

1-1-2009

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MEDIA AND TRANSNATIONAL SOCIAL MOVEMENTS: A CONTENT ANALYSIS OF *THE GLOBE AND MAIL*'S COVERAGE OF THE 2009 TAMIL PROTEST IN TORONTO

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2009

by

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B.A. (Hons), York University, 2007

A Major Research Paper

presented to Ryerson University

in partial fulfillment of the requirement for the degree of

Master of Arts

in the Program of

Immigration and Settlement Studies

Toronto, Ontario, Canada, 2009

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ABSTRACT

By using the theoretical frameworks of Medium theory and New Social Movement Theory, this study analyzed how *The Globe and Mail* news articles published from January to May of 2009 depicted the transnational social movement efforts of the 2009 Tamil protest in Toronto. The method of content analysis was applied to the following research question: How do news articles from *The Globe and Mail* newspaper portray the transnational social movement (TSM) efforts of the Tamil Diaspora in Canada? This study found that (1) overall there was a negative coverage of the Tamil transnational social movement; and (2) the emphasis was mostly placed on the Tamil protest's alleged affiliation and support for a banned terrorist group. This paper will conclude that the news articles of *The Globe and Mail* presented a distorted message of the Tamil protest in the articles to attract readership rather than inform the audience, in a neutral method, about the protest events that were occurring at that time. Hence, future research should seek to expand on this study by doing a longitudinal and comparative analysis of the relationship between media and the Tamil transnational social movement.

Key words: Tamil diaspora; LTTE; Content Analysis; Transnational Social Movements; Tamil protest; *The Globe and Mail*; Medium Theory; New Social Movement Theory

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank a number of people who have encouraged me throughout the course of writing this major research paper. First and most importantly, I would like to thank my family for their support and patience as I have spent many long days working on this paper. I am grateful for all the hard work and sacrifice that my mom has put forth in her life in order to give me the chance to follow my dreams. I would like to thank my step-dad for being supportive through good times and bad. As well, I would like to extend my thanks to my sisters, Mary and Sharina, for loving and caring for me unconditionally.

I am most indebted to my supervisor, Dr. Vappu Tyyskä, for helping me to conduct this study and write this paper to the best of my ability. Dr. Tyyskä's excitement towards teaching and academia provided me with the encouragement to keep working hard and not give up. Without her guidance and persistent help this major research paper would not have been possible. I would like to give recognition to my second reader Francis Hare. His time and contribution to my paper is much appreciated.

Finally, I would like to extend my gratitude to all my friends from the 2008-2009 ISS students. The past year would not have been as pleasant without all of your kind words and encouraging attitudes. Thank you to each and every one of you for making each day brighter than the other.

Dedication

I would like to dedicate this major research paper to my mom, Maria. All my hard work and my achievements to date would not have been possible without my loving mother.

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Literature Review

This section provides an overview of literatures where the main topic of investigation was the study of social movements in a transnational context. Charles Tilly (2004b) describes social movements as a series of contentious performances, displays and campaigns by which people make collective claims on others. For Tilly (2004b, 3) social movements are “a major vehicle for people’s participation in public politics”. Similarly, Sidney Tarrow (1994) defines a social movement as collective challenges—to elites, authorities, other groups or cultural codes—by people with common purposes and solidarity in sustained interactions with elites, opponents and authorities. Through this definition, Tarrow specifically distinguishes social movements from political parties and interest groups. In both of the above definitions of social movements, Tilly and Tarrow consistently point out that social movements are change-oriented political formations, often using tactics such as direct action, with loose and informal organizational structures.

Many scholars in agreement with Tilly and Tarrow state that social movements are organized around ideas which give the individuals who adhere to the movement new forms of social and political identity (Zald and McCarthy, 1987; Escobar and Alvarez, 1992; Castells, 1997; Snow, 2004). For example, the success of the feminist movement does not depend just on various forms of political action, but also on the way in which the ideas associated with the movement led women, and ultimately men, to rethink and not to accept the unchallenged notions about the roles of women in society. Therefore, movements provide a means of introducing new ways of thinking to the political agenda. In this sense, a transnational social movement is defined by Tilly and Tarrow (2007) as socially mobilized groups with constituents in at least two states, engaged in sustained contentious interaction with power-holders in at least one state other than their own, or against an international institution, or a multinational economic actor.

The literatures on social movements largely identify the following main trends as detrimental to social movements: (1) movement-state interactions—the communication between social movement organizations and the state; and (2) the analysis of ‘framing’—a process by which social movement

groups engage in meaning construction relevant to the movement's interests and goals (Smith, 2002).

The concepts of movement-state interaction and 'framing' will be discussed below.

There are three recurring themes that arise from the literatures used for the purpose of this paper:

First, media and external resources can range from formal and informal affiliation with corporations (media) to financial support from elite sponsors (Carroll and Ratner, 1999). Media and financial support from organizations and corporations is a recurring theme that is discussed in almost all the literatures that were examined in this study. Resource mobilization scholars state that the success of social movements depends on their ability to mobilize resources via: professional organizers, political entrepreneurs, financing/funding. The importance of media and resource mobilization to the progress of social movements will be discussed more in-depth in the following sections. The second theme is political opportunity, which is the opportunity given by a particular political system to mobilizing groups in order to facilitate mobilization (McAdam et al., 1996). There are three dimensions of political opportunity structure that give social movements the ability to easily and effectively mobilize: (i) the degree of openness/closure of formal political access; (ii) the degree of stability or instability of political alignments; and (iii) the availability of potential allies/partners. All aspects of political opportunity will be explained clearly in the upcoming sections. The third theme includes social networks and collective identity. Collective identity signifies individuals or groups linked by some common bond, shared social status, or geographic or cultural connection (Beuchler, 1993). Transnational networking gives social movements the ability to have ties and linkages with relevant actors working internationally on an issue, who are bound together by shared values, a common discourse, and exchanges of information and services (Smith, 2002). More detailed discussion of the local and transnational social networking will be provided later on.

Thus, this literature review suggests that (1) the examination of these trends and themes exposes the gaps in the literature and (2) many comprehensive studies show that transnational social movement organizations (TSMOs) are well-developed and well-positioned in the local or international community.

Trends in the Literature

Social Movement-State Relationship

In much of the contemporary literature on social movements, civil society (composed of voluntary civic and social organizations and institutions) and the state (composed of authorities who make and enforce the rules that govern the people in a specific territory) appear as opposing forces. A state is the means of rule over a defined geographical territory (della Porta, 1995). It is comprised of an executive, a bureaucracy, courts and other institutions (Bose, 1994). Above all, a state imposes taxes and operates a military and police force (Bose, 1994). States distribute and re-distribute resources and wealth. Therefore, lobbyists, politicians and revolutionaries seek in their own way to influence or even to get hold of the levers of state power (Bose, 1994; della Porta, 1995).

Social movements have been interpreted to be part of the civil society and the political affairs of the state have been thought to be a separate entity (Slater, 1998; Hann, 1996; Cohen, 1992). As Sidney Tarrow (1998, 2) explains, social movements are “those sequences of contentious politics that are based on underlying social networks and resonant collective action frames, and which develop the capacity to maintain sustained challenges against powerful opponents”. Although Tarrow (1998) leaves the terms “powerful opponents” open to interpretation, many scholars contend that the history of movement-state interaction can be viewed as an ongoing movement-counter-movement strategy between social activists and power-holders (both the state and corporations) (Cohen, 1992; della Porta, 1995). Similarly, McAdam (1982, 20) defined social movements as “rational attempts by excluded groups to mobilize sufficient political leverage to advance collective interests through non-institutionalized means”. That is, movements target the state to seek new benefits for a constituency or recognition by authorities (Gamson, 1991).

It seems as though the literature, in this social movement framework, explicates that only those efforts initiated by the powerless to redress political inequality fully qualify as social movements (Escobar and Alvarez, 1992; Stokke and Ryatviet, 2000; Snow, 2004; Tarrow, 1994, 1998; Zald and Berger, 1978;

Tilly, 2004b). Thus, within this perspective, the researchers seek to illustrate that the more directly a movement seeks to change state policy, the more clear and valid the movement is perceived to be.

The focus on the state as an opponent to movements is even more explicit in the article by McAdam et al. (2001), in which they state that the model of society is used as the polity model. In this polity model, “contentious politics” is defined as the “episodic, public, collective interaction among makers of claims and their objects when at least one government is a claimant, an object of claims, or a party to the claims and the claims would, if realized, affect the interests of at least one of the claimants” (McAdam et al., 2001, 5). Thus, McAdam et al. (2001) perceive the state as the political institution that is the object of claims made by social movements. Davis and Zald (2005, 336) suggest that “as corporations have become increasingly multinational and encompassing, they have taken on the character of polities where ‘citizens’ may engage in collective action to challenge policies with which they disagree”. That is, collective actions, even with resources provided by corporations, are still considered to be claimants opposing the state. Thus, in agreement with the above scholars, it can be clearly seen that social movements are almost always viewed by the society as opponents to the state rather than a collective entity that is allowed by the state to express its perspectives of a particular issue or policy.

The current wave of literature exploring the role of globalization has further diverted the state’s role as an active agent in the organizing and creation of social movements. The process of globalization in general has been asserted to call into question the sovereignty of the state (della Porta et al., 1999). That is, many researchers have stated that the state’s ability to make decisions and policies without any international influence is slowly diminishing. In this sense, the state’s role in facilitating social movements is being called into question as social movements are mobilizing across borders in a global context. Among scholars who have explored the characteristics of this network of transnational political interactions (Held et al., 2000; della Porta and Kriesi, 1997; Smith and Johnston, 2002; Smith, et al., 1997), della Porta and Tarrow (2005, 235) have described the arena of global politics as complex internationalism, defining it as

the expansion of international institutions, international regimes, and the transfer of the resources of local and national actors to the international stage, producing threats, opportunities and resources for international NGOs, transnational social movements and, indirectly, grassroots social movements.

This definition of global politics clearly illustrates that at the international stage the state is often neglected in terms of specific policies or political ideologies.

The theoretical focus tends to be on the ways “a movement can co-opt a segment of the state” (McCarthy and Wolfson, 1992, 274). Thus, some argue that more emphasis needs to be placed on how the state reacts and responds to social movements’ mobilizing efforts and how these movements are incorporated into future policy-making decisions (McCarthy and Wolfson, 1992). By clearly displaying this process of incorporation of movements into the political arena, researchers can examine the possibility of a non-oppositional relationship between social movement organizations and the state.

Framing Analysis

Social movement scholars conceptualize the work of mobilizing or meaning construction by employing the term ‘framing’ (such as, Gamson et al 1982, Snow et al 1986, Snow & Benford 1988). ‘Framing’, within the context of social movements, refers to the signifying work conducted by those advocating for a particular movement (e.g., leaders, activists, and rank-and-file participants) and other actors (e.g., adversaries, institutional elites, media, counter movements) relevant to the interests of the movement. Thus, framing processes can involve the construction of significant meanings or ideologies that guide the actions of social movements. In this case, ideologies are defined as set of beliefs or ideas that affects one’s orientation to everyday life or the way of looking at things (Snow and Benford, 1988). For instance, in the Civil Rights movement and the Gay Rights movement, the participants of the movements constructed and advocated for one common meaning of identity and mobilized for one common goal that is to create awareness that everyone is equal regardless of race (Civil Rights) or sexual orientation (Gay Rights).

Scholars have not focused clearly on how and who determines the construction of collective action frames (meanings or ideologies that are constructed collectively by social movements) and how

they are used within movements (McAdam et al., 1996; Smith, 2002; Snow and Benford, 1988). As well, researchers do not clearly demonstrate how these ideologies become widely accepted by all the members involved in the mobilizing efforts of a particular movement. For example, the literatures on pro-life movements and pro-choice movements explain why these movements are occurring but these literatures do not explicate how the members of the respective movements come to an understanding of what 'life' means or what 'choice' means (Tilly and Tarrow, 2007). This type of 'framing' in a movement defines and facilitates the level of advocacy and success of a movement; and it needs to be explored in more detail by scholars. More discussion of the concept of 'framing' will follow in the next sub-sections.

Recurring Themes

Media and Resource Mobilization

Resource mobilization theory, which dominates the study of social movements, focuses on the examination of the access to resources by social movement organizations (Jenkins, 1983). Many scholars have argued that among the large corporations that provide resources for social movement organizations to mobilize, the media are considered to be both agents of social control and important allies for the protesters (e.g. Smith and Johnston, 2002; Tilly and Tarrow, 2007; Carroll and Ratner, 1999). Past research (e.g., Smith, 1998; Smith et al., 1997; Slater, 1998) shows that using protests to get publicity through the media is a risky tactic. According to Smith and Johnston (2002), protests often result in coverage that is unfavourable toward the protesters. Unless social advocates do something dramatic, news media will often ignore them (Tilly and Tarrow, 2007). However, when they do engage in attention-grabbing strategies such as protests, the resultant media coverage is often critical, and has been shown to have negative effects on public attitudes and opinions about the protesters and their cause (Tilly and Tarrow, 2007). Thus, social movements engaged in conflicts over issues related to public policy or morality are faced with difficult dilemmas concerning whether and how to use social protest, and whether the risks of getting bad publicity outweigh the alternative of getting little publicity at all (Smith and Johnston, 2002).

Social movements are reliant on the media to communicate their goals but they may have difficulty in controlling how their statements or action are placed inside the frames of the media. They may also have difficulty in controlling the implicit content of those media frames. In addition, social movements must recognise that their message is interpreted through the biases of the media. These include class bias between social movement actors and media owners; commercialization and the dependence of media on ratings and advertising revenues; and the routine nature of news-gathering and reliance on wire services that make it difficult for organisations to develop personal contacts with the media (Smith, 2002).

