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Exploring Media Constructions of the Toronto G20 Protests: Images, the Protest Paradigm, and the Impact of Citizen Journalism

Stephanie Keyes

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Exploring Media Constructions of the Toronto G20 Protests:
Images, the Protest Paradigm, and the Impact of Citizen Journalism
By

Stephanie Keyes

A Thesis
Submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies
through the Department of Sociology, Anthropology and Criminology
in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for
the Degree of Master of Arts
at the University of Windsor

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by

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DECLARATION OF ORIGINALITY

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ABSTRACT

This thesis contributes to cultural criminology and media studies literature by examining how the mainstream media textually and visually constructed the Toronto G20 protests, protesters and police leading up to, during and after the summit. In analyzing 300 news articles, this thesis explores the media's use of the protest paradigm, and theorizes the potential impact of citizen journalism on the mainstream media's constructions. This thesis also explores how media constructions used both text *and* images. The results of this study indicate that media constructions of protests change overtime and are occasionally receptive to new evidence; the media does not always entirely adhere to the protest paradigm. Additionally, citizen journalism can influence media constructions, however, the existence of this material alone does not guarantee that it will be incorporated into media reports—the hierarchy of credibility and the media's role as a gatekeeper seems to partially remain.

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DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to my parents, Carl and Rhonda Keyes. Without your love, support and patience, this would not have been possible. Words cannot express how much this has meant to me. Thank you for always being there and never giving up on me.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CCLA:	Canadian Civil Liberties Association
SIU:	Special Investigations Unit
The Post:	The National Post
The Star:	The Toronto Star
The Sun:	The Toronto Sun

1. INTRODUCTION

From June 25-27, 2010, the G20 Summit was held in Toronto, Ontario, Canada. Summits such as the G20 are designed to facilitate discussions among heads of state about the global financial system and world economy. However, despite the objective of the Toronto G20 summit, much press coverage and the public's attention leading up to, during, and after the meetings focused upon interactions between the police and the protestors. Although many peaceful protests and marches occurred throughout the weekend, like many G20 summits before, riots broke out and violent clashes between police and protestors transpired (Weinstein 2011). For instance, on Saturday, June 26, 2010, vandalism and violence ensued in downtown Toronto when the police prevented protestors from penetrating the G20 security perimeter (Weinstein 2011). The protestors then turned their attention to smashing storefront windows and vandalising empty police cruisers. By the end of the weekend, more than 1,100 people had been arrested—the largest mass arrest in Canadian history (Weinstein 2011). These events were reported upon by the police, media and citizen journalists and were captured from many angles by a wide variety of technologies ranging from police surveillance devices to news cameras and citizens' cellphones.

Protests such as those which occurred during the Toronto G20 are highly complex affairs that have the potential to produce dramatic images of violent acts committed by both protestors and police (Doyle 2003; Juris 2008: 62). However, while some protests may result in violent riots and be marked by para-militarized police action, other protests may remain peaceful and cooperative (della Porta et al 2006; Greer and McLaughlin 2010). Nevertheless, despite these variances and nuanced differences, several decades of

research on media coverage of protests, protestors and police have produced results indicating that these events are rarely accurately portrayed by the mainstream media; instead, media reports frequently reflect a bias of selection and description as certain events are omitted or presented in a particular way (Brownstein 1995: 46; Sanders and Lyon 1995: 33). Traditional or mainstream media include the corporate media (i.e. *The Globe and Mail*, *CTV*, *The Toronto Star*, etc.), whereas, alternative media include blogs, tweets, and websites created by individuals, social movement groups and smaller institutions¹.

With regard to protests, regardless of whether or not police brutality occurred, police are rarely portrayed as perpetrators of violence by media reports (Greer and McLaughlin 2011: 26; Greer and McLaughlin 2010: 1048; Juris 2008: 62; Mawby 2002: 305). In contrast, the mainstream media regularly fails to provide positive coverage of protestors, as stereotypes and folk devils are frequently invoked and protestors are framed in ways that serve to criminalize, delegitimize, and marginalize them *en mass* (Greer and McLaughlin 2010; Juris 2005; Rosie and Gorringer 2009). Scholars have attributed this phenomenon to the general practices of the mainstream media and their use of the protest paradigm (see Chan and Lee 1984; Harlow and Johnson 2011; McLeod and Detenber 1999; McLeod and Hertog 1999).

The protest paradigm is a specific pattern of reporting that is commonly deployed by the traditional media in their coverage of protests (Chan and Lee 1984; McLeod and Detenber 1999). The protest paradigm is comprised of four elements: 1) story framing; 2) reliance on official sources and official definitions; 3) innovation of public opinion; and 4) other techniques of delegitimization, marginalization and demonization (McFarlane

and Hay 2003:217; McLeod and Detenber 1999; McLeod and Hertog 1999). This paradigm produces negative distortions regarding protests and protestors as it tends to emphasize protestor violence and deviant behaviours (McFarlane and Hay 2003:217).

Although media constructions of protests have received much scholarly attention, gaps within this body of research remain or have developed due to the changing nature of society. Specifically, although protests tend to be highly visible events, this area of study has primarily relied upon the content analysis of textual material (Valverde 2006: 12). Consequently, the importance of the image has largely been neglected or has been considered secondary in analysis.

Furthermore, very few studies have analyzed the impact of the mediascape and ‘citizen journalism’ on the traditional media’s portrayal of protests, protestors and police (see Greer and McLaughlin 2010; Hayward 2010; Ferrell, Hayward and Young 2008:124). The mediascape is “that bundle of media that manufactures information and disseminates images via an expanding array of digital technologies” (Ferrell, Hayward and Young 2008: 123). Within this mediascape, meanings of crime and crime control are constantly under negotiation and construction (Hayward 2010:2; Ferrell, Hayward and Young 2008:124). Such an analysis is important because the widespread availability of portable digital camera devices may create a ‘new visibility’ of the police by allowing ordinary citizens and even protesters to act in journalistic fashion (see Goldsmith 2010). As a result, citizens and protesters may capture and disseminate visual ‘evidence’ depicting previously unseen aspects of protests and policing (see Doyle 2003; Goldsmith 2010). In turn, this technology may enable ordinary individuals to produce alternative accounts of events—accounts which serve to challenge and change the traditional news-

making process as well as subsequently change the way in which the mainstream media reports on protests (see Goldsmith 2010; Greer and McLaughlin 2010; and Greer and McLaughlin 2011).

Citizen journalism on the other hand is difficult to define as there has not yet been a consensus among scholars about what exactly it entails (Bachmann and Summer 2012:218; Goode 2009:1288; Lewis et al. 2010:166). There are those scholars who prefer a narrow definition which limits citizen journalism to only the activities of individuals who comprise the 'alternative' media and actively and consistently seek to produce material (i.e. bloggers/vloggers)². However, there are also scholars who prefer a definition which is broad and encompasses the activities of not only the alternative media, but ordinary citizens as well. For this thesis, a broader definition of citizen journalism will be used. Specifically, for the purposes of this study, a citizen journalist is any individual who is not a regular mainstream media employee, and who uses social media platforms³ to broadcast material to other users, or submits their material to the mainstream media. Thus, for this study, citizen journalism is used to refer to the activities and media contributions of active citizen bloggers, ordinary citizen bystanders, and protesters⁴.

Using a cultural criminology approach, this thesis addresses the aforementioned research gaps by analyzing the Toronto G20 to explore how protests, protestors and police were textually and visually constructed by mainstream online news sites leading up to, during, and after the Toronto G20. The results were compared and contrasted with the traditional protest paradigm to

see whether or not the online mainstream media adhered to these practices. In addition, the potential impact of the mediascape and citizen journalism on protests, protestors, policing, and the use of the protest paradigm is theorized. This thesis seeks to answer the following questions:

- Q 1: How were protests, protestors and police constructed by the media through the juxtaposition of text and visuals?
- Q 2: What frames were used in the media's coverage of the Toronto G20?
- Q 3: A) To what extent were official/non-citizen sources and non-official/citizen sources used?
B) To what degree of credibility did media reports give these sources?
- Q 4: A) Did media constructions change over time? How?
B) Did citizen journalism impact media constructions? How?

2. THEORETICAL AND LITERATURE REVIEW

Cultural Criminology

Cultural criminology is an elaboration and blending of traditional theories of crime such as labelling theory, interactionism, constructionism, critical perspectives, postmodernism, feminism and news-making, with perspectives from other fields such as media studies, urban studies and social movements theory (Ferrell, Hayward and Young 2008: 3; Ferrell and Sanders 1995b:301). It is an expansive, eclectic, and ever-evolving field that is driven by the desire to find non-traditional and new ways of seeing criminality and social responses to crime (Ferrell, Hayward and Young 2008:5; see also Ferrell and Sanders 1995b:301). Cultural criminology places crime and crime control in the framework of culture (Hayward and Young 2004:259). Culture in this case refers to collective behaviour arranged around imagery, style, symbolism and the production and exchange of meanings within society or within groups (Ferrell, Hayward and Young 2008: 2; Ferrell and Sanders 1995b:310; Rose 2007:2). These cultural constructions are

affected by power imbalances in society, and collectively they serve to generate definitions of crime, criminals, authorities, and responses to crime and deviance (Ferrell, Hayward and Young 2008:81; Ferrell and Sanders 1995a:16; Presdee 2004:279). More specifically, many ‘crimes’ can be seen as being committed by those who are socially ‘excluded’ or ‘marginalized,’ as such groups do not possess the power to define the laws that govern crime; criminality is instead defined by those with power such as authorities, politicians, and the media (Ferrell, Hayward and Young 2008:3; Ferrell and Sanders 1995a:3; Presdee 2004:281). Ultimately, these power imbalances lead to the criminalization of some groups and activities, while other groups and activities remain relatively unscathed.

