. UNC takes safe seat	17. 4 (A3)		7		9	4		8	B	B		
15. Kamla keeps unity accord under wraps	17. 4 (A3)		5	1	2	3	1		B	B		
16. Dookeran to become President...in unity accord	18.4 (A5)		7	2	8	9		5	B	B		
17. PNM hopefuls set eyes on 23 seats				2	6		2	5	B	B		
18. Coalition a recipe for disaster			2	6	1	3						
19. On May Poles and May Poles	18.4		5	6	1	2		13	B	B		
20. Kamla: Brace for change in the UNC	19.4 (A9)		7	1	5			13		+		
21. McLeod: Kamla is my leader	20.4 (A3)		2	2	7	4		3	B	B		
22. COP Penny for Arima	21. 4 (A5)		4	10	23	1	14	13	-			
23. Taylor booed, jeered in Moruga	22.4 (A5)	7		4	11		11	2	-			
24. Bharath still waiting	23.4 (A3)		2		16	2		15	B	B		
25. Vasant, Ramesh fight on	24 (A3)	2	18		25	5	15	14		-		
26. Watch those election promises	25.4 (A5)	12	2	1		3		7	B	b		
27. Supporters want Vasant	26. 4		4		15	1	4	8		-		

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reinstated	(A8)											
28. Ministry cancels order of rejection	27. 4 (A3)	7	2		5				-			
29. I have nothing to gain	28.4 (A3)	3	3	9					-			
30. COP deputy leader hits UNC, unity deal	29.4 (A3)	14	9	2	11	16						
31. Volney: My hands are clean	30.4 (A3)	2	4	4	9		10	1	-			
32. Labour leaders support Kamla	1.5 (A9)	13	4	9					-			Issue of race being used by the PNM
33. Rowley, Manning take centre stage today	2.5 (A3)			9	10		7	7	B			
34. PM, Kamla make promises galore	3.5 (A3)	24	4	9				3	B	B		Good governance
35. Rowley: I was never worried	4.5 (A5)			3	11	1	4	8	B	B		
36. Kamla: Volney issue could have been handled better	4.5 (A5)	3	7	2				5	B	B		
37. Kuei Tung sold out PNM	5.5 (A5)		2	8	5	3	3	7				
38. Kamla takes Tobago by storm	5.5 (A5)		5	1	4			9		+		
39. Leave my PM alone	7.5 (A3)	6	2	14	20			5	+			
40. Rowley sends the message home	8. 5 (A8)			13	19			6	+			
41. Election to take on different colour; Playing the race card	9.5 (A7)	22	2	5				12				Race a factor in elections
42. PM: US\$12-billion estate coming	10.5 (A6)	11		4				4				Good governance

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	<i>Date & page No</i>	<i>Issue Frame (I)</i>	<i>Politician (Kamla) (K)</i>	<i>Politician (Manning) (M)</i>	<i>Politician (Other) (O)</i>	<i>Governing (Unity, coalitions) (G)</i>	<i>Conflict (C)</i>	<i>Horseshoe (Opinion Polls) (H)</i>	<i>UNC</i>	<i>PNM</i>	<i>Other Parties</i>	<i>Comments/ photos</i>
43. More corruption issues on platform ... Warner promises PNM		4	2	14	14			7				
44. PM goes for radical look	11.5 (A4)	9		9	7			7	+			
45. Kamla: A no-show			7	1	1					-		
46. It's not about 'new': Enill on PNM's 2010 manifesto	12.5 (A5)	20		8		1		4	B			
47. Manning denies Jack's claim of market in Montserrat		2	3	15	2			6	b	B		
48. Social programmes in danger says Enill: Ripping up of PNM Manifesto	13.5 (A5)	3	9	6	4			8		-		
49. Dookeran: Protest against tainted projects		5	1	3	3			3		B		
50. Nalis blanks UNC manifesto launch	14.5 (A3)		11		13	2	12	9	-			
51. Kamla knocks PNM 'show of love'	15.5 (A11)	6	6	8	1	2		1	-			
52. Some PNMites swing to UNC	16.5 (A20)	6	9	17	10			11	-			
53. Udecott cuts corners : Manning concedes	17.5 (A3)	19		14				1	b			Interview with three journalists on TV- Hans Hanoomansingh, Heritage Radio; Juhel Browne, CNMG; Anthony Wilson, Guardian
54. Kamla promises further probe		4	8	7					-			Interview with Shelly Dass, CNC3