Much research has been conducted on how media covers social protests. Researchers have pointed towards two main types of biases in media coverage, which are selection and description biases (Smith and Johnston, 2002). Studies on selection biases focus primarily on the factors determining whether a protest would be covered. It is stated, in Carroll and Ratner (1999), that the media does not consider that all protests are equally newsworthy. Factors such as size, degree of violence, and the presence of counter-demonstration can enhance the chance of a protest being covered (McCarthy et al., 1996). Studies of description biases, on the other hand, focus on how protests are represented (Jenkins, 1983; Carroll and Ratner, 1999; Buechler, 2008; Martin, 2008).

Key questions of description biases include to what extent are protests framed in the media as disruptions of “law and order”, whether the substantive issues are covered, and the ways through which protesters are portrayed as non-credible actors (McCarthy and Zald, 1977; Buechler, 2008). Protest organizers understand that gimmicks, heightened conflicts, and violence are often needed to attract media attention, but these same strategies tend to distract attention from the issues raised by a protest and lead to portrayals of protesters in the media as irrational or as social deviants (Martin, 2008). Scholars repeatedly argue that the media is an important resource to foster and facilitate social movements (Gamson and Wolfsfeld, 1993; Carroll and Hackett 2006). However, scholars have tended to undermine the media’s ability to (or not to) give credibility to social movements.

Nevertheless, media practices are not inherently conservative (McAdam et al., 1996). Skilful collaboration with the media on the part of movement organizers may help acquire better coverage (McAdam et al., 1996). The tone (the mood or feeling of a news article) of coverage is dependent on factors such as the political perspective of the newspaper and local public opinions. Gamson's constructionist model of media/public relations indicates that both the media and the public possess the same cultural 'frames' that guide understanding about issues and events (Gamson and Wolfsfeld, 1993). Thus, media reporters use frames that are familiar and resonate with both themselves and the public (Gamson and Wolfsfeld, 1993). On the surface, this seems to be true but more studies are needed to conclude on the issue. Some literature used in this paper that deals with media concentrated mostly on its positive aspects (Melucci, 1996; Carroll and Ratner, 1999; Tilly and Tarrow, 2007); however, a critical evaluation of the media content is required.

Political Opportunity Structures

The structure of political opportunities refers to the conditions in the political systems, which either facilitate or inhibit collective action (Tarrow, 1998). The degree to which civil liberties and individual rights are respected in a given society will also facilitate or inhibit collective action (Tarrow, 1998). But repression and facilitation are not determined by supporters or enemies of social movements; rather, they are the result of conflicting interaction and political struggle (Tarrow, 1998). In social movement studies, 'repertoires for protest' (Tilly and Tarrow, 2007) have traditionally been seen to be influenced by a political opportunity structure, consisting of both a formal (institutional aspect) and an informal (cultural) one (della Porta et al., 1999). Different repertoires are associated with different movements, such as the civil movement in the United States consisted of the repertoires of sit-ins and boycotts; the repertoire of non-violent civil disobedience was associated with Gandhi's civil movement to bring forth independence to India (Tilly and Tarrow, 2007).

A major breakthrough in social movement research came when researchers found that social movements develop and succeed not because they emerge to address new issues arising in the local

society or internationally, but rather because something in the larger political context allows existing issues to be heard (Colin, 2008). Social movements are repressed or facilitated in accordance with existing political opportunity within nation-states (Colin, 2008). For instance, if the state policies of a particular non-democratic nation ban any type of LGBT (Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender) activities, LGBT rights movements will be disallowed by the political system. This means that any form of mobilizing by the LGBT community will be rendered illegal. Accordingly, changes in political opportunity structure of a state can directly impact a social movement's ability to mobilize (Tilly and Tarrow, 2007).

Social Networking and Collective Identity

One of the major foci of social movement research and theory in recent years is that an understanding of social networks in identity processes, and particularly collective identity, is fundamental to understanding the dynamics of social movements (Armstrong and Bernstein, 2008; Castells, 1997; Cohen, 1985; Friedman and McAdam, 1992). In exploring social networks, Snow & McAdam (2000) have suggested that framing processes of constructing a common ideology for movements constitute a central mechanism facilitating linkages between individuals and social groups.

Social movement research also emphasizes the social construction of collective identities through negotiations over the goals, means and environment for collective action (Melucci 1989, 1996). Collective identities represent the "mesh between the individual and cultural systems" (Gamson, 1992, 55) or the sets of "attitudes, commitments, and rules for behaviour" (Friedman and McAdam, 1992, 157) that those who assume the identity are expected to subscribe to. Researchers also indicate that such identities are negotiated and re-negotiated by activists themselves, as group members work in an ongoing way to define a collective 'we' and its relation to opponents (McAdam et al., 2001, 56 - 57).

Identification with a group that is mostly formed through particular social networks is one necessary component of collective action, but scholars state that activists must be strongly motivated by and committed to that collective identity in order to engage in sustained collective action (e.g. Buechler,

2008; Gamson, 1991; Bandy and Smith, 1994). Thus, solidarity and collective identity become salient in the formation of social networks and social movement organizing. Solidarity refers to the “strength of our loyalties and commitment to a movement collective identity” (Gamson, 1991, 45). The efforts of social movement organizations to promote shared ideologies (‘frames’) and create opportunities for interactions among activists help cultivate a sense of unity that is essential to group solidarity (Beuchler, 2008). Researchers (Gamson, 1991; Bandy and Smith, 1994; Buechler, 2008) have found that solidarity involves informing and assisting each other of the issues that may arise with the police forces (such as police repression) in the duration of the movement. Geographic boundaries, limited shared experiences, and cultural diversity are likely to complicate this process for transnational organizations. But organizations with capacities for routine transnational exchange and negotiation may also be able to overcome these obstacles.

Research has shown that much transnational activism involves the formation and maintenance of closely linked social networks of activists and organizations across international borders (e.g., Bandy & Smith, 2005; Tarrow & Della Porta, 2005). This networking is often facilitated by new information and communication technologies (Beyler and Kriesi, 2005; della Porta and Tarrow, 2005; Tilly and Tarrow, 2007), while framing processes of particular meanings and networking across borders are also central to the formation of transnational movements (Della Porta, et al., 2006). Most opportunities for effective collective action still exist in the national and local arena and do not necessarily require transnational activism (Bandy & Smith, 2005; Tarrow & Della Porta, 2005; Tilly and Tarrow, 2007).

Since different countries have different cultures, political opportunities, and existing social hierarchies, there is a strong need for transnational movements to localize their concerns and strategies. But such localization may “dissolve an international movement into separate strands, take different directions, and catch activists in the toils of domestic conflict structures” (Tarrow, 2005, p. 61). Many studies illustrate that the interface between the transnational and the national (or local) represents a fertile

ground for analysis and should be explored more in-depth (Beyler and Kriesi, 2005; della Porta and Tarrow, 2005; Tilly and Tarrow, 2007).

The present studies of social movement scholars, such as Charles Tilly, Sidney Tarrow, and Donatella della Porta, have focused specifically on the interaction between transnational activism and the media of the local society where the collective actions are staged (Bandy and Smith, 2004; Guidry et al., 2000). This was demonstrated more in-depth in the sub-section in the Literature Review entitled ‘Media and Resource Mobilization’ (p. 6). Cultural codes, discourses, and practices, constituting resources provided by the media, explain how individuals can make sense of other people’s actions, their own actions, and how other people will make sense of their own actions (della Porta and Tarrow, 2005). Hence, media influences the likelihood of various forms of collective actions being undertaken; the meanings associated with the actions; and the ways the public will react.

While many social movement scholarships downplay the extent to which globalization shapes movements and politics, Slater (1998) reflects that many activists are quite explicit about the global dimensions of their struggles. Slater’s (1998) analysis of transnational social movement leads him to conclude that activists do indeed share collective identities that transcend geographic boundaries. For example, the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) movement (a struggle to claim rights for the Tamil-speaking people in Sri Lanka) has developed collective identities as a ‘Tamil group’ in many countries—such as Canada, UK, Germany, Switzerland, and Australia, to name a few (Wayland, 2004). The LTTE movement has, for many years, transcended the geographical borders of Sri Lanka through the transnational collective actions and networking of the Tamil Diaspora across the globe. Similar to the activists of the LTTE movement around the world, transnational activists operate simultaneously in both national and transnational public spheres as they articulate universal norms and devise strategies for pursuing their global aims in local and national political contexts (McAdam et al., 1996).

I conclude that critics could argue that transnational social movements occur only across borders in the global sphere. However, in my opinion, it is relevant in a globalizing world—where the local

seems to be inevitably intertwined with the global—to examine various local movements' relationship with other similar movements around the world. As people migrate from one locality to another, national issues are retained and specific networks are sustained by the migrants. These transnational networks are then used in order to advocate a national issue within and beyond geographical borders.

Gaps in Research and Directions for Future research

In summary, the first and the most obvious gap in contemporary literature is a lack of examination of the positive relationship that the state and social movements can have. As stated in the above discussions, the state and social movements are presented in literatures as opponents. However, the relationship and communication between state-assisted movements and the state are never examined in sufficient depth to explore the possibility that not all movements are in opposition to the state and that a positive relationship may be possible.

The second gap is that more empirical studies from the micro-level are required. Research into transnational social movements must undertake empirical examination of the multiple dimensions along which groups of particular transnational social movement organizations are dispersed across the globe. As well as, researchers should explore how this dispersal beyond the border can be a factor to the framing of a transnational social movement. The process through which specific frames are constructed within a transnational social movement that operate simultaneously in various geographical boundaries needs to be explored in more detail.

A final gap is that the literature fails to point out that all social movements (especially transnational movements) have improved or readjusted their frames and method of mobilizing by learning from the failures and successes of other past or ongoing social movements. Thus, more studies should be conducted on the development of social movements from the past to the present. By viewing how social movements have altered their protest strategies, one would be able to see if movements have changed to accommodate the new and upcoming trends of the society (such as the use of new technologies).

Thus, following the arguments in this section, an analysis of local media coverage of transnational protests should pay attention to: (1) the resources expended by media organizations to cover an event; (2) the dynamics of news production in play throughout the process; and (3) how the dynamics influence the news contents.

The Focus of My Research

In considering the above discussions, in this paper, I intend to analyze the contents of the news articles from *The Globe and Mail* that reported on the 2009 Tamil protest in Toronto. The media coverage of this transnational protest has yet to receive much discussion in the literature. Despite the involvement of protesters from more than one country and having the state and the international community as targets, many of the most prominent Tamil transnational protests were conducted in specific localities. One of the issues addressed is how and whether transnational protests would influence local protest cultures and local public opinions. Based on my criticism of the literature, this deserves more attention from social movement scholars.

My literature review examined a wide range of studies indicating that future research of transnational social movements should use more media analysis as a way to understand that social network, resource mobilization, political opportunity and transnational ties are important elements of transnational mobilizing. National media are often thought to be reflective of the ideologies of the nation-state and the dominant ideology. Thus, critically analyzing the content of a national media can provide insights into how and why transnational social movements emerge, transform and evolve. As well, the successes and failures of transnational social movements can be better conceptualized through understanding the relationship of state policies and media portrayal of local protests—reflecting global issues.

The first component of this study will briefly discuss the history of the Tamil movement in Sri Lanka and around the world. The ‘Background’ section should provide a preamble on the information

needed to completely understand the purpose of the 2009 Tamil protest in Toronto. Next, in the ‘Theoretical Perspective’ section, I will explain in detail Medium Theory and New Social Movement Theory, which will be the overarching theoretical framework guiding this study. The main methodology used for this study is content analysis. The reason for choosing content analysis as a method for this study will be explained in the ‘Research Methods’ section. This section will also provide a detailed description of how this study was conducted by using content analysis. Finally, the next two sections will outline the findings of this study. A general discussion will be provided to explicate the relationship between my findings and the general research. I will conclude with policy recommendations.

Background: Tamil Diaspora

Sri Lanka

The Tamil diaspora is comprised mostly of refugees and exiles who were forced to leave their home country (Sri Lanka) because of conflict rather than because of economic need or the wish to forge a new life abroad (Wayland, 2004). The Tamil diaspora includes Tamil language speaking people who have mainly originated from the Island of Sri Lanka in the Indian Ocean, which was formerly known as Ceylon (Appendix 1, Figure 1) (Tyyskä, 2006). The proximity to the Indian subcontinent has facilitated close cultural interaction between Sri Lanka and India (Appendix 1, Figure 2). The population of Sri Lanka is estimated to be 19,668,000 (Government of Sri Lanka, 2001). According to the 2001 Sri Lanka’s Census (Appendix 1, Tables 1 and 2), Tamil speaking minorities in Sri Lanka comprise approximately ten per cent of the population who mainly reside in the northern and eastern coast of the island and eight percent of other ethnic groups which includes Muslim minorities. The rest of the population (approximately 82%) consists of a Sinhalese-speaking majority who populate the central and southern parts of Sri Lanka. The current chief of the state of Sri Lanka is President Mahinda Rajapaksa (since 19 November 2005) who has been voted president for a six-year term (Government of Sri Lanka). Sri Lanka has experienced, as did other countries around the world, long periods of Portuguese (1505–

1658), Dutch (1658–1796) and British (1796–1948) colonisation. Finally, Sri Lanka received its independence from Britain on February 4, 1948 (Wilson, 2000).

History of the 'Violent Conflict'

The roots of the violent conflict in Sri Lanka can be traced back to the inability of the centralized Sinhalese-dominated state to respond effectively to the uneven development and lack of equal access to power between the Tamil minority groups and the Sinhalese majority groups (Wayland, 2004).

Discriminatory language policies, unfair access to education and public service employment, and state-run settler programmes for Sinhalese farmers in 'Tamil areas' instilled by Sinhalese-dominated state contributed to a sense of being second-class citizens among the minority Tamil population in Sri Lanka (Stokke and Ryntviet, 2000).