In order to explore this meaning-making process, cultural criminologists analyze the ‘stuff’ culture is made up of (Ferrell, Hayward, and Young 2008: 2). This includes examining a wide variety of material such as: graffiti and comic books; tattoos, art and clothing; and media coverage, websites, films and images. Essentially cultural criminology engages with any material that promotes “the social story of crime and crime control” (Ferrell, Hayward and Young 2008: 81; see also Ferrell and Sanders 1995a: 6; Hayward and Young 2004:259; Kane 2004:303). Crucial to this study is the analysis of the news-making process, images, and the impact of citizen journalism on the media’s practices and constructions. The following will further outline these areas of research as well as the specific theories that will guide this study.

Media Constructions and the Protest Paradigm

Cultural criminologists are interested in analyzing the news media’s production and presentation of crime because it is believed that media practices actively produce

skewed constructions of crime, criminals and law enforcement (Brownstein 1995: 46; Gitlin 2003: 6-12; Sanders and Lyon 1995: 33). Scholars have found that news stories can distort the picture of crime by providing an oversimplified version of reality (Barak 1995:150). This reality focuses disproportionately on certain types of crimes, promotes stereotypes, adheres to the dominant ideology or status quo, and over-emphasises certain discourses while negating others (Barak 1995:150; Brownstein 1995:46; Ferrell and Sanders 1995b; Gitlin 2003: 6-7; Nakhaie and Pike 1995). However, the media and reporters do not necessarily deliberately distort reality; instead, these distortions are typically produced by the news-making process and the assumptions upon which it relies (Brownstein 1995: 46; Gitlin 2003: 11-12; Nakhaie and Pike 1995; Sanders and Lyon 1995: 33). As McLeod and Detenber (1999) report, distortions in crime news occur because of the “biases of journalists, professional conventions, practices and ideologies; organizational imperatives; economic ties; sociocultural worldviews; and underlying hegemonic ideologies” (p.4). In the case of protests, the traditional media have been found to frequently follow a particular routine that produces distortions. Scholars have labelled this pattern of reporting as the “protest paradigm” (Chan and Lee 1984; McLeod and Detenber 1999; McLeod and Hertog 1999).

The protest paradigm is comprised of four elements: 1) story framing; 2) reliance on official sources and official definitions; 3) innovation of public opinion; and 4) other techniques of delegitimization, marginalization and demonization” (McFarlane and Hay 2003:217; see also McLeod and Detenber 1999; McLeod and Hertog 1999). This paradigm tends to emphasize protestor violence and/or deviant behaviours and may

consequently lead to adverse consequences for protestors as the public may become less supportive of protestors and their causes (McFarlane and Hay 2003:217).

The first element of the protest paradigm is the story or media frame. The frame was developed from Goffman's (1974) concept of 'schemas.' A schema is a heuristic shortcut of stereotypes and worldviews that individuals use to process and interpret the world around them. In accordance with this theory, the news 'frame' is the most important part of journalistic stories. A news frame is a thematic package that is used by media to help explain and outline issues in an efficient and seemingly objective manner. This package helps guide journalists on a number of decisions, including what stories to cover, what aspects of the story to focus upon, what kinds of information, such as sources and quotations to use, and ultimately how to present this information to the public (Giltin 2003:7; McFarlane and Hay 2003: 217; Rosie and Gorringer 2009). In essence, frames allow the media to quickly and efficiently figure out what to cover, how to cover it, and consequently some discourses are rendered particularly salient while others are rendered completely invisible. This in turn may influence the audience's perception and opinion of the issue (McFarlane and Hay 2003: 217).

According to McLeod and Hertog (1999: 212-213) news coverage of protests may use any the following four frames:

- 1) **Balanced Frames**, defined as frames that present all sides of the story and issue in an equal and fair manner;
- 2) **Sympathetic Frames**, defined as frames that emphasise protestor concerns and issues in a positive manner. These frames often highlight the artistic and expressive aspects of a protest group; emphasizes protestor viewpoints in their own words; and bring attention to police violence and unjust persecutions of protestors;
- 3) **Mixed Frames**, defined as frames that provide less negative or more neutral portrayals of protestors. These frames include 'showdown', 'protest reaction', 'dissection', 'psychoanalysis', 'association',

‘comparison’, and ‘trial stories’. For instance, these frames may highlight confrontations between two or more groups without distinguishing a ‘bad guy’, examine the psychological and social roots of protest groups, and outline connections that may confer legitimacy or deviance between protest groups and other groups; and

- 4) **Marginalizing Frames**, defined as frames that the portray protestors in a negative manner. More specifically, marginalizing frames trivialize, demonize and criminalize protestors. There are eight possible narratives that may be included in marginalizing frames. These narratives emphasize violent crime; property crime; riots; carnivalesque and freakish aspects of protests; childish antics; and moral and social decay. Police violence is often not discussed or seriously considered in this frame.

Studies in this area have produced results suggesting that the media often use marginalizing frames in their protest coverage. Balanced, mixed and sympathetic frames are rarely used (McLeod and Hertog 1999:212-213). For instance, much research has found that the media tend to develop constructions in a manner which serves to demonize, delegitimize and criminalize protestors and protests (McFarlane and Hay 2003; McLeod and Detenber 1999; McLeod and Hertog 1999). This is because the media often focus upon protestor appearance, emphasize protestor violence, pit protestors against police, and downplay the effectiveness of protests or peaceful/uneventful protests (della Porta et al. 2006: 4; Greer and McLaughlin 2010: 1046; Juris 2005: 423; McFarlane and Hay 2003: 212; Rosie and Gorringer 2009: 36; Smith et al. 2001: 1397). Media coverage also rarely highlights any positive aspects of protests such as the protest group’s platform or peaceful/uneventful protests (McFarlane and Hay 2003: 212; Smith et al. 2001: 1397; Rosie and Gorringer 2009: 37). In addition, the media fail to provide explanations as to why some protestors choose to use violence and vandalism, as well as why some protestors choose to wear particular clothing (i.e. clown costumes, white overalls, and black clothing) (Juris 2008: 62; Juris 2005: 421). For example, in the case of protestors who use ‘black bloc’ techniques, their acts of vandalism are often reported by the media

to be ‘senseless acts of violence’; however such depictions fail to convey the complexities of their tactics (Juris 2008: 79; Juris 2005: 421). Particularly, the masks and black clothing worn by the black bloc help to express solidarity through anonymity and their acts of violence are traditionally performative rather than senseless as these individuals attack symbols of capitalism in order to convey their rejection of capitalist society (Juris 2008: 79; Juris 2005: 421).

However, while protestors are negatively constructed, the police receive a different treatment by the media, as acts of police violence are rarely focused upon or are explained away (Greer and McLaughlin 2011: 26; Greer and McLaughlin 2010: 1048; Juris 2008: 62; Mawby 2002: 305; Rosie and Gorrington 2009: 38). Instead, the police are often constructed in positive ways as both the thin blue line protecting society from protestor-inflicted chaos, and as the victims of protestor violence (Doyle 2003: 72; Greer and McLaughlin 2011: 26; Greer and McLaughlin 2010: 1048; Juris 2008: 62; Mawby 2002: 305; Sanders and Lyon 1995:32).

Another crucial component of the protest paradigm is the media’s reliance on official sources and definitions. Becker (1967) labelled this phenomenon the ‘hierarchy of credibility’. The media typically rely upon the opinions, views and ideologies of those who are at the top of the hierarchy, while negating or delegitimizing the views and opinions of those who are at the bottom. Officials such as the police and politicians are at the top of this hierarchy of credibility, while individuals and protestors are at the bottom (Ericson, Baranek and Chan 1989; Ferrell, Hayward, Young 2008: 129; Sanders and Lyon 1995:39).

Research on protest news coverage has typically found that the media rely on or promote the information and opinions provided by the police (Greer and McLaughlin 2010; Juris 2005; Rosie and Gorringer 2009). This is not to say the issues of protest groups are completely absent from reports, as these articles often contain multiple sources and opinions; however, the media may use various techniques to promote the views of the police and at the same time detract from the views and opinions of protestors. For instance, the media may render protestors' opinions irrational or without legitimacy by juxtaposing quotes from protestors against those from officials or public polls statistics (McLeod and Detenber 1999). Literary devices and stylistic techniques also strengthen this process of legitimization and delegitimization. As Giltin (2003) found, the use of quotation marks around certain terms such as 'peace march' add a questioning or sarcastic tone to an article and discredits protestors. Furthermore, the media may use stance adverbs such as 'supposedly,' 'allegedly' and 'obviously' when presenting the views of protestors. Such subtleties in language connote legitimacy and may affect the audience's interpretation of the issue. Consequently, while official perspectives may be disputed, these counter-opinions are rarely presented by the media in a manner that significantly challenges them or changes the status quo (Ferrell, Hayward, Young 2008: 124).

While researchers have generally found that the media coverage of protests demonizes and marginalizes protestors, a few issues need to be considered. Firstly, the protest paradigm or marginalizing frames are not always deployed. This is because the use of these frames may depend upon the characteristics of a protest or social movement (McLeod and Detenber 1999:5). For instance, in cases involving violent crime and

rioting against property, the media will often use the protest paradigm and take the side of traditional authorities, such as the police; however, in cases that involve challenges to legitimacy and in which the aim of civil disturbances is to address considerable grievances, the news media may distance themselves from authorities (Gitlin 2003:12; McLeod and Detenber 1999:5).