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55. Manning's big boast: PM tells of Govt's achievements in TV address	18.5 (A3)	17		9				5	-			PM's address to the nation
56. Partnership promises to rebuild Point Hospital		8	2		4	2				b		
57. Vote to protect your interest; Rowley to PNM supporters	19.5 (A3)	7		16	14	1		15				
58. Vandals won't stop us says McCloud			1	1	3	3		1	-			
59. Toll tax coming says Manning: Motorists to pay for using new highways	20.5 (A9)	17	1	7		1						
60. Coalition pension plan to cost \$4.8b a year	21.5 (A5)	16				4		3		-		
61. Kamla hits \$b WASA deal		17	8	1					-			
62. Election observers to watch marginal seats	21.5 (A7)	3	2		4			5	B	b		
63. Get out of here: Sando West PNMTes to COP candidate	22.5 (A3)			12	12		13	3	-			
64. Regrello passes Warner like a train		9		2	14			2				
65. PNM poised for victory: Manning tells sea of red	23.5 (A3)	2	1	10	2	3		9				
66. Bas, Ramesh, Ramnath going to the polls tomorrow			4		8	1		16				
67. Kamla confident of victory		17	6					3		+		
68. Battle between PNM and coalition forces	24. 5 (A3)		3	6				22				

NEWSDAY

Election year : 2010
 Newspaper : Newsday
 ion : Front page

Codes for Frames:

- *I-Issue (governance)*
- *Politicians (as personality)-P (Panday); M (Manning); O (other)*
- *G- Governing (unity, coalitions)*
- *C-conflict*
- *H-Horserace (opinion polls)*

Subject	FRAMES								BIAS SCALE			
	Date & page No	Issue Frame (I)	Politician Kamla (K)	Politician (Manning) (M)	Politician (Other) (O)	Governing (Unity, coalitions) (G)	Conflict (C)	Horserace (Opinion Polls) (H)	UNC	PNM	Other Parties	Comments/photos
1. Done in by \$2M Flag	10.4	FP			2					-		¼ page of Hunte with flag over his head
2. Battle for Power	12.4		1	1					b	B		Photo of Manning and Kamla at podium
3. Ministry of the people	13.4		1	1					+			Large crowd shot of Kamla; smaller photo of Manning
4. We want Rowley	14.4				1					+		Large crowd shot of Rowley
5. Announce Election date now Calder Hart....Gone again	15.4									-		Calder Hart opening his BMW
6. No Penny, no vote	16.4									-		
7. General Election Date: May 24	17.4		1		1				+			
8. Kamla for Prime Minister	18.4		1						+			
9. True unity says Kamla	19.4		1						B	B		

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10 Unity accord: Political History in Fyzabad	22.4		1	1					+			Large photo of accord signed by the
11. Manning: I tell you again, a coalition won't work												PP...smaller photo of Manning
12. No Tobago Love				1	1					-		Photo of Manning and his wife looking troubled
13. Obama advisor deported	24.4		1						+	-		Smiling Kamla with UNC strategist
14. I don't have to explain: Martin Joseph on UNC/COP strategist deportation	25.4									-		No political photos
15. UNC blanks Vasant and Ramesh	26.4										+	COP supporters protesting crime around the savannah
16.He can come here anytime	27.4				1					-		Distraught Martin Joseph giving statements to the press
17. PNM cancels Rowley meeting	28.4				1					-		Photo of Keith Rowley and partying UNC supporters
18. Who will win, PNM or UNC	29.4								b	B		Photos of UNC and PNM campaign singers
19. I did it to save TT	30.4				1					-		Large photo of H.

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from a tyrant												Volney
20. No Pandays, Ramesh, Ramnath...yes J Warner....	1.5		1						+			Large photo of smiling Kamla
21. Big Launch today	2.5			1					b	B		Photo of Manning and smiling children at UNC Raleigh
22. Rowley refuses to speak at PNM rally	3.5				1				+	-		Photo of Rowley above a crowd shot of UNC raleigh
23. Rowley not fooling himself	4.5		1	1					B	B		Photos of both Kamla and Manning
24. PNM behind Brad Boyce Protest	5.5				2					+		Crowd shot of PNM supporters and small head shots of Volney and Swaratsingh
25. \$5m hit of Kamla	6.5		1						B			Large head shot of Kamla
26. No time to throw captain overboard	7.5		1		1				+	+		Photo of Kamla with former President Robinson
27. Kamla promises better time for women	9.5								+			Large headline-no photos
28. Firebomb attack: UNC/PNM campaigner among five murdered in	10.5								B	B		No political photos