The mobility, education, employment and citizenship of Tamils were violated and this lack of equal opportunity triggered the rise of the Tamil nationalist struggle. In brief, as the Tamil minority's demand for political power was left dissatisfied, there were long years of conflict between the Sinhalese majority government and the Tamil minority population. In 1972, Mr. Velupillai Prabhakaran formed a militant group called the Tamil New Tigers (TNT) (Wilson, 2000). By 1975, the TNT renamed itself the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE), which became the guerrilla organization that was at the forefront of the struggle for an independent and autonomous Tamil nation (Wilson, 2000). In the latter part of the century, this nationalist Tamil group (LTTE) became to be known worldwide as the 'Tamil Tigers'.

In May 1976, several Tamil political parties united to form the Tamil United Liberation Front (TULF) and called for the union of the northern and eastern provinces into a 'Tamil Eelam' (Neangoda, 2007), meaning a 'Tamil homeland'. In July 1983, the conflict escalated when militant Tamils killed thirteen Sinhalese soldiers in an ambush in the northern part of the island (Bose, 1994). As well, there were riots held at the fallen soldiers' mass funeral resulting in the deaths of 300 Tamils according to government figures, and as many as 3,000 according to Tamil accounts (Bose, 1994). Subsequently,

Tamil youth (male and female) began to participate in the insurgency movement in large numbers, resulting in an official and full-scale civil war in the north-eastern part of the country.

Opposing Tamil groups, including a breakaway LTTE group in eastern Sri Lanka since 2004, have been challenging the claim of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) to be 'the sole representative of the Tamil people' (Stokke and Ryntviet, 2000). It is important to note that the Tamil liberation struggle has also entailed violence between these various opposing Tamil militant groups, which has created a divide within the Tamil minority population, an issue that is hardly discussed within the Tamil community. Though Sri Lankan Tamils have portrayed themselves as victims to gain asylum in Western states, the LTTE and rival Tamil militants have committed innumerable human rights violations (Hydman, 2003). The Tamil Tigers have been implicated in numerous assassinations, such as those of Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi in 1991 and of Sri Lankan President Premadasa in 1993, and in the bombings of civilian targets and Buddhist shrines (Goodhand et al., 2002). An important fact to note is that the tactics employed by the LTTE resulted in them being banned as a terrorist organization in thirty-two countries (as of 2009), including the United States, United Kingdom, India, Australia, Canada and the member nations of the European Union (Orjuela, 2008).

Peace Negotiations and International Aid to Stop Conflict

The first round of negotiations between the Sri Lankan government and the LTTE occurred in Thimpu, Bhutan in 1985 (Coy, 1997). However, this peace talk was short lived and the conflict resumed. The platform of the People's Alliance Party, led by former President Chandrika Kumaratunge, promised to bring an end to the civil war by negotiating with the LTTE (Orjuela, 2003). One of the first moves of the new government was to begin peace talks in 1994. In August 1995, the President called for constitutional reform that would grant more powers to Sri Lanka's eight regions, including greater autonomy for Tamils (Orjuela, 2003). Unfortunately, the proposal generated great opposition from the President's Sinhalese supporters who believed it offered too much, and also from Tamils who argued that it gave too little. The attempts to have peace talks between the Sri Lankan government and the LTTE

became not only short-lived but also impractical. After a major suicide attack by the LTTE on Bandaranaike International airport in 2001, a ceasefire agreement, brokered by Norway, was signed by Prime Minister Ranil Wickremesinghe and LTTE leader Prabhakaran in 2002 (Bivand Erdal, 2006). During this peace process, six rounds of negotiations were held between the government of Sri Lanka and the LTTE. The LTTE withdrew from the talks in 2003 by stating that there were inadequate steps taken to rebuild the war-hit areas (Bivand Erdal, 2006). The violence escalated again and the ceasefire agreement was officially abolished in 2008.

The official demise of the ceasefire agreement has now led to the current claims of genocide by the Tamil diaspora against the Sri Lankan military groups. However, the claims of genocide have been outright denied by the Sri Lankan government as the Sri Lankan military pursued an end to terrorism (the LTTE) in Sri Lanka (UN News, 2009).

In the beginning of January 2009, the Sri Lankan government troops captured Kilinochchi, which has been the de-facto capital of the LTTE for the past 10 years (IRIN, 2009). At the end of January 2009, the town of Mullaithivu was captured by government troops (IRIN, 2009). On February 12, 2009, the government of Sri Lanka declared a twelve kilometre long “No Fire Zone” (NFZ) along the western coast of the city of Mullaithivu and called all civilians to move into it for their own safety (Human Rights Watch, 2009). As a result of these intense attacks on the LTTE territory, the Tamil Tigers conducted a suicide air attack in Colombo on February 20, 2009 (IRIN, 2009). After a long four month period of dominant attacks by the Sri Lankan Army on LTTE troops in the northern areas of Sri Lanka, the LTTE, as a last resort, proposed a call for peace negotiations (Human Rights Watch, 2009). However, the government refused the offer and insisted that the Tamil Tigers lay down arms. In the ensuing month of April 2009, increased attacks continued in the areas where the government of Sri Lanka claimed that the LTTE were hiding (IRIN, 2009). Finally, in the middle of May 2009, the long-standing and self-proclaimed leader of the LTTE, Mr. Velupillai Prabhakaran, along with the remaining members of his troops was killed by the Sri Lankan Army (IRIN, 2009). The bitter end had finally come to the conflict

that has lasted for more than a quarter of a century. Unfortunately, the conflict in the year 2009 alone has left a devastating number of over 300, 000 Tamil civilians internally displaced in Sri Lanka. The UN estimates as many as 20, 000 Tamil civilian casualties in this 2009 conflict; though, this number has not been confirmed (UN News, 2009).

Transnational Tamil Diaspora

The internal conflict in Sri Lanka has caused a massive emigration of Sri Lankan Tamils. The outflow of Sri Lankan migrants has been in two categories: (1) those seeking a 'refugee' status; and (2) professionals looking for peaceful and profitable place of settlement. The second category of migrants has always searched for a 'Western' location to settle and could easily be classified as a 'brain drain' for Sri Lanka's economy including the Tamil regions (Orjuela, 2008).

Currently, the Sri Lankan Tamil diaspora is estimated to be more than 800,000, with close to 250,000 living in Canada, and approximately 90% of the 250,000 residing in the Greater Toronto Area (GTA) (Wayland, 2004). The Tamil diaspora in Toronto has been acknowledged as the largest concentration in the world of a diaspora in one particular city. It is easy to imagine that this kind of concentration can have a major impact on the GTA. From the standpoint of the Tamil struggle several positive features emerged as a result of this outflow. Overseas Tamils became the primary source of funding for the LTTE and, arguably, many scholars have stated that the Tamil struggle in Sri Lanka could not have been sustained without the financial aid that has been sent by the diaspora (Orjuela, 2008). Such financial assistance has also been noted to be useful in caring for an indeterminate number of Tamils who were displaced and ended up as refugees within their own country. In this connection, funds that were channelled through various temples and churches, the Democratic Tamil Cultural Association, the Canadian Tamil Congress, the International Federation of Tamils, and many other such ethnic NGOs have played a key role (Orjuela, 2008).

Clearly at this stage, Tamil nationalism had entered a 'transnational' phase. The primary function of the Tamil transnational movement has been to strengthen the nationalism at home in Sri Lanka. The

Tamil community abroad has served as a medium of propaganda and a form of transnational nationalist movement for the 'Tamil cause' (Wilson, 2000). This, at times, had the ability to create some very embarrassing moments for the Sinhalese government in Sri Lanka. Numerous newspapers, magazines and periodicals around the world, such as *Dinakaran*, *Ulakathamilar*, World Tamil News Internet Radio, *Tube Tamil*, *Thinakural*, have been the main outlets used for such propaganda work (Bivand Erdal, 2006). This mass communication network also served as a forum for debating the various issues concerning Tamils. Television and radio stations, newspapers and a myriad of internet sites keep Tamils around the world informed of developments in the homeland, while numerous language and dance schools help preserve Tamil culture across the generations (Winland and Wayland, 1999). Temples and churches, religious festivals and a large number of organizations (such as women's and sports groups) play an important role in providing a meaningful social environment for Tamils, offering practical information and a sense of community (Bivand Erdal, 2006). There are also large numbers of Tamil organizations that engage in development and humanitarian work in Sri Lanka. They include everything from the wide-ranging World Tamil Movement (banned in April of 2006 because of its links with the LTTE) to home village associations and alumni organizations that fund development projects in their villages and schools. The role of the Tamil societies, formed in almost every country where Tamils have settled, too, has to be recognised as a forum for outlining and debating the conflict in Sri Lanka (Wayland, 2004).

A more recent phenomenon from the overseas dimension has been the counter propaganda against the LTTE. This counter propaganda has been established by investigations conducted against LTTE supporting organizations in the thirty-two countries who have classified LTTE as a terrorist organization. The counter propaganda has resulted in the ban of all Tamil organizations and their money transfers and other related activities that occurs across and within the borders. This phenomenon of counter propaganda can be easily related to my earlier discussion of the atrocities of the LTTE and their dangerous tactics. That is, the ongoing violence towards important political leaders inflicted by the LTTE over the years could have sparked the recent rise of counter propaganda and close investigations and

audits of Tamil organizations. Nevertheless, the counter propaganda and the worldwide ban of LTTE have failed to weaken the strong national identity and the right of self-determination of the Tamils (Bivand Erdal, 2006).

The Tamil diaspora worldwide has completely utilized their right to self-determination, as stipulated in by the United Nation's international law, in their efforts as a transnational social movement to bring awareness to the general public about the increased intensity of the conflict in Sri Lanka in the year 2009. In particular, the Tamil diaspora in Toronto has been protesting to raise awareness about the displacement and deaths of many civilians who have been caught in the crossfire of the conflict between the Sri Lankan government and the LTTE since January 2009. The Tamil diaspora gathered in thousands constantly from January 2009 to May 2009 at the Houses of Parliament in Toronto and Ottawa to show their distraught at the silence shown by the Canadian Prime Minister (Steven Harper) on the escalating violence against Tamil civilians inflicted by the Sri Lankan Sinhalese dominated state.

Based on the literature, the Tamil protest of 2009 exemplifies the criteria and themes outlined in the literature review, including (1) mobilizing structures; (2) framing; (3) political opportunity structure (POS).

First, the Tamil diaspora abroad used all the required elements of a transnational social movement. This included the 'mobilizing structures', the informal and formal organizational forms available to protest organizers such as unions and support groups from outside the Tamil community. For example, a report in *The Varsity*, UofT newspaper, news online on May 26, 2009 stated that not only was the Tamil protest in Toronto supported by non-profit Tamil organizations like the Tamil Canadian Congress but also by the United Steelworkers Union, the University of Toronto student union, and the Toronto Coalition to Stop the War.

Second, the framing process, the conscious attempts by individuals to fashion shared worldviews and sets of common grievances that justify collective and transnational action (Tilly and Tarrow, 2007), was very well structured as the protest participants in Canada and worldwide chanted 'No more

Genocide' and held signs that showed unity and shared values of the movement. These 'frames' were used consistently and with solidarity as every participant in the protest believed and protested for the same issue/cause.

Finally, the Tamil protesters made good use of the political opportunity structure (POS) made available to them by the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedom and Canada's liberal democratic values of 'freedom to mobilize'. By definition, political opportunity structures are dimensions of the political environment that encourages collective action to be conducted with few or no restrictions (Tilly and Tarrow, 2007). For example, the Tamil community stood in solidarity protesting with little or no restraints, on Parliament Hill and U.S. consulate, and also occupied major thoroughfares in Toronto.

Theoretical Perspectives

Two theoretical perspectives will guide this study: Medium Theory and New Social Movement Theory. Medium Theory, according to Meyrowitz (1994), focuses on the medium's characteristics rather than on what it conveys or how information is received. In Medium Theory, a medium is not simply a newspaper, the Internet, a digital camera, and so forth. Rather, it is the symbolic environment of any communicative act (Meyrowitz, 1994). Media, apart from whatever content is transmitted, impact individuals and society. Scholars associated with Medium Theory are Marshall McLuhan (1963, 1966, 1988), Joshua Meyrowitz (1985), and Niel Postman (1985).

Medium Theory is used to describe a variety of approaches used to examine how the means of expression of human communication impact the meaning(s) of human communication(s) (Meyrowitz, 1994). The basic argument of Medium Theory is to understand more fully media's contribution to social change (Eisenstein, 1983). This, according to Eisenstein (1983), can be achieved by drawing heavily on analysis of the forms of communication, instead of relying exclusively on the more traditional concerns with who controls the media institutions and with the imitative or persuasive impact of media messages. As McLuhan put it, 'the medium is the message.' McLuhan believed that we should observe not only the

media itself but ‘the ways in which each new medium disrupts tradition and reshapes social life’ (Croteau and Hoynes 2003, 307). McLuhan believed that the social impact of the media become ‘an extension of our senses, and alter our social world’ (Croteau and Hoynes, 2003, 307). Every medium has its own possibilities and limitations of communication that shape the production and consumption of texts.

With respect to the transnational social movement, New Social Movement (NSM) Theory is a theory that attempts to explain the overabundance of new movements that have come up in various western societies roughly since the mid-1960s which are claimed to depart significantly from the conventional social movement paradigm (Melucci, 1980). New Social Movement Theory looks at various collective actions, their identity and on their relations to culture, ideology and politics (Buechler, 2008). The NSMs are believed to be less concerned about issues of economic wellbeing. Examples of the new movements include the women’s movement, the ecology movement, gay rights movement and various peace movements, among others. Many of these NSMs tend to emphasize social changes in identity, lifestyle and culture, rather than pushing for specific changes in public policy or for economic change (Koopmans, 1996). NSMs consist of an informal, loosely organized social network of ‘supporters’ rather than members. Protest groups tend to be single issue based and are often local in terms of the scope of change they wish to effect. As well, NSMs last longer than single issue campaigns and wish to see change on an (inter)national level on various issues in relation to their set of beliefs and ideals. The NSM Theory emphasizes the cultural nature of the new movements and views them as struggles for control over the production of meaning and the constitution of new collective identities (Melucci, 1980).