Secondly, it is important to consider that much research conducted on the protest paradigm has focused primarily upon textual analysis. However, from a cultural criminology perspective, both text and images should be analyzed by researchers. This is because the image is also vital in constructing and promoting certain discourses or ideas. Finally, much of this research has ignored the impact of the mediascape and citizen journalism on newsmaking and the protest paradigm.

Limitations of Previous Research: Image Analysis and the Impact of Citizen Journalism

Many scholars, including cultural criminologists, have recently stressed the importance of incorporating visual analyses into academic studies (Ferrell, Hayward and Young 2008:183; Rose 2007: xiii; Valverde 2006:12). While traditional criminology studies have viewed images as insignificant or secondary to texts (Valverde 2006:12), the cultural approach urges criminologists to uniformly embrace the analysis of textual and visual material (Ferrell and Van de Voorde 2010:45). Cultural criminologists deem images of crime and deviance to be extremely powerful as they constitute the primary medium through which meanings of crime and emotion are captured and conveyed to audiences (Greer, Ferrell, and Jewkes 2007:5). In particular, images such as those found in the news media, film, advertisements and comic books, often shape society's

engagement with and understanding of key issues of crime, control and social order (Hayward and Young 2004: 268; Greer, Ferrell, and Jewkes 2007:5; Jones and Wardle 2007: 55). Due to these factors, Ferrell, Hayward and Young (2008) have argued that there cannot “be a viable criminology that is not also a visual criminology” (184).

However, many criminology studies including those which have examined protest news coverage have thus far ignored images. This is an important oversight as protests often produce highly visual events full of spectacle that can be captured and reproduced in a wide variety of visual mediums for a multitude of purposes. More specifically, the media may use visuals to provide the public with a construction of protest events; the police may use them to capture evidence of crimes and identify suspects; and protestors may use them to try to convey their cause to the general public, to contest negative constructions of protestors and to provide evidence of police brutality. Therefore, the visual may play a vital role in the construction of protests, protestors and police; it does not make sense to focus solely on textual data as visual data must also be accounted for. To address this gap and to incorporate images into protest media studies, this thesis will draw on some concepts from semiology, the study of signs.

Through semiological studies, scholars have attempted to explain how media images work to construct meaning (Jones and Wardle, 2010:56; Valverde 2006). For instance, in *Image, Music, Texts*, Roland Barthes (1977) argued that photographs function denotatively and connotatively simultaneously. Specifically, on a denotative level, photographs naturally seem to depict real-life events. However, simultaneously, images also work connotatively as they draw upon “broad symbolic systems” and “codes of meaning” such as stereotypes, ideologies, stock stories, and genres (as cited by Jones and

Wardle 2010: 56). Thus, photographs, such as those used by the news media, are never entirely objective records or presentations of events.

Stuart Hall (1981) elaborated upon this concept by arguing that the connotative significance of an image is derived from the culture in which the reader, or rather viewer, is a member. According to Hall (1981), the viewer uses cultural codes to decipher the meaning of the “non-linguistic features” of the photograph “into a specific expressive configuration”, and when “a photograph is imbued and read within the dominant ideology it becomes expressive of those ideas, will solidify them, [and will] then seem to connote them inherently” (Jones and Wardle 2010: 56). For example, a photograph taken at a protest may denotatively depict a man dressed in black clothing with his face covered by a handkerchief; however, when read on a connotative level additional meaning may be conferred to the photograph. Specifically, cultural knowledge of protests and protestors may cause the viewer to decide that the photograph depicts a protestor who is planning on using ‘deviant’ and ‘criminal’ black block protest techniques—regardless of whether this interpretation reflects reality.

In addition, the media’s construction, manipulation, repetition, arrangement and pairing of images may compel viewers to arrive at particular inferences (Ferrell, Hayward, Young 2008: 199; Jones and Wardle 2010: 62; Valverde 2006: 22).

Photographers refer to the juxtaposition of two images as a diptych and of three images as a triptych (Ferrell, Hayward, Young 2008: 199). Such arrangements can create new meanings and constructions. For example, a newspaper spread or news photo album on a protest may first display a photograph of a man dressed in black, followed by a picture of a broken window, and then a picture of police officers restraining a man in black. While

these photographs convey meaning on their own, when they are presented in conjunction with one another, they may express additional significance. Specifically, if the images were read in isolation from one another, the viewer may interpret the first image as a protestor using black block techniques, the second image as vandalism, and the third image as a police officer arresting a protestor. However, when presented in a seemingly sequential order, the images can invoke cultural stereotypes and inferences as, regardless of reality, the viewer may come to believe that the man in the first photograph broke the window in the second photograph, and was arrested by the police.

Images and their presentation are important factors to consider when exploring media constructions, however, so too is the juxtaposition of images with text. According to Barthes (1977:37), text and images can have either a relay or anchorage function. With relay, there is interplay between the text and an image which serves to illustrate, illuminate and amplify the meanings contained within text and images. With anchorage, text establishes the meaning within an image. By asserting meaning through text, anchorage helps to re-establish textual dominance.

Drawing from the previous example, the ambiguous image of a broken window may be given additional meaning by a caption that reads: ‘anarchist protestors smashed storefront windows’. Such text assigns meaning to the photograph and prevents the viewer from arriving at alternative interpretations of the image (e.g., the window was broken by accident by a citizen). However, again it is important to note that the photographs as well as the captions may not be related to each other or even portray the truth—instead they may reflect the dominant ideologies which inform media constructions.

Whether independent from or dependent upon text, images contribute in some manner to cultural constructions, as they may help foster certain interpretations or help emphasize some ideas over others. Thus, it is important for cultural criminology and media studies to analyze both text and images. However, in addition to analysing images, these studies need to explore the impact of citizen journalism and the mediascape on the protest paradigm, and on traditional media practices.

Within the mediascape, meanings of crime and crime control are continuously under construction (Hayward 2010:2; Ferrell, Hayward and Young 2008: 124). This means that news-making and media constructions should not be viewed in a fixed or stagnant manner, but rather as a process subject to continuous revision (Ferrell, Hayward and Young 2008: 124). More specifically, over a period of time, initial cultural meanings may be transformed due to subsequent news reports, the emergence of new information, and changes in cultural interpretations (Doyle 2003:86). Furthermore, the introduction and availability of technologies which form the mediascape may impact how news is created and shaped (Doyle 2003:17). In sum, this expanding array of technology has the potential to enhance the role of ordinary citizens in the news-making process (Cottle 2008:853; Greer and McLaughlin 2010:1044).

The development and wide accessibility of technologies such as cellphone cameras and internet media-sharing platforms such as YouTube, Facebook, and Twitter, may have facilitated the ability of ordinary citizens or 'citizen journalists' to effectively record, report, share, and shape news as it unfolds (Ferrell, Hayward and Young 2008: 125; Goldsmith 2010; Greer and McLaughlin 2010: 1044). For instance, before the development and deployment of such technologies, witness reports of crime often only

played a minuscule role in the news-making process (Doyle 2003: 5). This was because the discretion of the police and media determined the newsworthiness of an incident and ultimately impacted community awareness (Sanders and Lyon 1995: 33). Additionally, such reports relied primarily upon the verbal accounts of witnesses or the police and used various images of the crime scene, victim and/or suspect; visual evidence of the crime in progress was rare unless the incident was caught on CCTV (Doyle 2003: 5).

However, due to the explosion of technology in contemporary times, citizen witnesses may play a larger role in the news-making process as they now have the capacity to record and share news with local and global communities (Goldsmith 2010; Greer and McLaughlin 2010:1044). For instance, smart cellphones and websites such as YouTube allow citizens to capture, instantaneously upload, as well as share photographs or videos of events. These images and videos have the potential to be seen by many, as such media sharing websites have numerous users, and with the click of a button, users are granted the ability to share this information with even more citizens on different social media platforms (Goldsmith 2010). This means that news can be potentially shared and disseminated by ordinary citizens to the masses at a rapid rate that sometimes surpasses the capability and capacity of even the traditional media (Ferrell, Hayward and Young 2008; Greer and McLaughlin 2010:1044).

The traditional news media have not been naive about the capabilities of the mediascape and the value of citizen-generated news (Goldsmith 2010). According to Greer and McLaughlin (2010: 1045), the media have tried to encourage citizen journalist submissions by providing links for users to upload or submit their content. The traditional media have also incorporated content from sites such as YouTube or Twitter

into their reports. This means that ordinary citizens may be able to influence the content and subject matter of news reports. Essentially, due to this technology and its reception, protestors and citizen journalists could reduce the media's reliance on the protest paradigm and official sources as this technology creates the capacity for ordinary individuals, such as protestors, to disseminate news, influence media accounts, contest constructions of protestor violence, capture images of police brutality as well as shape and promote their group's image (Cottle 2008: 853; Doyle 2003: 125, 132; Greer and McLaughlin 2010: 1044). This in turn may also increase police accountability, as police may no longer be able to explain away or ignore a situation if visual evidence exists (Goldsmith 2010).