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Barataria carnage												
29. \$100m life fund for sick children	14.5		1	1	1				+	+		Photos of Kamla and Subhas Panday and Manning with supporters
30. Swift justice for crime victims	15.5		1									Large photo of Kamla
31. PM, Hart linked to Guanapo Church	16.5		1		1				+	-		Photos of Kamla and Jack looking at photos of Guanapo church
32. Shame: West Wing of President's House collapses	17.5				1					-		Photo of collapsed President's House, inset President.
33. President Moves out	18.5			1	1					-		Photo of Manning and PM's residence above collapsed President's House with President inset
34. Voting begins: 5 days to go	19.5								B	-		UNC supporters locked out St. Joseph's park
35. Swaratsingh still a catholic priest	20. 5				1					-		Photo of unhappy Swaratsingh
36. Swaratsingh still a Priest, Archbishop	21.5				1					-		Photo of Swaratsingh being kissed by his wife with cross and archbishop on top of him
37. Rally Day	22.5		1	1					B	B		Photos of two political leaders with their

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												supporters
38. Massive	23.5								B	B		Both PNM and UNC rallies
39. EBC...Keep passions in check	24.5								B	B		No photos of politicians
40. Prime Minister Kamla: TT's first woman Head of Government	25.5		1						+			Large photo of Kamla

Election year : 2010
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 ion : News stories

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1. Hunt bows out of election race	10.4 p.3	3	1	10	42		1	30		-		
2. Let the battle begin	12.4 p.3	7	8	11	14			28	B	B		
3. Panday bows out	13.4 p.3			2	27		18	18	B			Mostly about Panday
4. Rowley's our candidate	14.4 p.3	3		13	25		6	48	B			Mostly on Rowley
5. Cops quiz Hart	15.4 p.3			2			24			B		On Calder Hart
6. Arima say Penny	16.4 p.3			3	10		9	16		-		
7. Supporters: No Roberts, no PNM vote	16.4 p.3			2	15		7	17		-		
8. Vote on May 24	17.4 p.3	4	5	27	6	6	9	29	b	B		
9. Don't give firms like UDECOTT public \$\$	18.4 p.3											Not on elections but related to scandal on URDECOTT
10. Agreement reached on seat allocation :	19.4 p.3		6	1		11		14	+			

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UNC/COP select candidates												
11. Harts can vote	20.4 p.3	9		8	10		12	13				
12. Only PNM, UNC gov'ts collapse	21.4 p.3		4	11	2	17		3				
13. Jack, don't worry with Patrick, coalitions work	21.4 p.3	5	1	5	3	11						
14. Gov't will fix all roads	22.4 p.3	24			8			4				
15. Orphans and bastard child	23.4 p.3	9	3	5	5	5		1				
16. She sleeps in her own bed		2	2	8	6	1						
17. Obama advisor deported	24.4 p.3	4	9	2	4		16	6		-		
18. I don't have to explain	25.4 p.3	3	1	1	8	2	18	4		-		
19. No UNC seats for Vasant and Ramesh	26.4 p.3		8		23	2		24	-			
20. Cop vs. COP outside President's House	26.4 p.3	2		2	10	1	1					Dookeran protesting on crime outside the President's House
21. UNC adviser can come here-Martin Joseph back's down on deportation issue	27.4 p.3	1	2	2	11		13	10		-		Printed statement by the Min. of National Security at the bottom of the page
22. PNM stops Rowley: Starlite meeting in Diego Martin cancelled	28.4 p.3			4	35		11	35		-		

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23. Kaiso Election Clash: Sports Minister to vote on pro-PNM/UNC shows	29.4 p.3	4	5	8	1			11				More about two calypso shows clashing- headline misleading...politicized shows
24. Volney: UNC can change TT	30.4 p.3	10	5	10	25		6	13		-		Statement issued by Volney printed below
25. Manning criticizes Volney	30.4. p.3	6		3	2	1		1				
26. Kamla sweeps out Panday: Ramesh, Ramnath out election race	May 1. P.3		10	2	49	3		35	-			
27. Parties rally their troops today	May 2 p.3											
28. Parties rally their troops today	May 2 p.3		5	10	18	7		24	b	B		
28. Rowley silent at PNM rally	May 3 p.3			15	46		11	18		-		
29. PNM faces tough fight	May 4 p.3	4		10	13	1		22		+		
30. Volney hits PNM: Swaratsingh denies hand in Brad Boyce protest	May 5. p.3	1	3	4	20		11	9				
31. I'm a PNM sailor: Rowley closes rank with Manning	May 7 p.3	10	14	10	31	2		4				
32. Mom-to-be shot down												No politics (crime)

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33. Kamla promises better times for women	May 9. p.3	18	10	10	3	2						
39. I will kill all of you	May 12 p.3											No politics (crime)
40. Murder suspect held	May 13 p. 3											No politics (crime)
41. \$100m Fund for sick children : UNC/COP manifesto revealed	May 14. p.3	29										
42. Jack: Gov't behind NALIS blank of manifesto launch	May. 14	2	1	2	8		8			-		