Research Methods: Content Analysis of National Media

Content analysis is a “technique for gathering and analyzing the content of a text” (Neuman, 2006, 322). Content analysis is a research tool used to determine the presence of certain words or concepts within texts or sets of texts. Using this method, researchers are able to quantify and analyze the presence, meanings and relationships of such words and concepts, then make inferences about the

messages within the texts, the writer, the audience and even the culture and time (Neuman, 2006). There are two forms of content analysis, which are qualitative and quantitative content analysis. Quantitative content analysis involves the collection of data about the media content, such as topics or issues, messages determined by key words in context, circulation of the media (audience reach) and frequency, and the media form (television, newsprint, audio, and so forth) (Gray and Guppy, 2003). Qualitative content analysis examines the relationship between the text and its likely audience and tries to determine the likely meaning of texts to audiences—recognizing that media texts are open to multiple different meanings to different readers (Gray and Guppy, 2003). Thus, a qualitative content analysis pays attention to more than simply the text; it focuses on the audience, media and the contextual factors within a ‘text’.

My research question for this study is: How do news articles from *The Globe and Mail* national newspaper portray the transnational social movement efforts of the Tamil diaspora in Toronto? In order to clearly address this research question, I used the qualitative content analysis methodology because an in-depth analysis of the news articles is required in order to fully comprehend the potential meanings (manifest or latent) for audiences produced through the texts in the articles written on the 2009 Tamil protest. If the quantitative content analysis is used to answer my particular research question, I would not have been able to interpret the contextual factors that surround the texts in the news articles. As well, with a quantitative analysis it would be difficult to explain *how* the articles portray the events surrounding the Tamil protest.

As part of the Tamil diaspora, I have had many encounters with individuals (not part of the Tamil diaspora) who constantly make racist and stereotypical claims about the ‘Tamil Tigers’ that have made me wonder about the sources of these stereotypical views. Since the media, especially the print media, is always blamed for reinforcing labels and framing ethnic groups in a certain way, I think it is important to look deeper into the texts of newspaper articles to analyze if in fact the contents of newspaper articles actually contribute to labelling, stereotyping and generalizing of the Tamil diaspora’s efforts in conducting a transnational social movement. In order to analyze the Tamil transnational social

movement, it is important to use newspaper articles as a main source because most media provide sufficient coverage on the efforts of social movement organizations and they are accessible at all times via Internet news article archives. I chose to analyze articles from *The Globe and Mail* national newspaper because it is Canada's largest-circulating national newspaper and I believe its widespread reach and readership will provide me with a good selection of content to analyze.

Sampling procedures are very important in the generalizability of the research. Thus, as my sampling technique I used purposive sampling (Neuman, 2006) because I have a defined population (Tamil Diaspora) and the sampling element has been analyzed over a specific time period. The time frame of January 2009 to May 2009 is effective for this study because many important events have occurred since January 2009 that has to be analyzed and recorded. As my sampling procedure, I went through the archive of online articles in *The Globe and Mail* and chose the news articles that particularly discussed the 2009 Tamil protest in Toronto. I made sure that my sample of article did not include articles that reported on the history of the Sri Lankan conflict or the current escalated conflict in Sri Lanka.

Validity and reliability are two factors which any qualitative researcher should be concerned about while designing a study, analysing results and judging the quality of the study. On the broadest sense reliability and validity address issues about the quality of the data and appropriateness of the methods used in carrying a research project (Neuman, 2006). Reliability addresses how accurately your research methods and techniques produce data (Neuman, 2006). The use primary (content analysis) and secondary research (other literatures) in my study to corroborate data sources increases the reliability of my research. Validity addresses the appropriateness of the method to the research question (Neuman, 2006). That is, my research should explain what I said I would be explaining in my research question. In order to validate some of my claims in this study, I used secondary sources from journal articles and text books. These academic articles and texts were all retrieved from the Ryerson University online library

search engine. I believe these secondary sources are reliable because the texts and online materials are representative academic sources that demonstrate the trustworthiness of my study and arguments.

As an initial step, using the internet archives of *The Globe and Mail* newspaper articles on the Ryerson University library website, I searched for articles that were written on Tamil Tigers/LTTE and social movements involving the Tamil diaspora from January 2009 to May 2009. I used key words, such as ‘Tamil Tigers’ and ‘Tamil Protest’, to guide my search. Then, I printed out all the newspaper articles pertaining to the Tamil diaspora and their protest within the required timeline. I examined the articles and eliminated those articles that were clearly not within the parameters of my research question. After selecting the articles, I numbered them by labelling them (A1, A2 and so on) in chronological order by date (See Appendix 2). In the end, I had twenty-nine articles that were specific to my research question, all of which were used to conduct the content analysis for my study.

Then, I identified the dominant themes contained in my sample of articles to explicate the broader context through which *The Globe and Mail* newspaper is representing the Tamil diaspora. The following themes were identified through my process of coding: state-movement relationship, political opportunity, tactics/repertoires of contention, target, banned terrorist group, symbolism of Tiger insignias, and the population of the Tamil diaspora. The following chart provides a detailed explanation of these themes:

Term	Explanation
State-movement relationship	The going interaction that the Tamil protesters had with the government (Federal, Provincial and Municipal) and the state authorities (police). For example, the government support given to the protesters or lack thereof; the direct or indirect involvement of authorities with the protesters.
Political opportunity	The political structure that is in place in the state that allows the freedom to protest. For example, the liberal democratic values of the Canadian state allow all citizens to participate and organize movements.
Tactics/Repertoires of contention	The ways in which people act together in pursuit of a particular goal. That is, the methods that are used to bring awareness to a social movement, for example, marching, chanting, fasting and so forth.
Target	The goal or intent of the protesters. For example, who are the Tamils protesting against? How are they directing their goal?
Banned terrorist group	LTTE ban around the world, including Canada. The affect of the ban on the Tamil protesters would be measured in this category.
Symbolism of Tiger insignias	The extent to which the symbolic use of flags, hats, T-shirts that have the emblem of the LTTE can have on the Tamil transnational social movement efforts.
The population of the Tamil diaspora in Canada	The size and concentration of the Tamil diaspora in Toronto. What is the significance of the concentration of a particular diaspora in one city?

I also categorized the articles to establish whether the comments attributed in each article to the Tamil diaspora were positive, negative or neutral in tone. An article was categorized as ‘positive’ if the comments were favourable in tone to the cause and efforts of the social movements of the Tamil diaspora. For example, if the article provides an explanation of why this social movement is crucial for the Tamil community in Canada and in Sri Lanka, it was categorized as ‘positive’ in tone. An article was categorized as ‘negative’ if the comments contained are clearly negative in tone towards the Tamil diaspora. For example, if part of an article discussed the public disturbance of the Tamil protest, it was considered ‘negative’ in tone. Finally, I categorized an article as ‘neutral’ if any statement related to the social movements of Tamil diaspora is a report without any qualitative comments. For example, if any of the articles contained comments that were just observational, it was placed in the ‘neutral’ category. For articles that contained both ‘positive’ and ‘negative’ comments about the Tamil diaspora, I created a ‘positive and negative’ category. For example, if any of the articles report events in a ‘positive’ tone but also provide negative comments, it was categorized as both ‘positive’ and ‘negative’ in tone. Coding is a

complicated part of content analysis (Neuman, 2006) and it is not as simple as the above description. I had to decide whether to code the existence or the frequency of the concept; how to distinguish among concepts; and the rules that need to be developed in order to code the texts.

As part of my coding procedure, I first read through all twenty-nine articles and identified themes and patterns of words or phrases. Then, using the themes, patterns and categories that arose in the literature and from the articles (this is explained clearly in the above paragraphs), I identified different color highlighters and pens for each theme or pattern. The second read of the articles was when I coded each and every theme carefully with the designated color marker. After the coding of the articles was complete, I created an excel spreadsheet file where I made charts to accommodate all the categories. These excel sheets contain charts of all the categories with detailed statements, quotes, and my own personal notes. Due to the length of these excel sheets, it will not be included as part of this paper. However, a summary of the charts is provided in Appendix 3. Finally, in order to make sure that all the necessary contents of the articles have been analyzed and coded, I did a third read of the articles. The third read was very helpful in providing me with a little bit more understanding of what is being inferred, directly or indirectly, in the articles.

Media content analysis has the advantage of being an unobtrusive research method (Gray and Guppy, 2003) that allowed me to examine a wide range of data over an extensive period to identify popular discourses and their likely meanings. Thus, print media content analysis has helped my understanding, and that of the audience of my paper, of the role that the mass media play in society and also to understand societal attitudes towards the Tamil Diaspora. Overall, the primary advantage of content analysis is that it is an inexpensive and accessible method for obtaining information. The reason for this is because newspaper articles are relatively easy to access via Internet archives. This method not only provided me with an opportunity to retrieve archival information but also allowed me to deal with issues that are current and up-to-date. This is an important advantage because in the time frame that I'm

analyzing (2009) there have been many controversial events and debates of the social movement efforts of the Tamil Diaspora that were being covered in an unprecedented manner.

There are clearly some disadvantages of using content analysis as a method for my research.

First, I was limited to the types of information available in text form within the chosen articles from *The Globe and Mail*. Since I was studying the way protest events are being handled by the news media, I had a ready population of news stories from which I could sample. This definitely made my analysis very limited to the news articles that were only part of my particular sample. Second, I had to be especially careful with sampling in order to avoid bias. Content analysis can be subjected to increased error, especially if one disregards the context that produced the text, as well as the state of things after the text has produced (Esterberg, 2002). Thus, I had to be very careful to understand the situational aspect of the newspaper article and the events surrounding or leading up to the point in which the article has written. Third, since content analysis relies on coding (Neuman, 2006), inferences made of a particular text had to be carefully executed. That is, I had to make sure that the classification procedure and the rules for coding were consistent throughout all the texts (Neuman, 2006). In other words, I had to avoid ambiguity of word meanings, category definitions or other coding rules; otherwise, the reliability of my research could be questioned.

Finally, content analysis is said to be an unobtrusive method; however, I recognize that it is difficult to completely escape the impact of my subjectivity on the design of the research. As in any research, my subjectivity will, in some way, affect the approach that I take in answering my research question. Thus, in order for me to ensure that my research is credible, it is important for me to take into consideration both the advantages and disadvantages of my research methodology. By doing this, I was able to try to find ways to avoid the negative implications of the methodology that I have in my research. It is important to note that there are no ethical considerations because this study does not involve direct contact with any human subjects.

Findings

The following section will discuss the results of the coding as it appears in the excel charts that were used to organize the coding procedures. Subsequently, I will provide the required tables to visually explicate some of the findings of this study (See Appendix 3, Tables 1, 2, 3, and 4).

Tone of the News Articles

Positive

There were four articles (about 14%) in the total of twenty-nine (A3, A12, A24, and A26) that reflected the positive nature of the Tamil transnational social movement (TSM). The overall message of the article and particular words and phrases were considered when the articles were analyzed. Using this analysis of words and phrases, the four articles were determined to relay a positive message. For example:

A3

- “...legitimacy of the Tamil movement...”
- “...there should be open discussion on the Tamil condition in Sri Lanka...”
- “...a number of diaspora Tamils who want a peaceful solution...”

A12

- “Their [Tamil diaspora] protests appear to have had some effect...”
- “Satisfied that the Canadian government was paying more attention to the plight of Tamils...”
- “ ‘The awareness is out there, and the outpouring of support is coming in,..’ ”

A24

- “...boost participation through text-messaging and social-networking.”
- “ ‘If it saves a life over there [Sri Lanka], that’s a good thing.’ ”

A26

- “ ‘As a compassionate nation, our government should take serious concentration to bring them in and reunite these families.’ ”

- “ ‘Canadian immigration officials in Colombo are expediting applications coming from the danger zone’ ”
- “ ‘..doing its [Ottawa] part to mitigate the humanitarian catastrophe, as well as support Tamil-Canadians hoping to be reunited with their families.’ ”

Negative

Eleven (about 38%) out of the twenty-nine articles presented a message or contained words and phrases that were negative in tone. The eleven articles (A2, A6, A8, A9, A13, A14, A16, A18, A19, A23, and A27) projected the transnational social movement efforts of the Tamil diaspora as if it were a public disturbance or ruthless actions similar to the LTTE militant group.

A2

- “...the insurgents (LTTE) now sit cornered and facing defeat...”
- “...waging a ruthless campaign for Tamil independence...”
- “ Their ardent support of the Tigers—whose use of suicide bombings, child soldiers and political assassinations led Canada to ban them as a terrorist group in 2006—has earned Scarborough the wry designation of ‘capital of Eelam’ among some Sri Lankans.”
- “...the fasting as an attempt by the Tiger supporters to ‘safeguard their Mafia LTTE leadership’ and raise funds for an ongoing fight.”
- “fear of Tiger reprisals”
- “Tigers’ control”
- “local Tiger supporters to solicit ‘war taxes’”
- “...the Tigers’ use of coercion to secure donations from Tamils in Toronto”
- “...make all necessary steps to receive monthly financial donations”
- “federal ban”

A6

- “Rush hour traffic affected by protest” (Headline)

- “A key thoroughfare...remained closed to traffic for the morning rush hour...”