Despite the increase in citizen journalism, it is unclear whether or not it has had any impact on the traditional media's news coverage of protests. For instance, although visual evidence is compelling, its impact may depend upon its origin (Doyle 2003: 28, 64, 78). More specifically, although citizen journalism may offer a certain degree of authenticity, the ability to manipulate images brings into question its legitimacy and credibility (Goldsmith 2010: 921; Greer and McLaughlin 2010: 1045). Consequently, visual evidence produced by citizen journalists may be discarded or discredited by the media, the police, and subsequently the general public. Additionally, it is unclear whether citizen journalism always produces material that serves to challenge mainstream media reports. Instead this material may simply reflect dominant ideologies as well as support pre-existing stereotypes and negative mainstream media constructions of protesters (Bachmann and Harlow 2012).

While citizen journalism, time, technology, images, and the juxtaposition of images with text are important factors to consider in relation to the news-making process and constructions of protests, there has been limited research conducted in this area. In addition, the existing research has produced mixed results. For instance, Doyle (2003) explored the impact of technology on the operations of the media and police by combining and testing several theories including medium theory and the institutional news-making perspective of Ericson, Baranek, and Chan (1989). Doyle (2003) applied these theories to a number of cases including the 1994 Vancouver Stanley Cup Riot—a context in which the media captured and presented many dramatic images of police and protester violence. Initially Doyle (2003: 86-87) found mixed reports as to who and what caused the riot and destruction. For instance, some reports blamed protestors, while others found that the police aggravated the situation and engaged in unnecessary violence. However, as time progressed, media discussions of police accountability diminished; instead the media came to focus upon protester misconduct (Doyle 2003:86). Doyle (2003:110) found that the change in narratives was due to the media’s reliance on the police to provide official explanations and descriptions about what was occurring in the media’s video footage. This reliance allowed the police to redefine damaging video footage in a way that was positive toward the police and ultimately allowed them to maintain their position in the hierarchy of credibility and the news-making process.

This study highlights two important issues that this thesis seeks to address. Firstly, as noted by cultural criminologists, over a period of time, meanings can continuously undergo construction, and thus this factor should be taken into consideration by media studies. Secondly, video footage depicting the excessive use of police force

may not produce negative constructions of the police or reduce the media's reliance on the protest paradigm. This is because the media may still grant the police the power to verbally redefine detrimental footage of police activities. Thus, 'seeing' alone may not constitute 'believing,' as viewers may rely upon verbal or textual anchorage to interpret visuals, especially when these visuals are complex or ambiguous.

Similarly, in an analysis of Crime Stoppers advertisements Lippert and Wilkinson (2010) found an anchorage relationship between words and images. According to Lippert and Wilkinson (2010), the Crime Stoppers advertisements which contained CCTV visuals often relied heavily upon textual narratives to direct the viewer's interpretation as to what the images portrayed. Although the CCTV images provided viewers with basic information such as suspect features and authenticated advertisements, narrative was often needed to criminalize the image, especially in cases where the crime was not directly caught on camera, or when the image was ambiguous in nature. Thus, the studies conducted by Doyle (2003) and by Lippert and Wilkinson (2010) raise questions as to the role of images and text in the meaning making process, as well as highlight the importance of studying their juxtaposition.

While Doyle (2003) found that the media relied upon traditional authority figures to define the situation, it is important to note that the Stanley Cup Riot occurred almost two decades ago, and much may have changed in society since. As previously stated, a wide variety of image capturing and sharing technologies are now available not only to the media and police, but also to the general public as well. Thus, these new technologies could potentially increase the impact of visual images as well as reduce the media's reliance on the protest paradigm and official accounts.

Recent studies by Greer and McLaughlin (2011; 2010) have taken into account the prevalence of these technologies and their impact on the media's coverage of protests. Specifically, in relation to the 2009 London G20 Summit, Greer and McLaughlin (2011; 2010) used a combination of the hierarchy of credibility and inferential structures to analyze news coverage, as well as to theorize about the potential impact of the 24-7 mediasphere and citizen journalism on the mainstream media. They found that the initial news coverage adhered to traditional protest inferential structures as the media were saturated with reports of protestor violence. However, over time these portrayals changed as inferential structures of police violence emerged and became predominant. This shift seemed to be brought about by citizen-generated images of Ian Tomlinson—a man who died during the protests. At first the news media relied heavily upon police officials to explain Tomlinson's death. According to the police, Tomlinson was a protestor or bystander who was involved in the protest chaos and suffered a heart attack. However, these reports changed after the media received citizen images of a police officer striking and knocking Tomlinson to the ground moments before his death. After these images aired, more reports of police misconduct and citizen-generated images of police violence emerged and were rebroadcast by the media. This helped to shift discussions from protestor violence to police violence, and may have ultimately served as a catalyst for the commencement of a public inquiry into police actions.

Like Doyle's (2003) study, Greer and McLaughlin (2011; 2010) found that meanings constructed by the media change over time. However, in contrast to Doyle (2003), Greer and McLaughlin (2011; 2010) found that images impact the traditional hierarchy of credibility and the common protest reporting practices of the media. The

variance in results between these two studies may be explained by several factors including technology, situational differences, and changes in the fourth estate.

The technological developments that have occurred since the 1994 Stanley Cup riot have allowed for more images of an event to be captured, produced and shared. This increases the chance for highly damaging images of police to appear in the online and offline news as any given situation may be captured by multiple individuals from multiple angles (Greer and McLaughlin 2010:1044). Also, as previously stated, the media sharing capabilities of citizen journalists may create additional pressure for the media to incorporate and explore alternative viewpoints.

Secondly, differences between the incidents that occurred during the Vancouver Stanley Cup riot and the London G20 protest may have impacted the media's reporting. For instance, the events that occurred after the Stanley Cup Game were classified as a riot, whereas the events of the London G20 were primarily classified as a protest. Additionally, while both events produced footage of shocking police violence and deviance, there were crucial differences between the degree of police misconduct, as a death occurred only during the London G20 protest (Doyle 2003: 92).

Finally, changes in the fourth estate may help to explain the difference in news coverage between the two events. According to Greer and McLaughlin (2010: 1044), in contemporary times the media have been driven by the market. This has resulted in a willingness to support protestors if it is believed that such a stance will help boost readership. Thus, changes in the fourth estate, situational factors and/or the introduction of technology may serve to erode the protest paradigm and the media's reliance on the hierarchy of credibility.

In sum, media constructions of protests, protestors and police are often not entirely reflective of reality as they contain certain biases. These biases likely develop because of common practices that are used by traditional media, such as the protest paradigm. However, while much research has been conducted on the media's coverage of protests, this research has failed to incorporate the study of images and their juxtaposition with text—data which may play a crucial role in media constructions and the meaning making process. In addition, this research has largely neglected to explore the impact of the mediascape and citizen journalism on the media's practices and constructions of protests.

It is important to note that cultural criminologists such as Ferrell, Hayward and Young (2008:125) encourage scholars to embrace new and holistic approaches to trace the flow of meaning that is created between the media and crime. To them it is important for scholars to explore the social media sharing websites and to trace how they impact cultural constructions of meaning. However, perhaps one reason why little research exists on the impact of the mediascape is because the mediascape as a whole is now too complex and expansive to study. For instance, it is very difficult to devise a sample frame that is representative of all of the citizen-generated news sites, media sharing sites, images, and footage pertaining to the Toronto G20. Although these factors are important to consider, they are outside the scope of this thesis. Instead, this thesis seeks to discern whether or not citizen-generated news was incorporated by the media and how this material impacted the media's reports.

Taking into consideration cultural criminology and the protest paradigm; the importance of analyzing visual material and its juxtaposition with text; as well as the

impact of the mediascape and citizen journalism, this thesis seeks to address these research gaps and explore the online mainstream news coverage of the Toronto G20 summit. More specifically, this thesis is intended to investigate how the media visually and textually constructed the Toronto G20 protests, protestors and the police. It is important to keep in mind that constructions are a continuous process rather than a one-time event. Thus, this thesis is interested in analyzing not only the cumulative outcome of media constructions, but also whether these constructions changed over time and the process that produced them.

3. METHOD AND RESEARCH PROCEDURES

A content analysis as well as a discursive-semiotic textual-visual analysis of online articles from the news websites of the *Toronto Star* (torontostar.com), the *Toronto Sun* (torontosun.com), and the *National Post* (nationalpost.com) was conducted. These sources were selected due to variance in their news coverage and political stances. The *National Post* and *Toronto Sun* are generally aligned with a conservative stance, whereas the *Toronto Star* is typically aligned with a liberal stance (Wordpress 2012). By using several news sources, this thesis intended to analyze similarities and differences in media constructions of the Toronto G20.

Online articles rather than print news articles were used for several reasons. Unlike print news, online news allows for the incorporation of a multitude of mediums including citizen journalist contributions. In addition, print news articles are accessible in their original format only for a limited period of time. After this period elapses, these articles are only available in plain text format. This means that the images and layout are lost as they are no longer part of the article. While it is possible to obtain copies of print

newspaper articles in their original format from Library and Archives Canada, the process is time consuming and costly as the documents are located in Ottawa, Ontario, Canada. These print newspaper articles may be obtained via inter-library loan; however, there is no guarantee as to their availability since they may already be in use elsewhere. Online news articles, on the other hand, are easily accessible and often available in their original format for long periods of time (The Star 2011).

Although the online news contains many of the same articles and images as the print news, there are a few important differences. For instance, the online news often only uses a portion of its editorial content, and may be unable to publish stories, photos and cartoons from other news service agencies such as Getty Images and Bloomberg (The Star 2011). Additionally, once published, print news creates a hard, un-editable copy of an article, whereas once online articles are published, they may be continuously edited or even deleted. Thus, there is some variation between print and online journalism articles.

News articles produced from May 1, 2010 to December 1, 2011 were analyzed for this study. A search of each newspaper's website was conducted to create a chronological list of articles relating to the Toronto G20 protests, protesters and police. Each newspaper's website platform varied with regard to its article search and retrieval capabilities, and as a result, slightly different methods were used for each source in order to retrieve a complete list of relevant articles. For instance, the *National Post* website included an effective search tool which presented search results in a chronological order, and allowed the user to search for all of the related articles. In order to obtain a list of relevant articles, the term 'The Toronto G20' was entered into the *National Post* search engine. In contrast, the *Toronto Sun* did not have an effective search engine. The search

engine on the *Sun's* website only allowed users to search for recent articles, and consequently did not produce the results that were needed for this study. The *Toronto Sun* was contacted and a list of relevant articles was requested, however, a representative for the *Sun* indicated that such a list did not exist. After a further examination of the *Toronto Sun* website, I discovered that the *Sun* maintained an unsearchable archive of all of its articles. Thus, in order to create a complete list of relevant articles, I carefully examined *all* of the articles that were written by the *Toronto Sun* during the time period of interest. Those articles which pertained to the Toronto G20 were recorded. Finally, while the *Toronto Star* website had an article search tool, this tool did not work for creating a list of articles, as when the term "The Toronto G20" was entered, the search produced zero results. This is because the *Toronto Star* separated and stored all articles pertaining to the Toronto G20 on a 'topics' page. The topics page chronologically listed all of the articles that pertained to the Toronto G20. This list was used to generate a sample of *Toronto Star* articles.

It is important to note that these subtle differences may have resulted in slightly skewed sample populations. For instance, one method may have been more effective in finding relevant articles than another method. However, it is important to stress that these differences could not be avoided due to the limitations of the news agencies' websites.

Once a list of relevant articles pertaining to the G20 was created, the list was further examined and all articles that were repeated or that only pertained to the Toronto G20 Summit meeting (e.g. articles that did not relate to protests, protesters or police) were eliminated. The resulting list produced a sample frame of 419 *Toronto Star* articles,

389 *National Post* articles, and 476 *Toronto Sun* articles. The articles included both editorial and news content.

A systematic sample (see Payls and Atchison 2008:115) was then used to select 100 newspaper articles from each source (300 articles in total) for the content analysis. A systematic sample was then used to select a subset of 50 articles from each source (150 articles total) for the discursive-semiotic analysis.

The majority of articles in the sample were news articles (73%) and the remainder were editorials (27%). Photographs and video footage appeared in 75% of *National Post* articles, 48% of *Toronto Sun* articles, and 60% of *Toronto Star* articles. However, the *Toronto Sun* (192) sample was comprised of more images than that of the *National Post* (113) and *Toronto Star* (104) sample. This was because the *Sun* tended to use more images per article than the other two sources.

The content analysis was used to partially answer Q1-4, and results were recorded and analyzed using Excel. To analyze Q1, which asked how protestors and police were constructed, the juxtaposition of images and text in the articles were coded with the criteria used by Harlow and Johnston (2011: 1064) in order to identify positive, negative and mixed/neutral portrayals of protestors by media. According to Harlow and Johnston (2011), positive portrayals of protestors include fighting for legitimate causes and conducting peaceful protests; whereas, negative portrayals of protestors include protestors being presented as deviant, disruptive, anarchists, irrational, and committing crimes or vandalism. For this thesis, positive portrayals of police included depictions of the police protecting the city and doing their job, and negative portrayals of the police included

police violence, mischief and misconduct. Mixed/neutral portrayals were classified as those which could not be categorized as being positive or negative.

To analyze Q2, which asked which frames were used by the media, this study coded each article according to McLeod and Hertog's (1999) media protest frames (balanced, sympathetic, mixed, or marginalizing). More nuanced aspects of their media frames were explored by the discursive-semiotic analysis (discussed later). While there are other frames that could be used, such as episodic and thematic frames, McLeod and Hertog's (1999) frames were the most appropriate and relevant to this study. This is because the frames used by McLeod and Hertog (1999) encompass many elements of the other media frameworks, including episodic and thematic frames. In addition, these frames also allowed for an analysis of both the construction of the Toronto G20 protests and protestors, as well as the construction of law enforcement.

To answer Q3a-b which explored the use of sources, the material was coded to determine how often official or unofficial sources were included in news articles, and to determine whether or not they were presented in news stories as being credible, neutral, or non-credible. The source of images (i.e. news agencies, professional image providers, police, alternative bloggers/vloggers, bystanders, or protestors) was also counted. Official sources were defined as the police, government, lawyers, other authority figures such as experts, members of the media and professional photographers. Unofficial sources were defined as those who are ordinary citizens, witnesses, protestors, protest groups, and protest or special interest groups such as the Canadian Civil Liberties Association (CCLA). Each source was rated to determine the overall amount of credibility afforded

to them in the media story on a five point scale ranging from 1 (not credible) to 5 (credible).

To answer Q4a-b, which explored whether constructions changed over time, how, and why, the results generated from the analysis of Q1-3 were analysed for changes and sorted into time periods accordingly. The time periods were divided as following: May 1, 2010- June 23, 2010 (Time Period 1—‘Leading Up to the Summit’), June 24, 2010- June 30, 2010 (Time Period 2—‘During the Summit’), July 1, 2010-August 31, 2010 (Time Period 3—‘Immediately Following the Summit’), and September 1, 2010-December 1, 2011(Time Period 4—‘The Subsequent Coverage’). The results of the time periods were then compared and contrasted with one another in order to analyze and theorize how these changes occurred as well as why they occurred.

A content analysis was particularly important for this study, as it allowed for methodology that was explicit, somewhat reliable, replicable and valid (Rose 2007:60). However, like any other single tool, a content analysis on its own is limited (Valverde 2006:42). For instance, a content analysis may miss subtle nuances in the material such as relationships and interconnections between components of an article (Ferrell, Hayward and Young 2008: 126; Rose 2007:72; Valverde 2006: 36, 42). To address these issues, and to help examine the process of *how* constructions of protests, protestors and police came to be, this thesis also used a discursive-semiotic textual-visual analysis.

The discursive-semiotic analysis used concepts from discourse analysis and semiology to further explore the process of constructions and to analyze Q1-Q4. Unlike content analysis, semiology is not concerned with analytical precision, but is rather concerned with revealing ideologies that help to legitimize inequality in society (Rose

2007:75). Semiology has been discussed in previous sections; however, to reiterate, semiology essentially argues that the construction of social difference can be articulated through images, text, and various techniques (Rose 2007:75). Images and text in isolation carry their own meanings; however, in relation to one another, meaning is also generated (Rose 2007: 94). Thus, in order to explore the meaning making process, images and text were explored individually from each other, as well as in conjunction with one another.

While it is true that meaning involves interpretation, and interpretation in turn is dependent upon one's position in society (i.e. a protestor, police officer, or academic), scholars such as Hall (1981) have argued that there is a preferred reading of the materials meaning. For this study, this I tried to analyze the preferred meaning of the material, while reflexively keeping in mind my position as a scholar and the potential impact that this could have upon my interpretations (Denzin and Lincoln 2003; Rose 2007: 102).

Discourse analysis is similar to semiotic analysis in that it explores how meaning is articulated and presented as truthful through various forms of images and texts (Rose 2007: 145-147). However, discourse analysis also offers additional criteria to utilize when analyzing material. In order to conduct a discourse analysis, this thesis used concepts from Fairclough (2003) and Rose (2007). Fairclough (2003) does not provide a manual as to how to conduct a discourse analysis, but rather offers useful insight as to how one might engage with a text. Rose (2007) elaborates on these concepts and illustrates how discourse analysis can also be used to analyze images.

The discursive analysis took into account factors such as genres; intertextuality; assumptions; linguistics; grammatical, syntagmatic, and paradigmatic relations; varieties of reporting; and framing (see Fairclough 2003). The articles were also analyzed using

more nuanced aspects of McLeod and Hertog's (1999) frames (see Table A-1). To conduct the discursive-semiotic analysis, the material was sorted according to the previously mentioned time periods. The articles were then examined for the outlined concepts and were coded using Nvivo and Microsoft Word. This material was then analyzed to identify key themes within the text, images and their juxtaposition.

The results of the content analysis and discursive-semiotic analysis were compared and contrasted with the protest paradigm. They were also further analyzed in order to theorize the potential impact of citizen, bystander, and protester generated material on the media's constructions of the Toronto G20 protests, protesters and police.

4. RESULTS

The following outlines the key findings of this study. For each section, the findings of the content analysis are first outlined, and then followed by the findings of the discursive-semiotic analysis. Additionally, each section begins by describing the overall general findings of all of the material combined and then shifts to presenting the nuanced findings of the time period analysis.

These results do not purport to outline every event relating to the Toronto G20 summit or its media coverage. Instead, these results represent trends that emerged throughout the content analysis and semiotic-discursive analysis. Finally, while it was my original intention to include *both* textual and visual material to illustrate my findings, due to legal issues stemming from copyright laws, permissions, as well as high costs associated with obtaining the rights to reproduce press images, I was unable to include the latter. As a result, this thesis will provide only textual excerpts and attempt to provide textual descriptions of visual trends.