A8

- “Police arrest 15 at Tamil protest” (Headline)
- “Caught between demonstrators and frustrated drivers...”
- “...Tamil protest that has shuttered a section of University Avenue for five days...”
- “mischief and breaching the peace”
- “blocking traffic and disturbing nearby buildings”

A9

- “Over-tolerant police” (headline)
- “unlawful protest”
- “demonstrations inconvenienced many people”
- “But is the U.S. likely to alter its foreign policy because Tamils in Toronto protest outside their consulate? Not likely...”
- “terrorist sympathizers”
- “Authorities in Toronto have been too forgiving.”
- “Laws were flouted.”
- “The police do have a duty to protect people: law-abiding people.”

A13

- “Frantic to press their case, Tamils swarm Gardiner” (Headline)
- “dramatic demonstration”
- “Tamil protesters swarmed onto one of Canada’s busiest highways, shutting it down in both directions and stranding thousands of unsuspecting drivers.”
- “In brittle standoff with scores of police...”
- “...escalating the situation well beyond merely a democratic process into an unlawful assembly.”

- “...the protesters regretted the inconvenience,...”
- “...held hostage...”
- “The protesters were endangering their own safety and the public safety...”
- “...there is a line and this [disruption] is getting pretty close to the line.”

A14

- “Whose rights are really being trampled?” (Headline)
- “...to accept on faith that they [Tamils] are properly and legally here and to extend to them every privilege conferred by Canadian citizenship – and to suck it up without complaint.”
- “notorious occupation”
- “...not very respectful of the Canadian Parliament...”
- “straining the collective patience”
- “...dangerous, volatile situation the protesters caused.”
- “But so far, the cops are the only ones thinking their way through this thing.”

A16

- “Canadian diaspora divided on protest against war in homeland” (Headline)
- “But not all Toronto Tamils support the demonstrations, and some are distancing themselves from events...”
- “ ‘We don’t condone this action [shutting down Gardiner]... We were very much concerned’ about losing public sympathy...”
- “...a furtive chorus of dissent has been tuning up to renounce the perceived futility of the Tigers’ struggle...”
- “ ‘...the demonstrators’ open identification with the [Tigers] had rendered the campaign ineffective with no scope for success.’ ”

A18

- “Downtown subway may be targeted...”
- “Toronto is bracing for another Tamil mass protest today...descend on Queen’s Park...targeting the downtown subway...”
- “...a bid to soften public outrage over Sunday’s hours-long siege of the Gardiner...”
- “...the public in general must not be jeopardized or threatened...”
- “Tamil-Canadians have staged escalating public protests.”

A19

- “Protests aren’t the way, Tamil Tiger leader’s Canadian family says” (Headline)
- “...[leader of Tamil Tigers] is revered as the lone defender of their [Tamils] long-oppressed Sri lankan minority.
- “ ‘It [blocking roads] causes inconvenience to certain others’ and the open display of Tiger symbols threatens to divert sympathy from the plight of civilians trapped in the war zone.”
- “...[the protest] as the product of ‘letting off steam’ by angry youth.”
- “...public displays of Tiger symbols cause many Canadians to equate the Tamil cause with terrorism, not human rights.”

A23

- “...potentially tragic confrontation...”
- “The sainted Highway Traffic Act was under attack by known terrorist sympathizers...”
- “...Toronto’s finest... ‘cracked down’, telling the demonstrators to leave the highway.”
- “...desperate passion of the demonstrators...”

A27

- “Toronto Tamils Urged to ‘Build Bridges, Not Destroy Them’” (Headline)
- “Sri Lanka’s consul-general in Toronto urged the city’s Tamil community [...] step out from their cultural “ghettos” and embrace Canadian life...”

- “...bogged down in diaspora-fuelled negative rhetoric...”
- “...younger members [of the Tamil community] not to be ‘brainwashed’ by Tiger supporters...”
- “...parents not to ‘mislead their sons and daughters’...”
- “Mr. Jeyasekara [Sri Lanka’s consul-general in Toronto] said he has extended a hand to local Tamils [...] but that a hard core of ‘brainwashed people’ has resisted his efforts...”

Neutral

The tone of an article was evaluated as ‘neutral’ if the article was written in a manner where no opinions or added comments were provided by the author. As well, if all significant views are presented clearly in the article, it was coded as a neutral tone. There were six articles (A1, A4, A7, A11, A22, and A29) out of twenty-nine (about 21%) that were neutral in tone.

A1

- “Tamils fast in support of relatives” (Headlines)
- “Toronto’s 200,000 strong Tamil community are holding a week-long fast...as the army intensifies efforts to eliminate the separatist Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam.”
- “Sri Lanka’s Consul General in Toronto, said... ‘more and more Tamils know it was a pipe dream’... ‘trying to keep the so-called cause alive’.”

A4

- “...demonstrations on Parliament Hill demands Canada scrap terrorist designation.”
- “Human-rights groups say the fighting [in Sri Lanka] has intensified in recent days.”
- “...police say that flag-waving is not against law...”

A7

- “A few hundred maintain a vocal vigil near the U.S. consulate...”
- “A rotating roster of megaphone-wielding demonstrators led the others in continuous chanting aimed at persuading the U.S....”

- “The Sri Lankan government claims the Tigers are keeping civilians as human shields, while Tamils [...] accuse the government of genocide.”

A11

- “Police balance conflicting interests in ending Tamil protest” (Headline)
- “...the protesters may have overstayed their welcome....less disruptive than the Much Video Music Awards...”
- “...about 250 protesters, confined to the sidewalks by metal police barriers, chanted slogans across from the U.S. Consulate on University Avenue.”

A22

- “A group of Tamil-Canadians protests yesterday across from U.S. consulate...”
- “...hundreds of demonstrators took their protest on the road...”

A29

- “Canada’s perceived Tamil support draws protest” (Headline)
- “Hundreds of Sri Lankans protested outside the Canadian embassy in Colombo...”
- “...they [protesters] were protesting against what they called Canada’s support for the insurgents and its alleged failure to protect Sri Lankans...”

Positive and Negative

An article was designated ‘positive and negative’ in tone if the overall message or words and phrases contained both a positive and negative tone. In a total of twenty-nine, eight articles (A5, A10, A15, A17, A20, A21, A25, and A28) contained both a positive and negative tone (about 27%). For example:

A5

- “traffic jam in downtown”
- “Thousands of people were thronging the streets...”
- “...staged one of the biggest demonstrations...”

- “[Tigers-supporting organizations] have been extracting ‘war taxes’ from the willing and the unwilling alike – sometimes by threatening to harm relatives back home if people don’t pay.”
- “Most of the demonstrators are second- or even third-generation Tamils.”
- “ ‘They [second- and third-generation Tamils] are reaffirming their ethnic identity...the collectivity has become much stronger.’ ”
- “...pressures of transnational ethnic groups...”
- “we should embrace the idea of transnational citizenship.”

A10

- “Cars moving, but Tamil protest questioned” (Headline)
- “...why the disturbance was allowed to continue for as long as it did.”
- “...though mostly peaceful, was noisy and disruptive [protest]”
- “Hospitals remained relatively unaffected.”
- “...the group [Tamils] had the right to protest.”
- “ ‘He [mayor Miller] has a certain sympathy for their [Tamils] cause and respects their right to demonstrate’ ...”
- “disgruntled commuters”
- “...it [the protest] appeared to contravene the provincial Highway Traffic Act...”
- “Police chief William Blair said that, as citizens of the city and the country, the protesters had the right to demonstrate safely.”

A15

- “Tamil demonstrators who pushed past police and took over the Gardiner Expressway...”
- “[political leaders] cautiously condemning the action while supporting the protesters themselves.”
- “Images show some protesters grabbing police bicycles and throwing them at officers.”

- “some political jockeying going on to win the political favour of Canada’s growing community of ethnic Tamils.”

A17

- “Liberal ambiguities” (Headlines)
- “...Canadians of Tamil origin staged a peaceful rally...”
- “...this illegal protest – the culminations of increasingly aggressive Tamil demonstrations – seems to have captured the Liberals’ attention more sharply than the legal one.”
- “But for a dangerous and illegal demonstration to achieve more obvious results than a peaceful and legal one sends a very curious message not just to Tamils, but to all political protesters.”

A20

- “Tamils earn goodwill – then lose it” (Headline)
- “...streets are clogged again...”
- “Tamil protesters had dropped the shock tactics and raised the Canadian flag in a bid to smooth relation with the broader community.”
- “...demonstrators handed out apology cards and brought non-perishable food for the Daily Bread Food Bank.”
- “Ordinary Torontonians don’t understand what’s going on.”
- “He [Premier McGuinty] said this was not the time for the international community to be silent, and encouraged the UN to help other countries find a way to aid war-affected Sri Lankans.”

A21

- “Tamil deserve straight talk” (Headlines)
- “They [protesters] found out that disruption works.”
- “Canadians know that even if we could make a difference, we have no stake in this fight.”
- “Some idealist like to argue that every injustice in the world should be our fight, but most of us are realists”

- “Most Canadians support people’s right to protest”
- “Canada has been caught up in a tragedy playing out halfway around the world.”

A25

- “Toronto Protest” (Headline)
- “The crowd chanted throughout the day, calling on Canada and the U.S. to get aid to injured Tamils and push for Sri Lanka to accept a separate Tamil state.”
- Toronto’s peaceful rally was one of several demonstrations worldwide yesterday.”
- “In London, [...] Tamil protesters erupted in cheers when a handful of protesters burned a Sri Lankan flag.”
- “Police in Geneva used a water cannon to push back about 1,500 protesters who had gathered outside United Nations offices in the city, throwing bottles at police clad in riot gear.”

A28

- “...Tamil-Canadian protesters clogging the country’s streets...”
- “It therefore took dramatic action by the Tamils to get any attention from the politician.”
- “Canada does well in terms of political integration of newcomers.”
- “[the Tamil case] not an indicator of any general breakdown in the way the concerns of ethnic groups are entering the political process.”

Interactions with Opponents, Allies and Observers

Here I looked at how the articles presented the interactions, if any, that the Tamil transnational social movement had during their time of protest. A total of seven out of the twenty-nine articles (A1, A2, A4, A16, A19, A27, A24) or about 14% of the articles implicitly mentioned the interaction of the Tamil protest with its opponents, allies or observers. I looked to see who the articles would define as the movement’s opponents, allies and observers. The results of this analysis suggest that there are no direct interactions between the Tamil protesters and their opponents. The opponents were identified by the articles as mostly (1) the Sri Lankan government, (2) the Sri Lankan Consul General, Bandula

Jayasekeram, in Toronto, and (3) those people from the Tamil community who are opposed of the LTTE. The articles also identified the allies of the Tamil movement as those who were participating in the transnational social movements for the Tamil cause. Observers were identified as those who were viewing the transnational social movement from the outside, such as the public and the media. However, there were no indications of any direct interaction between the Tamil protesters and their opponents and allies. The sustained interaction within the Tamil movement in Toronto was mostly presented through the communication that all the actors of the Tamil social movement had with the media. Thus, the news articles made it seem like the Tamil protest's interaction with the media was the only communication that the Tamil protesters had with its opponents, allies and observers. For example:

Articles A1, A4, and A27 addressed the role of the Sri Lankan Consul General in Toronto presented his opinion of the week-long fasting in order to raise awareness to the events occurring in Sri Lanka. The Consul General did not speak directly to the participants of the Tamil protest rather he gave his opinion to the media, which was indirectly aimed to reach the Tamil protesters. "The Consul appealed directly to Toronto's Tamil diaspora..." (A27). However, the consul was appealing to the Tamil diaspora through the media rather than 'directly' interacting with the protesters. "The demonstrators [...] are part of worldwide Tamil protests against what they describe as a deadly military offensive by the Sri Lankan military." (A4)

Articles A2, A16, A19, and A24 provide interviews of the 'allies' of the Tamil transnational social movements. " 'We are very much concerned' about losing public sympathy, he said, while acknowledging Tamil frustration over dying loved ones." (A16). The interviews with media appear to be the only interaction that the Tamil protesters in order to communicate what they are trying to do through their transnational social movement efforts. "In a telephone interview, another Toronto Tamil said he, too, favours political talks toward a devolution of powers to Tamils in Sri Lanka..." (A2). Thus, the interaction with allies was also through the observers, particularly the media.

Themes of the Articles

State-Movement Relationship:

The state-movement relationship was clearly addressed in twenty (about 69%) of the articles (A2, A3, A4, A6, A7, A8, A9, A11, A12, A13, A15, A17, A18, A20, A21, A22, A25, A26, A27, A29). These articles clearly pointed out the fact that the Tamil transnational social movement had an ongoing relationship with the state authorities (the police) rather than with the state governments (Federal, Provincial or Municipal). Most of the articles indicate that the protesters didn't establish any direct contact with the federal government, which seemed to be the Tamil protesters' main aim. Definitely, the state government's opinion and comments were projected in the articles but there was no implication of the state governments being involved or directly in communication with the protesters. However, the articles do state that the Tamil transnational social movement made a lot of efforts to establish some type of communication with the state political parties (Liberal and NDP) and the government in power (Conservative). The Tamil protesters marched in front of all the major meeting places of the state government, such as the Parliament Hill in Ottawa and Queen's Park in Toronto. Here are the reports relating to the coverage of the role of the Federal, Provincial and Municipal governments:

Federal government:

Sixteen of the articles (about 55%) were related to the Federal government.