Media Textual and Visual Constructions of Protesters and the Police

In the media coverage of the Toronto G20, the newspapers most frequently used marginalizing frames (see Table 1). Marginalizing frames were used in 62% of *National Post* news coverage, 61% of *Toronto Sun* news coverage, and 53% of *Toronto Star* news coverage. The use of marginalizing frames generally produced negative textual and visual constructions of protesters (see Table 2). In contrast, the frequent use of marginalizing frames resulted in more positive or neutral constructions of police (see Table 3). These trends were most apparent in the coverage provided by the *National Post* and *Toronto Sun* and less so in the coverage provided by the *Toronto Star*. For instance, the *Toronto Star* generally constructed protesters more positively than the other two news sources. The *Toronto Star* was also more likely to construct police in a more negative manner than the other two newspapers.

However, when examining the individual time periods, marginalizing frames were predominantly used during time periods 1 and 2, and somewhat in time period 3. In time period 4, sympathetic frames became predominant in the media coverage of the Toronto G20 (see Table 4). Additionally, beginning partially in time period 3 and continuing throughout time period 4, constructions of protesters became less negative and more neutral (see Table 2), while constructions of police became negative (see Table 3). Moreover, a close analysis of the material indicates that there were subtle differences between time periods and between newspapers with regard to how media frames were used, as well as how police and protesters were textually and visually constructed. The following will further outline these trends as well as incorporate findings from the discursive-semiotic analysis.

Table 1 Media Frames

<i>National Post</i>									
	Marginalizing		Sympathetic		Mixed		Balanced		Total
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#
Time 1	20	87%	2	8.7%	1	4.3%	0	0	23
Time 2	19	86.4%	2	9.1%	1	4.5%	0	0	22
Time 3	13	65%	6	30%	1	5%	0	0	20
Time 4	10	28.6%	24	68.6%	1	2.9%	0	0	35
Total	62	62%	34	34%	4	4%	0	0	100
<i>Toronto Sun</i>									
Time 1	20	95.2%	0	0%	1	4.8%	0	0	21
Time 2	21	77.8%	3	11.1%	3	11.1%	0	0	27
Time 3	14	58.3%	9	37.5%	1	4.2%	0	0	24
Time 4	6	21.4%	21	75%	1	3.6%	0	0	28
Total	61	62%	32	32%	6	6%	0	0%	100
<i>Toronto Star</i>									
Time 1	21	91.4%	1	4.3%	1	4.3%	0	0%	23
Time 2	20	71.4%	3	10.7%	5	17.9%	0	0%	28
Time 3	9	56.2%	6	37.5%	1	6.3%	0	0%	16
Time 4	3	9.1%	29	87.9%	1	3%	0	0%	33
Total	53	53%	39	39%	8	8%	0	0%	100

Table 2 **Media Constructions of Protesters**

	<i>National Post</i>						Total #
	Positive		Neutral		Negative		
	#	%	#	%	#	%	
Time 1	2	10%	7	35%	11	55%	20
Time 2	0	0%	3	17.6%	14	82.4%	17
Time 3	2	10%	5	25%	13	65%	20
Time 4	1	3.6%	16	57.1%	11	39.3%	28
Total	5	5.9%	31	36.5%	49	57.6%	85
	<i>Toronto Sun</i>						
Time 1	0	0%	3	21.4%	11	78.6%	14
Time 2	1	4.3%	6	26.1%	16	69.6%	23
Time 3	2	11.1%	5	27.8%	11	61.1%	18
Time 4	3	13.6%	13	59.1%	6	27.3%	22
Total	6	7.8%	27	35.1%	44	57.1%	77
	<i>Toronto Star</i>						
Time 1	2	11.8%	2	11.8%	13	76.4%	17
Time 2	2	83.3%	8	33.3%	14	58.3%	24
Time 3	2	20%	3	30%	5	50%	10
Time 4	7	24.1%	18	62.1%	4	13.8%	29
Total	13	16.2%	31	38.8%	36	45%	80

Table 3 **Media Constructions of Police**

	<i>National Post</i>						Total #
	Positive		Neutral		Negative		
	#	%	#	%	#	%	
Time 1	11	61.1%	1	5.6%	6	33.3%	18
Time 2	7	35%	9	45%	4	20%	20
Time 3	9	47.4%	5	26.3%	5	26.3%	19
Time 4	9	26.5%	9	26.5%	15	44%	33
Total	36	40%	24	26.7%	30	33.3%	90
	<i>Toronto Sun</i>						
Time 1	7	53.8%	4	30.8%	2	15.4%	13
Time 2	13	61.9%	4	19.05%	4	19.05%	21
Time 3	9	47.4%	4	23.5%	6	31.6%	19
Time 4	5	25%	2	10%	13	65%	20
Total	34	46.6%	14	19.2%	25	34.2%	73
	<i>Toronto Star</i>						
Time 1	8	40%	8	40%	4	20%	20
Time 2	6	25%	13	54.2%	5	20.8%	24
Time 3	3	23%	6	46.2%	4	30.8%	13
Time 4	1	3.3%	9	29%	21	67.7%	31
Total	18	20.5%	36	40.9%	34	38.6%	88

Marginalizing Frames

Throughout time period 1-3 the news stories tended to focus upon violent protesters rather than peaceful protesters and protest group causes. Protesters were negatively constructed as ‘dangerous,’ ‘thugs,’ ‘deviants,’ and ‘criminals’. In contrast, police were generally constructed in news reports in a positive manner as the ‘thin blue line,’ ‘doing their job,’ and ‘protecting the city’.

In time period 1, Toronto was preparing for the G20 summit. During this time period, the media primarily used the storm watch frame. Media stories that used this frame warned the public of the imminent threat posed by protesters and created the impression that that the G20 summit would be marred by protester violence. These news stories focused upon the dangers posed by protesters and presented convincing evidence of this threat by describing the events of prior protests, as well as incorporating expert opinions offered by police and security and evidence from protest group websites:

By June, every lunatic with a beef on the planet is going to show up in Toronto, bitching about the international economy, global warming, AIDS in Africa, Goldman Sachs, the BP oil spill, gay rights in Zimbabwe, California raisins, the lack of subsidized daycare for children over 21 years of age, that they weren’t breast fed as children and gawd only knows what else[...] I don’t think we can take hundreds of black-clad anarchists like the ones in Greece, who trail after these global meetings like ugly on a dog, fighting with police, vandalizing property, hurling Molotov cocktails, screaming like banshees and smelling like something crawled into their pants a week ago and died. Take our G20...please! (Goldstein 2010 May 6).

It will be militant. It will be confrontational. And some things may be smashed. In a rallying call that has its (sp) made its way onto numerous anti-capitalist websites, a group of Ontario anarchists is dropping clues of its plans to disrupt the G20 summit (McLean 2010 May 18).

“They are the chief threat — they are the people we know are going to turn up and cause problems,” said John Thompson, a

security expert and president of the Toronto-based Mackenzie Institute, an organization that focuses on political instability and organized violence. “They are adrenaline junkies who are there to elicit confrontation” (Blaze Carlson 2010 June 14).

At the same time, readers were often alerted to the security measures and preparations that were being taken by the police. The sheer magnitude of the G20 security arrangements was emphasized in these articles. For instance, the news sources made frequent mention of the cost of security (Raj 2010 May 30), the numerous policing agencies that would be involved (Connor 2010 June 7), the number of police and security officers that would be patrolling Toronto streets (Godfrey 2010 June 18; National Post Staff 2010 May 22), as well as the many tools that would comprise the G20 security arsenal (McLean 2010 June 21; Smith 2010 June 8; Wallace 2010 June 1; Yang 2010 May 21).

These extensive security measures as well as the expectation for protester violence produced a mutually reinforcing relationship. For instance, the sheer scale of the G20 security measures and preparations helped justify media constructions of the protester threat. In turn, the media used this potential threat to justify the size and cost of security (Raj 2010 May 30). Overall, such media reports generally produced positive constructions of police, as police were presented as doing their job by taking the necessary precautions to protect the city from the looming threat of protester chaos.

This news coverage was often accompanied by images that depicted previous G20 summit police-protester interactions (McLean 2010 June 21; Woods 2010 May 28), pre-Toronto G20 protester vandalism (National Post Staff 2010 May 22), as well as police security preparations (Higgins 2010 May 28; McLean 2010 June 3; Wallace 2010 June 8; Wallace 2010 June 17; Yang 2010 May 21). For instance, to demonstrate the potential

threat posed by protesters, news articles sometimes included footage of previous violent protests (Blaze Carlson 2010 June 14; Higgins 2010 May 27). This footage showed protesters smashing windows and vandalizing property. In addition, police security preparations were visually depicted through images of security devices, such as the security zone fence, as well as images of police practicing line formations in riot gear (McLean 2010 June 3; Wallace 2010 June 8).

The images were primarily illustrative in nature as they were fairly ambiguous without the guidance of text. For instance, text was needed for the viewer to understand that an image of a broken window depicted a criminal act committed by protesters (Staff 2010 May 22). Additionally, textual framing was required in order for the viewer to understand that an ambiguous photograph of a chain-link fence both symbolized the threat posed by protesters and depicted the Toronto G20 security zone (QMI Agency 2010 June 17).

During time period 2, the Toronto G20 occurred. Much news coverage tended to primarily reflect the violent crime story frame, the property crime story frame, and the riot frame. Many news stories frequently deployed all three frames simultaneously. The violent crime story frame was organized around protesters violence, whereas the property crime story was organized around protester vandalism. Both of these frames also focused upon police efforts to apprehend the perpetrators. Stories that used the riot frame tended to present these acts of violence and vandalism as being random and lacking reason.

Although throughout the G20 summit weekend the majority of protests were peaceful, much of the media coverage only briefly mentioned this. Instead, news reports primarily focused upon protester vandalism and violence that occurred on the Saturday

afternoon of the summit. This violence was sometimes attributed to black bloc protesters or anarchists, and at other times was attributed to protesters in general:

Skirmishes broke out at several intersections the officers were pelted with bottles of water, protest signs, urine and manure. Protesters pulled rocks from gardens and bottles from recycling boxes to use as projectiles. Some came armed for trouble with bats, hammers, and metal ball bearings (Toronto Sun 2010 June 26).

Police cars were burning, property was being smashed, chaos had hit the streets of downtown Toronto—civilians and police officers were in danger (Granatstein 2010 June 28).

A band of black-masked, malicious, and potentially dangerous ne'er-do-wells did their radical best to get a racket going: torched a couple of police cars, did their petty “let’s smash the windows” trick, insulted the police, intimidated spectators, and tried to order the press around (Murphy 2010 June 28).

A sign of the apparent upper hand protesters gained was stark as bright flames and black smoke spewed from two police cruisers that were set ablaze and left untended by emergency crews for perhaps 20 minutes in the late afternoon...the front window of a store called Bikini Bay was smashed but not shattered. At Queen and Duncan, the CTV store, Sociabank and Subway restaurant have also been smashed (Humphreys 2010 June 25).

As smoke clears from a g20 weekend that saw unprecedented mayhem continue Sunday, with tense protests and mass arrests a day after police cars were torched and shop windows smashed, it’s hard to find a Torontonians who says hosting the g20 was worth it (Rider 2010 June 27).

“They didn’t come here because they knew anything about the summit, or frankly, even cared about the summit,” [Blair] said. “They came here because the summit was going to give them an opportunity to fight with police, to engage in acts of crime and destructions and vandalism” (Doucette 2010 June 28).

With the exception of some news coverage provided by the *Toronto Star*, protester issues and causes were non-existent. While the *Toronto Star* occasionally explored peaceful protester issues, they were only briefly mentioned (Keilburger 2010 June 24). Additionally, the media coverage generally failed to reflect the diversity among

protesters. Instead, the media tended to only differentiate between protesters based upon whether they were peaceful or violent (Doucette 2010 June 28).

Protester vandalism and violence was emphasized by the photographs, albums and videos that accompanied these articles. The majority of these images were from the Saturday of the summit and depicted property that had been vandalized or was in the process of being vandalized by individuals dressed in black (Diebel 2010 June 28; Kay 2010 June 27; McLean 2010 June 26; Murphy 2010 June 28; National Post Staff 2010 June 28; Toronto Sun 2010 June 26). For instance, many articles were accompanied by multiple images of police cruisers that had been set on fire. These images often depicted the vehicles burning by themselves or protesters vandalizing them. Though these images helped to create dramatic and convincing accounts of protester violence and vandalism, it is important to note that only two police cruisers were actually set on fire throughout the summit.

While it was visually apparent that many images depicted protester violence and vandalism (especially images that captured the 'action' in progress), text was often necessary in order identify the perpetrator as well as to adhere criminality to the image. For instance, without text, it was not always immediately clear as to whether the subject of a photograph was a citizen or a protester (Toronto Sun 2010 June 26). In addition, it was not always clear as to what images of inanimate objects (i.e. a smashed window or a police car burning) depicted (Dieble 2010 June 28). Text was used in such circumstances to often identify the perpetrators as 'violent protesters,' 'black bloc protesters,' or 'anarchists,' and to indicate responsibility and criminality (i.e. a picture of a broken window with the caption: 'violent protesters went on a rampage smashing windows').

In contrast, police were often constructed positively as doing their job. Although there was some media criticism regarding the sweeping arrests and treatment of bystanders and reporters, the news sources generally praised the police for keeping the city safe and preventing further vandalism from protesters:

In the wake of a tumultuous weekend that saw the city's streets filled with protesters, Toronto's top cop says he's extremely proud of his officers and the thousands of others from across the country for the work they did providing security for the G20 summit. And Toronto Police Chief Bill Blair is also vowing those who 'attacked' the city will be prosecuted to the fullest extent of the law, which could include conspiracy charges. "You can't prevent every crime, but what you have to do is hold people accountable for their actions. And that's what we're going to do," Blair told the *Sun* Monday (Doucette 2010 June 29).

Here was a crowd ready to go on the rampage after a burning cop car put the evening's rush into their veins. Yet such was the manpower at the police disposal that they were able to get about 200 fully suited up men and women staring the rabble down within minutes...But then came the sirens, and the atmosphere changed very quickly. From down Queen Street, headed eastbound, a speeding convoy of unmarked white buses stopped outside the Silver Snail comic store, and out poured police in full riot gear — helmets, batons, body armor. From an accompanying black suburban came a few even more serious-looking fellows, including at least one with a military-style assault rifle. They never said a word, never issued a threat, never fired any of their crowd-control weapons. They just advanced, in a line, several officers deep, toward the heart of Spadina and Queen (Kay 2010 June 27).

Overall, the news sources immediately presented the policing of the weekend as a success: the police had prevented protesters from entering the security zone, and unlike previous summits, no one had been killed or had been seriously injured (Kari 2010 June 29).

Visually, police were also presented as doing their job. Police were often shown in photographs making arrests, standing bravely in a straight line with fire burning in front or behind them, and/or facing an angry mob of protesters (Clement 2010 June 28;

National Post Staff 2010 June 28; Rider 2010 June 29; Toronto Sun 2010 June 26). For instance, photographic albums displayed numerous images of vandalism and deviance that were then followed by images of police arresting individuals (Toronto Sun 2010 June 26). The arrested individuals did not always appear in the prior photographs of violence and vandalism, however, these images were often accompanied by captions which insinuated both the criminality of the individual as well as the success of the police (i.e. 'police make arrests after violent protesters vandalize city').

In the month immediately following the summit weekend (time period 3), the police began to conduct investigations into protester deviance and criminality. During this time, the news coverage of the Toronto G20 weekend continued to primarily use the property crime story, the violent crime story and the riot frames. For instance, protesters were still constructed negatively as 'reckless thugs,' 'squads of vandals,' hooligans,' 'nutbars running amok,' 'ne'er-do-wells,' and 'criminals,' who had gone on a 'rampage,' 'trashed Toronto,' 'smashed windows,' and 'torched police cars'. However, much of this news coverage focused not only upon describing protester violence and vandalism, but also upon police investigations and their success in apprehending the '*most wanted*' criminal protesters. This was evident from both the focus of the articles as well as the images that accompanied them:

Three more men have been identified for their alleged role in the G20 mayhem that erupted on Toronto's streets last month. The Toronto Police G20 Investigative Team issued arrest warrants for three men Friday - one for allegedly torching a police car at Queen St. W. and Spadina Ave. and two others for smashing cruisers (Peat 2010 July 16).

At a press conference this afternoon, Detective Sergeant Gary Giroux said police have already rounded up three protesters whose photos were released by police last week. One of the suspects — Ashran Ravindhraj, 25 — turned himself in and appeared at a bail hearing this morning. [...] One man is wanted for standing on

top of a police cruiser and kicking out its windows with rollerblades. Another man with a covered face is shown holding a bag of rocks he allegedly used to break glass throughout the downtown core, contributing to \$300,000 in property damage to Starbucks, Tim Hortons and other businesses (Vallis 2010 July 14).

Toronto police continue to make G20-related arrests. On Wednesday, they announced the arrest of Matthew McDonald, 33, who allegedly damaged a police car on June 26. Amanda Hiscocks, one of the four alleged ringleaders of the G20 riots, was also released on \$140,000 bail Wednesday (Yang 2010 July 28).

These articles were frequently accompanied by images from the Toronto Police G20 ‘most wanted’ list (Peat 2010 July 16; Stancu 2010 July 16; Vallis 2010 July 14).

This list used police surveillance photographs, YouTube videos as well as citizen submitted images. The police had provided these images to the media in hope that the general public would be able to provide assistance in identifying the suspects. The images often included YouTube videos that depicted protester or citizen acts of deviance, as well as ‘mug shots’. These mug shots had been cropped from larger photographs or videos, and focused upon the faces of individuals.

The media sometimes used these images and text in conjunction with one another to help subtly imply criminal responsibility. For instance, some articles included both a still image of a suspect’s face, as well as a video that purportedly showed the individual smashing windows or jumping on a police car. Text was used to indicate that the suspect was the same individual in both the mug shot and the video. By using these materials, the reporters were able to use legally correct terminology to describe the individual and their actions (i.e. ‘suspect,’ and ‘alleged’) while simultaneously visually alluding to the individual’s responsibility and guilt.

Although in time period 3 police were generally presented in a positive manner, it is important to note that not all accounts of police were positive. During this time period,

a handful of reports began to emerge expressing discontent with the policing of the Toronto G20 (Contenta 2010 July 11; Postmedia News 2010 July 22; Yang 2010 July 5). This was especially reflected in the media coverage provided by the *Toronto Star*. These reports were concerned with the mass arrests of citizens as well as the treatment of reporters and bystanders by police. They also reported citizen, protester and politician desires for a public inquiry to be conducted into the planning and security of the Toronto G20. However, in comparison to reports that constructed police positively and protesters negatively, these reports were rare. Additionally, many reports produced during time period 3 actually attacked protester claims of victimization (see Hudak 2010 July 5). It was not until period 4 that the sympathetic frame came to be largely used and unchallenged in media reports. I will now turn to describing this shift in news coverage.