- "Canada's response to the conflict in the Harper era of American policy mimicry has been to label the Tigers an illegal terrorist organization, while staying silent on the behaviour of the Sri Lankan state and on the legitimacy of the Tamil movement as a whole." (A3)
- "Beefed-up demonstration on Parliament Hill demands Canada..." (A4)
- "The crowd that began to gather outside the U.S Consulate..." (A6)
- "...a vocal vigil near the U.S. consulate..." (A7)
- "...ethnic Tamils outside the U.S. consulate-general." (A9)

- “...the protest would continue until the United States and Canada take action and try to stop the conflict.” (A11)
- “...to raise awareness about the escalating conflict and to encourage Canadian and U.S. leaders to press the government of Sri Lanka to stop the fighting.” (A12)
- “One of the spokesman for the protesters vowed they would stay put until they heard from a representative of the Prime Minister’s Office.” (A13)
- “The Harper government said they’re open to identifying and speaking with Canadian Tamil leaders...Liberal Leader Michael Ignatieff also expressed his sympathy for Sri Lankan’s minority Tamils...” (A15)
- “...30,000 Canadians of Tamil origin staged a peaceful rally on Parliament Hill...” (A17)
- “The protesters want the Canadian government to urge a laying down of weapons in Sri Lanka.” (A18)
- “Tamil-Canadians protests...U.S. consulate...asking again for intervention by the United States and Canada...” (A22)
- “...calling on Canada and the U.S. to get aid...” (A25)
- “Tamil-Canadian group calls for emergency government effort to help thousands stranded in camps...” (A26)
- “...Sri Lanka’s consul-general in Toronto urged the city’s Tamil community to stop protesting...” (A27)
- “Hundreds of Sri Lankans protested outside the Canadian embassy in Colombo...” (A29)

Provincial/Municipal governments:

Three of the articles (about 10%) were related to the Provincial/Municipal governments.

- “ ‘There is no political solution, my friend,’ said the democratically elected Canadian politician...” (A2)
- “Premier McGuinty also advised against using the Tamil Eelam flag on Tuesday.” (A20)

- “Protesters chanted for government action...” (A20)
- “Ontario’s Premier, after telling the demonstrators to behave, acknowledged that ‘there is a real issue here...there are real concerns.’ ” (A21)

General State Authorities (Police):

Four articles (about 14%) were related to general state authorities.

- “...the protesters agreed to requests from the police...” (A4)
- “...as several dozen police officers, on foot, bicycle and horseback, looked on.” (A7)
- “...officers arrested 15 people and drove the crowd back.” (A8)
- “...brittle standoff with scores of police...” (A13)

Opportunity Structure:

Canada’s democratic values and liberal nature of the law was emphasized throughout all the articles. The right of all citizens to protest, including the Tamil diaspora, was definitely the main focus of the articles. The political opportunity structure available to the Tamil transnational social movement in Canada was pointed out in all the articles as very ‘generous’. This ‘generosity’ was mentioned in all the articles as the most important part of the sustenance of the Tamil protest. For example:

- “ ‘ Canada is a free country [...] With Canadian Tamils, I would say most of them speak without fear.’ ” (A2)
- Ability to freely express frustrations in front of Parliament Hill (A4)
- Protest on major roads and in front of Parliament Hill without major restrictions (A5)
- Freedom to protest (A7)

Another major component of the opportunity structure in Canada that played an important part in the Tamil protest is the tolerance and patience of the police. All the articles repeatedly indicated (directly or indirectly) that the police tolerated many of the ‘dangerous’ and ‘raucous’ actions of the Tamil protesters that made it easier for the protesters to raise as much awareness as possible for their cause.

- “Authorities in Toronto have been too forgiving.” (A9)

- Tolerance of police authorities (A9, A10, A11)

Repertoires of Protest or Tactic:

The basic tactics used by the Tamil transnational social movement were chanting and marching while carrying placards in front of the Parliament Hill in Ottawa and Toronto. The Tamil protesters also blocked major roads and staged rallies in front of the U.S. and the Sri Lankan consulate in Toronto. Article 14 specifically mentioned that there was a tactical shift (a change in the method of conducting a protest) as the conflict in Sri Lanka escalated. An example of this tactical shift is the ‘swarming’ of protesters on the Gardiner Express, which was considered as an extreme tactic in response to an escalating situation in Sri Lanka (A14). The articles also stated that the tactics of the Tamil protesters were:

- Hunger Strike (A1)
- Block Downtown core roads; wave Tiger Flags; Chanting; demonstrate in front of parliament hill placards; megaphones and marches; drumming; closing down thoroughfares, the Gardiner and Univ. Ave (A4 to A22, A24, A28)
- “Beefed-up demonstrations” (A4)
- “maintained a raucous presence” (A7)
- “dramatic demonstration” (A13)

Target:

I found that all the articles clearly pointed out the Canadian government, the U.S., and the United Nation as the three major targets for the Tamil protesters. According to the articles, the Tamil protesters did not directly target the Sri Lankan government; however, the protesters tried to relay their message via Canada and the United States. This was very obvious through many ways, including:

- “demonstrations in front of the U.S consulate” (A6, A7, A9, A11, A13, A22)
- “demonstrations in front of Parliament Hill” (A4, A5, A10, A14, A16, A17, A18, A25)

- Aim to get the attention of the Canadian Conservative Government (A3, A4, A5, A8, A12 to A22, A28, A29)

Recurring Themes from the Articles

Banned/Terrorist Group:

The fact that the Tamil LTTE group is a banned terrorist group in Canada was a recurring theme in sixteen (A1, A2, A3, A4, A5, A7, A9, A14, A15, A16, A17, A18, A19, A24, A26, A28) out the twenty-nine articles (about 55%). Each of these articles presented some sort of indication, directly or indirectly, that the Tamil protest was affiliated with a known and banned terrorist group. For example:

- “The LTTE, which Canada banned in 2006 as a terrorist group...” (A1)
- “...Canada to ban them as a terrorist group in 2006...” (A2)
- “...label the Tigers an illegal terrorist organization.” (A3)
- “...decision to list the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam as a terrorist entity under the Anti-Terrorism Act.” (A4)
- “...Tamil Tigers, a terrorist group banned in Canada...” (A5)
- “...a banned terrorist group in Canada...” (A7)
- “...Tigers, a listed terrorist organization.” (A9)
- “...the separatist Tamil organization deemed a terrorist group by dozens of countries, including the United States, Australia, the nations of the European Union and , oh yes, this one, too.” (A14)
- “...Tamil Tigers, which Canada declared a terrorist group in 2006.” (A15)
- “...federally banned terrorist organization.” (A16)
- “...Tamil Tigers terrorist group...” (A17)
- “The Canadian government declared the Tigers a terrorist group in 2006.” (A18)
- “...feels Canada’s terror designation...” (A19)
- “...designated a terrorist group in dozens of countries, including Canada...” (A24)

- “...which Canada considers a terrorist organization...” (A26)
- “...and hence being labelled soft on terrorism...” (A28)

Largest Diaspora:

The concentration and the size of the Tamil diaspora, the largest in the world, in Toronto was something that the articles presented very frequently and explicitly. Out of a total of twenty-nine articles, six articles or about 21% (A1, A2, A5, A14, A16, and A21) emphasized on the large concentration of Tamils in Toronto. For example:

- “Toronto’s Tamil community, the largest in the world outside of Asia” (A1)
- “Home to the world’s largest Sri Lankan Tamil community outside Asia...” (A2)
- “...they are the biggest Tamil diaspora in the world...” (A5)
- “...estimates of other studies (which suggest the number may be in excess of 200,000).” (A14)
- “...the impression of the Tamil monolith in greater Toronto, a 200, 000-plus community...” (A16)
- “...the biggest Tamil diaspora in the world...” (A21)

Symbolism of LTTE Insignias:

The LTTE insignias, such as the Tamil Tiger flag and Tamil Tiger T-shirts, were indicated as a major part of the Tamil protest. The importance of the LTTE insignias, especially the Tiger flag, were clearly projected in eleven (A4, A7, A9, A14, A15, A16, A17, A18, A19, A20, A28) out of the twenty-nine articles (about 40%). The significance of the symbolism of LTTE insignias was expressed in the following way:

- “...proudly waving the bright red flags of a banned terrorist organization...” (A4)
- “...openly waving the Tamil Tiger flags...” (A4)
- “...protesters waved the Tamil Eelam flag...” (A7)
- “...many waved the flags of the Tigers...” (A9)
- “...the number of tiny, red paper flags or the Tiger T-shirts...” (A14)

- “...Tamil Tiger flags waved by some protesters may give the impression “the terrorist organization is part of the demonstrations.” (A15)
- “...flying of the Tigers’ flag...” (A16)
- “...only after flags associated with the Tigers were removed...” (A17)
- “...the flag of the Tamil Tigers.” (A18)
- “...public displays of Tiger symbols...” (A19)
- “...number of flags bearing a tiger...” (A20)
- “...waving the Tamil Tiger flag...” (A28)

Coverage of the Tamil Protest

In analyzing the extent to which *The Globe and Mail* newspaper covered the Tamil protest in Toronto, I found that out of the twenty-nine articles three (about 10%) were front page news (A13, A15, and A19). For example:

Front Page News headlines:

- “Frantic to press their case, Tamils swarm the Gardiner” (A13)
- “Tamil protests open political minefield for Ottawa” (A15)
- “Protests aren’t the way, Tamil Tiger leader’s Canadian family says” (A19)

The least article length was 52 words (A6) and the most article length was 1865 words (A2). The average length of the coverage given to the Tamil protest was approximately 604 words. For example:

Article Length headlines:

- Least article length with 52 words: “Rush hour traffic affected by protest” (A6)
- Most article length with 1865 words: “Are the Tamil Tigers being declawed in Toronto?” (A2)

Six of the articles (about 21%) were in the ‘National News’ sections (A2, A4, A15, A25, A26, and A27). Thirteen of the articles (about 45%) were in the ‘Toronto News’ section (A1, A6, A7, A8, A10, A11, A12, A13, A16, A18, A19, A20, and A22). The rest of the articles (eleven articles or about 38%) were either in a ‘Comment’ column or in the ‘Letters to the editor’ section. Finally, the time length of the

Tamil protest was from the month of January to the month of May. During the duration of the protest, the Globe and Mail published two articles (about 7%) in January (A1, A2), one (about 3%) article in February (A3), five articles (about 17%) in April (A4, A5, A6, A7, A8), and twenty-one articles (about 73%) in May (A9 to A29).

Discussion

Social movements and the media, especially the print media, have had a long-standing historical relationship. A social movement tends to rely heavily on media as a means of communication with other actors who are directly or indirectly involved in the movement. The media are more than the medium for the messages of movements; they are major forces in constituting the broader shapes of political culture (Gamson and Wolfsfeld, 1993). Media and movements have an asymmetrical relationship because social movements need media to help them mobilize and to validate their advocacy. Media present the aspect of the social movement that is newsworthy (a story of sufficient interest or importance to the public to warrant reporting in the media), which grants advocacy groups status and legitimizes their efforts. This relationship is called 'media democratization', which is a means of getting the message out, a way of improving the media's standings while enabling the movement to have its own definition of the situation at hand (Carroll and Hackett, 2006).

Although some studies have viewed the media-movement relationship as negative because media coverage of transnational protests has stressed negative news contents, this is of course not true in all instances (Carroll and Ratner, 1999). In order to explore this question of negative media coverage, one of the major categories that I used to analyze the news articles is 'tone'. The tone can be defined as the mood or feeling of a news article. After examining the twenty-nine articles, the overall coverage of the Tamil transnational social movement can be deemed sixty-five percent (eleven out of twenty-nine articles) negative in tone. The negative words and phrases dominated even when a particular news article presented as an event in a positive and negative (see 'Findings' section p.29). Particularly, words such as

“disturbance”, “aggressive”, and “clogging”, among others were used to portray the negative tone of the articles. Although there were some articles that were written in a positive tone (fourteen percent or four out of twenty-nine articles), the negative tone words and phrases dominated the articles written on the coverage of the Tamil protest. As medium theorist have stated, every medium has its own possibilities and limitations of communication that shapes the production and consumption of texts. The tone of a particular article or an entire coverage of events is shaped and determined by the medium that is presenting the message, in this case *The Globe and Mail* newspaper. After this analysis on the ‘tone’ of the articles, it can be easily confirmed that the research on the negative news coverage of protest (McCarthy and Zald, 1977; Jenkins, 1983; Beucher, 2008) were indeed on the right track.

Interaction, as a form of communication, is an important element of most social movements because of the transnational nature in which it occurs. According to Tarrow (1994), a transnational social movement by definition must have solidarity in sustained interactions with elites, opponents and authorities. Social movement organizations have used communication technologies to their advantage by interacting with Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) and corporate institutions (Boli and Thomas, 2004). Gamson (1975) stated that the success of a social movement can be measured through the continuity of the campaign resulting from solidarity and interaction with opponents, allies and observers. In the same sense, transnational communication, interaction beyond international borders, can influence and affect the success of transnational social movements. The Tamil transnational social movement was a split between global and local—‘bifurcation of contention’ (Tilly and Tarrow, 2007). That is, the Tamil movement does not only exist at the local level within Toronto but it consists of advocacy at a different level of transnational contention through protests in Europe, Australia and India.

It is interesting that the transnational aspect of the Tamil movement was on the back burner of the issues relayed in the articles that were analyzed in this study. The fact that direct transnational communication with the international community was an important part of the Tamil protests was not given any coverage by *The Globe and Mail* newspaper. As well, the interaction of the Tamil diaspora

around the world via Tamil Internet sites and newspapers was also something that was neglected in all the articles. This neglect could have been intentional by the reporters because they might not have found the coverage of the Tamil transnational communications newsworthy enough to present it in the articles. This neglect could have been unintentional, as the relevance of interaction between the Tamil diasporas around the world to the local protest might not be acknowledged by the reporters. Although transnational social movement scholars understand that the success of a transnational social movement depends on stable transnational communication, this might not be something a newspaper reporter might place importance to and be interested in presenting as there are limitations in space and length of an article.

The news coverage on the Tamil protest did not provide any indication that the protesters were interacting directly with any of their allies, Tamil diasporas in other countries and the United Nations or their opponent, the Sri Lankan government. The news articles that were examined in this study primarily focused on the interaction that the Tamil protester had at the local level. Even the local interaction of the Tamil transnational social movement with their allies and opponents was not clearly presented in the news articles. The only interactions clearly presented in the articles were the interviews and reports relayed by the Tamil protest participants directly to *The Globe and Mail*. All of the articles used in this study made it seem like there was no solidarity among the Tamil protesters in Toronto and those in other countries around the world as the articles did not provide any indication of the direct communication between the allies of this transnational social movements.

As well, the continuity of the Tamil protest was difficult to measure after analyzing the newspaper account of the event because the news article reported the protest events as if the only direct interaction the Tamil protesters were having with their opponents was through the media; thus, implicitly indicating that there is no solidarity within the Tamil transnational social movement. For example, a quote from article A16 stated that “‘We are very much concerned’ about losing public sympathy...”. This indicates that the Tamil protesters were trying to interact solely with the observers (the public) and the only goal of this protest was to gain “public sympathy”. It can be inferred that the validity of the Tamil

protest in Toronto as a transnational social movement is also being questioned. According to Tarrow's definition of transnational social movements, the Tamil protest, as a result of the lack of sustained interaction, is not a social movement. This does not only demean the efforts of the Tamil protesters but also calls into question the legitimacy of the 'Tamil cause'. Therefore, the media, as stated in the literature review section of this paper, has the ability to give (or not) credibility to social movements by moulding the events of a protest. Thus, *The Globe and Mail* as a news medium has played a crucial role in shaping the way in which the Tamil protest was viewed by the Canadian society.

The level and scale of the Tamil protest was obviously not completely projected through *The Globe and Mail* news articles. The lack of mention of transnationalism (specifically transnational communication) and 'bifurcation of contention' were not the only indicators of inadequate coverage of the Tamil protest; the amount of reporting or articles and number of words can also be an indicator of insignificant coverage. According to my analysis, the average word length of an article was 604, which is not a lot in comparison to the scale at which each of the activities of the Tamil protest was conducted. As well, throughout the four months of protesting, 21 articles were written on the Tamil protest in the month of May alone. The coverage before the month of May can be considered insufficient because only eight articles on the protest were written for all the prior three months. This makes one question the 'newsworthiness' of the Tamil protest until May when there was a tactical shift. Until May, the Tamil movement consisted of "marching and chanting at Parliament Hill in Ottawa and Toronto" and "hunger strike". In the month of May, the shift in the tactics used took place as the Tamil protesters started to "block downtown core roads", "[close] down thoroughfares like the Gardiner Expressway and University Avenue", and use "megaphones and marches with drums" (A9 to A29). This change seemed to have made the Tamil protest valuable enough to grab coverage from *The Globe and Mail* and become newsworthy enough to be reported. The message that is being reflected through this kind of selective coverage is that in order to get media attention, protesters must use movement tactics that causes public disturbances. The tactical shift protesters use in order to get some publicity through the media (Tilly and

Tarrow, 2007) was clearly discussed in the literature review, which seems to be something that the Tamil protesters used to attract the media. As per the literature, it is reasonable to assume here that the Tamil protesters might have reacted to the lack of coverage by stepping up their tactics to a new level where they “swarmed” (A13) the Gardiner Expressway, causing a major crisis for many hours. This implies, as mentioned in the literature review, that social movement have evolved in their technique of protesting and aim predominantly to attract media attention (Tilly and Tarrow, 2007). The coverage of media seems to be, as implied in these articles, the new channel through which social movements are interacting with allies, opponents and observers in order to bring forth awareness to the issue for which they are advocating.

According to the New Social Movement Theory (Melucci, 1980), an aspect of the Tamil protest that contributes to making it a New Social Movement is the non-economic element of contention and the tactical nuances that were used. These tactical nuances included the “swarming” (A13) of the protestors on the major highway in Toronto, the consistency and continuity of participation in the protest, and the targets of governments across borders (such as the U.S. and Sri Lanka). These tactics can be considered as an unprecedented and unforgettable account of events that grabbed a lot of public attention. It even opened a “political minefield in Ottawa” (A15), which resulted in debates between Liberal politicians and the Conservative government about the silence of Canada (particularly Prime Minister Steven Harper) on the conflict in Sri Lanka.

The nuance of the tactics leads to the question of the leniency of the state authorities, which was frequently asked by the reporters of the news articles. For example, “ability to freely express frustrations in front of Parliament Hill” (A4) and “authorities in Toronto have been too forgiving” (A9) were some of the many phrases applied by the articles to articulate the ‘patience’ and ‘tolerance’ of the state authorities. The tactics used by the Tamil protesters were not only controversial in the sense of creating a ripple through the political parties and politicians; it also set precedence for other NSMs to use similar nuance tactics as the Tamil transnational social movement. As stated by Tilly and Tarrow (2007), the repertoires

of protest, discussed in the literature review, of one movement become a guideline for upcoming movements to use or renew to make it even better than the last movement.

The political opportunity structures, such as civil liberties and the political system that allows for individual right to protest (Tarrow, 1998), play a major role in the Tamil protest. All twenty-nine articles, in one way or another, emphasize and question the Canadian state in making allowance for some of the protest tactics that were used by the protesters. In order to have sustained a transnational protest, political opportunity structure called “a privilege conferred by Canadian citizenship” (A14) was definitely present. Tamil transnational social movement, its allies and supporters were able to make their contentious claims without the intervention of the state or any higher authorities (Tilly and Tarrow, 2007). In the articles, for example, there was a lot of mention of ‘police tolerance’ and ‘lenient political system’. This type of text references instils the question of why it is even important to question the political opportunity structure that was made available for the Tamil protesters. One reason could be that the reporters are trying to give credibility to the Toronto Police Force and to advertise the ability of the city’s police officers to handle any crisis that may arise. Another reason could be that as a national newspaper, *The Globe and Mail* is promoting Canada as a country that provides equal opportunity and ‘privilege’ of political opportunity to all its citizens regardless of their ethnic or racial characteristics. It is easy to make many inferences to the question of why there was almost an overemphasis placed on the political opportunity structure in Canada. However, the main point here is that the Tamil protesters made use of the opportunity they had to its full capacity and created awareness to their advocacy.

The New Social Movements (NSM) Theory seeks to identify these political and social conditions that facilitate social movements in the new era. Using the NSM theory, we can understand that social and economic marginalization in Sri Lanka has been one of the causes of the Tamil protest. However, the emergence of a protest that seeks awareness in Canada for a situation in Sri Lanka simply is not parallel to what NSM theorist would have considered as part of a social movement’s nuance practices or organizational form. This is because New Social Movements are identified by the criteria that they

advocate for non-material and non-economic issues that are important to everyday living. However, the criteria for a NSM doesn't include the localized protest, like the Tamil movement, that advocate for a transnational issue. The Tamil protests are definitely a new phenomenon of NSM that needs to be of focus in future research on NSM Theory. The news articles pointed out that 'tolerance' and 'patience' of the state authorities have made it possible to sustain the Tamil protest. Hence, the articles were making it clear to the audience that as long as the political opportunity exists for social movements, their protest efforts will be, to some extent, successful. According to the public (non-protester) interviews that were discussed in nearly all the articles, many people did not understand and were angered by the fact that the political opportunity in Canada allows for such disturbances and public chaos. It is important to note that these selective interviews presented in the articles cannot be assumed to be the overall public opinion.

In taking advantage of the political opportunity structure, the Tamil transnational social movement made sure to target for protest all the countries that would play a vital role in helping the Tamil civilians who were caught in the middle of the conflict in Sri Lanka. The targets for protest by the Tamil community were the United States, Canada and the United Nations. The U.S. and Canada, maybe because of their proximity to each other or their ability to easily intervene with humanitarian aid, were the main two targets. The protesters' interest in the participation within the Tamil movement was clearly explicated in all the articles through interviews with protest leaders and participants. As stated by Cohen (1992) social movements have been interpreted to be part of the civil society and the political affairs of the state have been thought to be a separate entity. This is exactly how the news articles reported on the relationship between the Tamil transnational social movement and the Canadian state. That is, the Tamil protesters' efforts were portrayed in the articles as a claims-making entity whose object of claims is the political institution of the state (McAdam et al., 2001). An interesting element of the reporting is the fact the Liberal Party and the New Democratic Party presented themselves and interacted with the Tamil protesters but the ruling Conservative party did not. The federal government stayed silent, kept their distance and did not address the crowd of Tamil protesters. It can be inferred that the reason behind this

interaction, though indirectly, between the Tamil movement and all the political parties who were not in power is because they want the votes of all the Tamil community in the next federal election. One of the article stated that “there’s some political jockeying going on to win the political favour of Canada’s growing community of ethnic Tamils” (A15). However, the same article stated that “many politicians continue to keep their distance from any protest involving suggestions of support for the Tigers” (A15), signifying unease over the increasing public unpopularity of the protests.

The politics of the federal government provide an interesting terrain for analysis. According to the articles, there was no apparent attempt by the Conservative government to communicate to the protesters at any point in the campaign. Since the Conservative government was responsible for the banning and listing of the LTTE as a terrorist group in 2006, it would seem contrary to their mandate to address a crowd that is explicitly supporting the LTTE by bearing flags and other insignias representing the Tamil Tigers. Hence, the flag bearing act of the Tamil protesters can be inferred as a major reason why politicians, especially those who are affiliated with the Conservative government, did not make any attempts to be publicly seen as interacting with the participants and the leaders of the Tamil transnational social movement. Out of the twenty-nine articles used in this study, eleven (38%) explicitly discussed the negative aspect of the LTTE insignias. These articles discuss the fact that “the open display of Tiger symbols threatens to divert sympathy from the plight of civilians trapped in the war zone” (A19). All of these eleven articles made an attempt (explicitly or implicitly) to send the message to its audience that the Tamil protesters were using symbols that were disrespectful of the Canadian parliament and the Canadian legal system.

Interestingly, the state-movement relationship in the Tamil protest was mainly between the state authorities (police) rather than the federal, provincial and municipal governments. Contrary to some of the scholars who have stated that states and social movement are in most cases opponents (Slater, 1998; Hann, 1996; Cohen, 1992), the articles indicate that the police and the protesters had a relatively positive relationship. It is important to note that the research on state-movement relationship only focuses on the

government-movement relationship rather than the other aspect of the 'state', which includes the police. The definition of a 'state' was discussed in detail in the literature review under the state-movement relationship section, which indicates that a state includes the governments, military, police force, a bureaucracy, courts and other institutions (Bose, 1994). It is apparent through my analysis of the news articles that the Tamil transnational social movement and the police had a non-opposing relationship that evidently provided an advantage to Tamil protesters to proceed with their tactics with little intervention from the authorities. The mere police presence, however, signals a problem. In the case of the Tamils, the police rather than the Tamil protesters come out looking like the good guys. This is a notable point where although the Tamil protesters were given so much latitude, they were still condemned and negatively viewed by the general public. This goes back to the point that was mentioned earlier on the benevolent state structure that provides the leeway to organize and advocate with broad boundaries, which seem to be almost invisible in the case of the Tamil protest. However, the police officers were congratulated by many for their patience and their ability to control the situation. It is interesting that the contents of the news articles portrayed the police officers as heroes and the Tamil protesters as the violators of peace.

An additional aspect that requires attention but is generally beyond the scope of this study is the issue of racism and racialization. However, after analyzing all of the above discussed categories through *The Globe and Mail* news articles, it can be suggested that there is an unpronounced and distinctly racist connotation exhibited through the coverage of the Tamil protest. It is important to understand that 'race' is not something that is, but rather is something that is socially created, negotiated, and reproduced (Das Gupta et al., 2007). Thus, the conceptual focus of this approach is best represented by the concept of racialization, which refers to processes by which "meanings and social significance are attributed to particular biological features of human beings, as a result of which individuals may be assigned to a general category of persons which reproduces itself biologically" (Miles, 1989, 79).

One of the articles portrays the very notion of racism through its headline, which is “Whose rights are really being trampled?” (A14). The real answer to this question, according to the article, is that in protesting the Tamils are violating and ‘trampling’ on the rights of the group of “many Torontonians” (A14) for whom the author of the article is rightfully speaking. The fact that the Tamil protesters feel that they have the right to protest on Canadian soil was something that seemed to received a lot of attention in the articles. The article states:

“Many Torontonians have long been puzzled by how without any public discussion they remember, let alone any consensus, their city has become home to so many folks from around the world who periodically hold the rest of the place hostage while they make their voices heard about the very issues or crises that drove them here in the first place” (A14).

This quote indicates that the provision of rights and freedoms to ethnic groups like the Tamils is a threat to the rights and freedoms of “ordinary Torontonians” (A20). In another article it states that “the police do have a duty to protect people: law-abiding people” (9). This implies that the Tamil-Canadians are not law-abiding people and the police should be more concerned with protecting those ‘Canadians’ who are not ‘criminals’. It is an obvious fact that under the liberal citizenship and democracy, one cannot choose to whom to grant political voice and freedom to protest. The freedom to protest and conduct a peaceful assembly is a right and privilege that is accompanied with having a Canadian citizenship. This element of my study requires more research with a focus on the issue of race and racialization.

The Tamil-Canadians’ concentration within the Greater Toronto Area was something that was repeatedly mentioned in six of the articles used in this study. It seemed irrelevant as to why such importance was given to the population size of the Tamil diaspora in Toronto. It seems that the articles were implicitly questioning the “legitimacy of the Tamil movement as a whole” (A3) by indicating that the concentration of the Tamil diaspora has made the protest seem intimidating in size. That is, the reporters of the articles are trying to imply that if the Tamil diaspora was more dispersed in Canada, the protest would not have sustained as long as it did. One of the reporters from *The Globe and Mail* explicitly questioned the “legitimacy of the Tamils” by stating,

“When, earlier this month, organizers were asking 100, 000 Tamils to gather on Toronto streets to protest, I remember a friend asking with mild bewilderment, ‘Since when did we have 100, 000 Tamils?’ The truth is, no one really knows how many Tamil are in Toronto, or Canada” (A14).

Through this it can be concluded that the reporter is implying the Tamils must not all be with legal status because their population in Canada is difficult to count; hence questioning their entitlement to protest in Canada. These kinds of messages, according to Medium Theorists, make an impact on the social life and continuity of the social movement and its participants. The likely meaning and impression that these articles from *The Globe and Mail* might have on its audience is clear, that is, the articles portray the message that all the Tamils in Canada are dangerous and illegitimate. This brings us to question whose rights are really being trampled (A14)? Are the Tamils being declawed (A2) in the reporting of their transnational social movement efforts?

The findings in this study reflect the existing research that was examined in the literature review. That is, the state government and social movement relationship was undermined in the articles. The efforts of the Tamil protest was portrayed in a negative tone where only the extreme and dangerous tactics received a lot of coverage in comparison to unobtrusive repertoires. Interestingly, the opportunity structure in Canada, the symbolism of banned LTTE groups and the concentration of the Tamil diaspora in Toronto were the major themes that seemed to be of most concern to the reporters of *The Globe and Mail*. The overemphasis and reiteration of the above themes can be inferred to be a way in which the media sells itself but, at the same time, unconsciously (or consciously) giving the opportunity for the Tamil protesters to make their claims known via national news articles. This signals the importance of the few (four articles or 14%) of the positive articles. That means that the significance of the ongoing asymmetrical alliances between social movements and media is an important part of social movement research. As mentioned in the beginning of this section, media portrays the aspects of a protest that is newsworthy, providing social movements a little opportunity to present themselves through the media.

Conclusions and Future Research

In this paper, I have attempted to analyze the contents of the news articles from *The Globe and Mail* that reported on the 2009 Tamil protest in Toronto. This study found that overall there was a negative coverage of the Tamil transnational social movement, manifested in the tone of the articles, in the neglect of the interactions within the movement and in the overemphasis that was placed on the Tamil transnational social movement's alleged affiliation and support for LTTE, as a banned terrorist group. Rather than impartial and straight reporting of the events of the Tamil protest, the articles were mostly opinionated with interviews and event coverage that portrayed opposing views and negative images of the protest and the protesters. A key finding in this study is that the negative reporting has implicated the Tamil transnational social movement as illegitimate. The articles present the Tamils as divided on the conflict in Sri Lanka even within their own ethnic community.

Unfortunately for the Tamil community, the nation-wide audience of *The Globe and Mail* newspaper received the message loud and clear that the Tamil protest lacked solidarity. The integrity of the movement's initiatives to bring awareness to the brutal deaths of civilians was also undermined as a result of this kind of negative coverage. Hence, through analyzing the text in all of the twenty-nine articles used in this study, I can infer that *The Globe and Mail* news article reporting of the Tamil transnational social movement was overall negative in its presentation. As well, the articles presented little of the process through which the actual protests occurred. Thus, making the message in the articles slanted to attract readership rather than inform the audience, in a neutral method, about the protest events that were occurring at that time.

The limitations for this study were lack of resources and the inflexibility of the research methods. The scope of this paper did not allow for me to explore, at a full-scale, the research question as to how *The Globe and Mail* news articles reported the Tamil protest. With more resources and a flexible methodology, future research could incorporate both a quantitative and qualitative research methods that might explore the differences/similarities in the reporting of the Tamil transnational social movement

before and after the worldwide terrorist ban of the LTTE. A comparison of news reporting from other newspapers across Canada and around the world would increase the generalizability of this study as well as make the study more reliable and conclusive.

New research on the Tamil protest should concentrate more on exploring the full relationship and communication that might have occurred between the Tamil protesters and all three levels of government. Further research should provide an empirical micro-level study on the Tamil protest. This means that there needs to be a critical examination of the participants' and non-participants' perspective of the Tamil protest by using interviews. As well, there needs to be a detailed examination of the transnationalism of social movements and how this aspect affects the repertoires and frame construction of transnational social movements. New research could also explore the race and racialization of news reporting in all Canadian newspapers using both qualitative and quantitative content analysis.

Policy Recommendations

In terms of policy recommendations, it is important to recognize that creating a neutral policy that accommodates the needs of both the media and social movements is very difficult. As a policy recommendation I think that journalists and editors of any news medium should learn about embracing diversity throughout their school years. The journalists and editors should seek to frame news stories within the configuration of a diverse society, depicting minority communities and individuals in ways that reflect their perspectives. All media should encourage more ethnic minority journalists participate in the mainstream mass media, giving them the opportunity to become writers and commentators expressing their views publicly. This would help to eliminate excuses for xenophobic and racist language and portrayals in the press and on television. Finally, the ruling Conservative party (or whichever political party is in power) should appoint a communications official who represents the federal government and sustains communication with social movements.

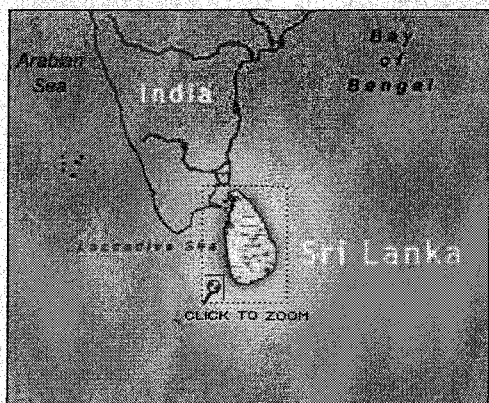
Appendix 1

Figure 1: Map of Sri Lanka



Source: Government of Sri Lanka. Facts and Figures (2001). Retrieved on May 29, 2009 from, <http://www.peaceinsrilanka.org/peace2005/Insidepage/FactsandFigures/FactsandFigures.asp>

Figure 2: Map of India and Sri Lanka



Source: Government of Sri Lanka. Facts and Figures (2001). Retrieved on May 29, 2009 from, <http://www.peaceinsrilanka.org/peace2005/Insidepage/FactsandFigures/FactsandFigures.asp>

Appendix 1 (Cont'd)

Table 1: Ethnicity in Sri Lanka

Ethnic groups	Percentage %
Sinhalese	81.89%
Sri Lankan Moors	8%
Indian Tamil	5.08%
Sri Lankan Tamil	4.37%
Other	0.66%

(2001 census provisional data)

Source: Government of Sri Lanka. Facts and Figures (2001). Retrieved on May 29, 2009 from, <http://www.peaceinsrilanka.org/peace2005/Insidepage/FactsandFigures/FactsandFigures.asp>

Table 2: Religions in Sri Lanka

Religions	Percentage %
Buddhist	76.71%
Muslim	8.49%
Hindu	7.88%
Christian	6.06%
Other	0.86%

(2001 census provisional data)

Source: Government of Sri Lanka. Facts and Figures (2001). Retrieved on May 29, 2009 from, <http://www.peaceinsrilanka.org/peace2005/Insidepage/FactsandFigures/FactsandFigures.asp>

Appendix 2: Article References

Article 1 (A1):

Reinhart, A. (2009, January 22). Tamils fast in support of relatives. *The Globe and Mail*, pg. A12.

Article 2 (A2):

Reinhart, A. (2009, January 29). Are the Tamil Tigers being declawed in Toronto? *The Globe and Mail*, pg. A13.

Article 3 (A3):

Magesan, A. (2009, February 02). Tamils need Canada. *The Globe and Mail*, pg. A12.

Article 4 (A4):

Curry, B. (2009, April 11). Lift Tamil Tiger ban, protesters in Ottawa urge. *The Globe and Mail*, pg. A6.

Article 5 (A5):

Wente, M. (2009, April 23). Can you belong to more than one nation? *The Globe and Mail*, pg. A17.

Article 6 (A6):

Rush hour traffic affected by protest. (2009, April 28). *The Globe and Mail*, pg. A10.

Article 7 (A7):

Reinhart, A. (2009, April 29). Tamil protesters close University Avenue for a second day. *The Globe and Mail*, pg. A9.

Article 8 (A8):

Wingrove, J. And Appleby, T. (2009, April 30). Police arrest 15 at Tamil protest. *The Globe and Mail*, pg. A9.

Article 9 (A9):

Over-tolerant police. (2009, May 01). *The Globe and Mail*, pg. A16.

Article 10 (A10):

Thomas, N. (2009, May 01). Cars moving, but Tamil protest questioned. *The Globe and Mail*, pg. A11.

Article 11 (A11):

Hammer, K. And Gray, J. (2009, May 02). Police balance conflicting interests in ending Tamil protest. *The Globe and Mail*, pg. A16.

Article 12 (A12):

Hammer, K., Clark, C., and Wingrove, J. (2009, May 05). Tamil protest postponed as Oda visits Sri Lanka. *The Globe and Mail*, pg. A10.

Article 13 (A13):

Lewington, J. And Makin, K. (2009, May 11). Frantic to press their case, Tamils swarm Gardiner. *The Globe and Mail*, pg. A1.

Article 14 (A14):

Blatchford, C. (2009, May 12). Whose rights are really being trampled? *The Globe and Mail*, pg. A13.

Article 15 (A15):

Wingrove, J., Bonoguore, T., and Curry, B. (2009, May 12). Tamil protests open political minefield for Ottawa. *The Globe and Mail*, pg. A1.

Article 16 (A16):

Reinhart, A. (2009, May 12). Canadian diaspora divided on protests against war in homeland. *The Globe and Mail*, pg. A12.

Article 17 (A17):

Liberal ambiguities. (2009, May 12). *The Globe and Mail*, pg. A16.

Article 18 (A18):

Bonoguore, T. (2009, May 13). Tamils plan human chain at Queen's Park today. *The Globe and Mail*, pg. A10.

Article 19 (A19):

Reinhart, A. (2009, May 13). Protests aren't the way, Tamil Tiger leader's Canadian family says. *The Globe and Mail*, pg. A1.

Article 20 (A20):

Bonoguore, T. (2009, May 14). Tamils earn goodwill – then lose it. *The Globe and Mail*, pg. A13.

Article 21 (A21):

Wente, M. (2009, May 14). Tamils deserve straight talk. *The Globe and Mail*, pg. A19.

Article 22 (A22):

Tamil trouble. (2009, May 16). *The Globe and Mail*, pg. A13.

Article 23 (A23):

Barber, J. (2009, May 16). Hail to the chief for his deft handling of the Tamil protests. *The Globe and Mail*, pg. M3.

Article 24 (A24):

Reinhart, A. (2009, May 16). Beyond the bullhorn. *The Globe and Mail*, pg. M4.

Article 25 (A25):

Wingrove, J. (2009, May 19). Toronto Protest. *The Globe and Mail*, pg. A13.

Article 26 (A26):

Clark, C. And Wingrove, J. (2009, May 19). Bring Sri Lankan refugees to Canada, Ottawa urged. *The Globe and Mail*, pg. A13.

Article 27 (A27):

Reinhart, A. (2009, May 21). Toronto Tamils urged to 'Build Bridges, Not Destroy Them'. *The Globe and Mail*, pg. A13.

Article 28 (A28):

Jimenez, M. (2009, May 25). Canada's ethnic mix a 'success'. *The Globe and Mail*, pg. L1.

Article 29 (A29):

Canada's perceived Tamil support draws protest. (2009, May 28). *The Globe and Mail*, pg. A17.

Table 1: Tone of the Articles

Article	TONE			
	Positive	Negative	Neutral	Positive and Negative
A1			X	
A2		X		
A3	X			
A4			X	
A5				X
A6		X		
A7			X	
A8		X		
A9		X		
A10				X
A11			X	
A12	X			
A13		X		
A14		X		
A15				X
A16		X		
A17				X
A18		X		
A19		X		
A20				X
A21				X
A22			X	
A23		X		
A24	X			
A25				X
A26	X			
A27		X		
A28				X
A29			X	

Note: X = in which category each article belongs.

Appendix 3 (Cont'd): Findings Tables

Table 2: Recurring Themes from Articles

THEMES			
Article	Banned/Terrorist Group	Largest Diaspora	Symbolism of LTTE Insignias
A1	X	X	
A2	X	X	
A3	X		
A4	X		X
A5	X	X	
A6			
A7	X		X
A8			
A9	X		X
A10			
A11			
A12			
A13			
A14	X	X	X
A15	X		X
A16	X	X	X
A17	X		X
A18	X		X
A19	X		X
A20			X
A21		X	
A22			
A23			
A24	X		
A25			
A26	X		
A27			
A28	X		X
A29			

Note: X = the articles in which the themes were explicitly mentioned.

Appendix 3 (Cont'd): Findings Tables

Table 3: Tone

Category	Number (Total Number=29)	Percentage (Approximate)
Positive	4	14%
Negative	11	38%
Neutral	6	21%
Positive and Negative	8	27%
		100%

Table 4: Theme in Article – State-Movement Relationship (Overall 20 articles or 69%)

Category	Number (Total Number=29)	Percentage (Approximate)
Federal	16	55%
Provincial/Municipal	3	10%
General State Authorities (Police)	4	14%

Please Note: Due to the overlap in articles within each of these categories, the total percentage does not add to 100%.

Appendix 3 (Cont'd): Findings Tables

Table 5: Recurring Themes in the Articles

Category	Number (Total Number=29)	Percentage (Approximate)
Banned/Terrorist Group	16	55%
Large Diaspora	6	21%
Symbolism of LTTE Insignias	11	40%

Please Note: Due to the overlap in articles within each of these categories, the total percentage does not add to 100%.

Table 6: Coverage of the Tamil Protest

Category	Number (Total Number=29)	Percentage (Approximate)
Month of January	2	7%
Month of February	1	3%
Month of March	0	0%
Month of April	5	17%
Month of May	21	73%
		100%

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