Sympathetic Frames

The primary sympathetic frame that was used in the media coverage of the Toronto G20 was the unjust persecution frame. Media reports that used this frame discussed protester civil rights violations and/or instances of police brutality. This frame generally produced neutral constructions of protesters, and negative constructions of police. The unjust persecution frame was primarily used by the *Toronto Star*, and less so by the *Toronto Sun* and *National Post*. This frame was somewhat present during all time periods and became increasingly used by the media as time progressed; however, it was not until time period 4 that this frame became dominant in the media coverage of the Toronto G20 protests, protesters and police.

In time period 1-3, there were various reports that used the unjust persecution frame to some extent. During these time periods the reports were primarily concerned

with civil rights violations. For instance, leading up to and during the summit, the news sources considered the potential rights infringements that could occur due to G20 security and police measures (Higgins 2010 May 27; Goddard 2010 May 27; Godfrey 2010 June 18; McLean 2010 June 14). Additionally, prior to, during and immediately following the summit, some articles reflected concerns regarding rights violations that occurred due to the Ontario Government's enactment of the Public Works Protection Act⁵, the police misrepresentation of this act⁶ (McLean, Benzie and Talaga 2010 June 30; Yang 2010 July 28; Wallace 2010 July 10), the arrest of many 'innocent' citizens and 'peaceful' protesters by police⁷ (Doolittle 2010 July 21; Wallace 2010 July 6), and the conditions of the temporary detention facility⁸(Doucette 2010 June 29).

Nevertheless, while these issues were raised, many more articles in these time periods ignored or denied the victim status of protesters. For instance, leading up to the summit, the news reports were dominated by the concerns of citizens and businesses, rather than protesters. The news sources frequently mentioned that citizens feared they would be "prisoners in their own city" (McLean 2010 June 8), and business owners worried that they would lose revenue because of the summit (Warmington 2010 June 23; Yuen 2010 June 10).

Additionally, through use of editorials and public opinion polls the *National Post* and *Toronto Sun* often defended the actions of police officers and engaged in victim blaming—blaming citizens and protesters for any civil rights violations they experienced:

It wasn't frontline police officers who smashed storefront windows and torched police cars. Sadly, in the wake of the violence, a number of usual-suspect special interest groups are attempting to pin blame, not on the hooligans, but instead on our police services or the federal government. But it wasn't frontline police officers who spent a weekend smashing in storefront windows, and it wasn't federal government officials who torched police cars. Instead these were the acts

of violent anarchists, with a long history of using "peaceful" protest marches at international summits as cover for reckless acts of extreme violence. That is why I oppose the orchestrated attempt by these activists to demonize our police services in the wake of the G20 violence. I proudly stand behind the men and women of our police services that were faced with a daunting and difficult task of protecting the public against these professional vandals and hooligans (Hudak 2010 July 5).

Many more readers took the side of the police and the civic authorities that supported their crackdown on G20 demonstrators. "I have no sympathy for protesters, innocent or not, who were arrested and detained overnight, and then had the nerve to whine about being too cold, too hungry or too thirsty," wrote Valerie J. Palmer. "Tough. They chose to be in the wrong place, at the wrong time. [...]" "Having witnessed first-hand what was happening downtown, I cannot understand why anyone would criticize the police," added Terry McDermott. "The only rightful criticism belongs to the cowardly troublemakers who came in disguise to wreak havoc and fear. Every officer I saw while making my way up Yonge Street, away from burning police cars and brick throwers, deserves a medal for a job well done" (Russell 2010 July 2).

In sum, these articles tended to reflect the 'you should have stayed at home mentality': Because protesters chose to go to the summit to protest, and because some protesters were violent, all protesters ultimately waived their rights and their victim status. According to these reports, any rights violations could be justified as necessary in light of the actions of violent protesters as well as the extraordinary circumstances created for security by the G20 summit.

It was not until time period 4 that all of the news sources began to frequently and genuinely construct protesters as victims and police as offenders. In this period, the unjust persecution frame became dominant and verbal-visual constructions of protester victimization, police violence, police misconduct, and police silence began to be readily incorporated into numerous media reports.

By fall 2010, multiple official inquiries into the security and policing of the Toronto G20 summit commenced. The inquiries had been initiated due to the

accumulation of numerous public and protester complaints as well as visual evidence pertaining to police misconduct and brutality⁹. The inquiries included a review led by retired chief justice Roy McMurty into the Public Works Protection Act, an investigation led by Ontario Ombudsman Andre Marin into the Public Works Protection Act and 5 metre rule, a Toronto Police Services Board inquiry lead by Associate Chief Justice John Morden into the police chain of command, inquiries conducted by the Ontario Independent Police Review Director into policing conduct, investigations lead by the Special Investigations Unit (SIU) into severe injuries obtained by citizens in police custody, as well as multiple class action suits that were launched by protesters and citizens. The media coverage during this time frequently reflected the findings of these investigations.

The use of the unjust persecution frame seemed to increase after the SIU concluded its initial investigation into complaints regarding police brutality. In several cases, the SIU determined that excessive police force likely caused protester and citizen injuries. However, although many of the complaints were accompanied by visual evidence of the incidents, the inquiries failed to identify the offending police officers. The SIU director Ian Scott attributed the failure of these investigations to a lack of cooperation on the part of the Toronto Police (Poisson 2010 November 29).

At this point, the news sources began to produce articles that explored police brutality, protester victimization, as well as police silence and lack of accountability. The media also began to actively incorporate the citizen/protester evidence which had been brought to their attention by the official inquires. In light of this available evidence, the news sources frequently questioned the accountability of the police force as well as put

pressure upon Police Chief Bill Blair to hold his officers responsible. The *Toronto Star* even initiated its own investigation into the matter—calling on citizens to submit more evidence of police misconduct and brutality (Dimanno 2010 December 8; Poisson 2010 November 29). As more evidence was received, the SIU began to reopen its cases, and by December 2010 an officer had been arrested and charged.

Media reports during this time frequently explored the victimization of protesters by police. For the most part, these protesters were generally described as being legitimate victims because they were innocent, peaceful, and did not provoke a police attack. The media also tended to distance these individuals from their protester label. For instance, the reports would provide information about the individual's occupation, such as mentioning that the victim was a "stage designer," (Wallace 2010 December 7), or a "cookie maker" (Robson 2011 May 26). This allowed the news sources to construct the individual as ordinary citizen and ultimately drew attention away from their status as a protester.

However, although the victimization of protesters dominated news coverage during this time, media accounts quite often only incorporated cases which were accompanied by visual evidence, and which were already the subject of official investigations. For instance, the police assault on Adam Nobody, Dorian Barton, and Brendan Latimer were frequently textually outlined in news reports¹⁰. These reports were also frequently accompanied by visual evidence of the incident—visual evidence which had been captured by citizens or protesters:

Nobody [was] chased by about six uniformed officers and then tackled
[...]. Nobody suffered a broken cheekbone and nose (Wallace 2010 December 7).

Barton, a 30 year-old cookie maker, suffered a broken right arm, bruised back, swollen limbs and a black eye in the arrest near Queen's Park. He said he was taking a picture when an officer blindsided him with a riot shield (Robson 2011 May 26).

Mr. Latimer, who still finds the incident tough to discuss, says police pounced on him at Queen's Park on June 26 and started pounding his body with batons, breaking his nose (O'Toole and Wallace November 25 2010).

In these cases, the victim status of protesters was not challenged. Instead, the media presented their complaints of police brutality as fact. However, it is important to note that the media did not treat all protesters alike. Black Bloc protesters continued to be presented as 'thugs' and 'vandals'. In addition, protester complaints which lacked visual evidence were often awarded less media attention and were presented in media reports as being less credible or legitimate than those accompanied by visual evidence. For instance, in such circumstances, the media often repeatedly emphasized that the complaints were "allegations" that had "yet to be proven" (Allen 2011 February 11; Cherry 2011 September 8).

In contrast to protesters, the police were often textually and visually constructed negatively. Though much media coverage initially praised the summit as a policing success, as time progressed, the G20 weekend largely came to be constructed as a policing failure. Many of these media reports characterized the policing of the summit as an under and overreaction: police had underreacted on the Saturday of the summit by allowing 'black bloc thugs' and 'vandals' (Coyle 2010 November 5) to go on a 'rampage of destruction' (Warmington 2011 June 18) throughout the city, and had overreacted on the Sunday by using excessive force as well as and arresting hundreds of innocent citizens

and peaceful protesters. As this construction changed, the news sources began to focus upon police brutality and misconduct.

The media constructed police deviance as both an individual and systemic phenomenon. For instance, while many media reports outlined individual instances of police brutality and violence, they also problematized what they deemed to be a lack of police accountability. The media felt that it was particularly problematic that no police officers had been identified or officially charged despite the existence of visual evidence depicting police violence. This lack of accountability was defined as a force wide epidemic and senior management problem. Consequently, instead of discussing the ‘thin blue line protecting society,’ the media became very critical of the police and began to subsequently discuss the “thin blue line disease,” or the “code of silence” (Warmington 2010 November 26; O’Toole 2011 June 24) which was preventing police officers from being held accountable:

Police hate the "no-snitching" mantra among witnesses of crime in gangster Toronto but don't seem as appalled when it's them who are the witnesses being asked to rat out their fellow officers.[...] Well how about you, deputy, and Chief Bill Blair? You recognize any of these officers? They do work for you. Or has the "code of silence" kicked in? How about the visiting police? Any of your pals involved? Cat got your tongue? (Warmington 2010 November 26).

“I see you, Mr Policeman. I see your mustachioed face, the visor so helpfully lifted up. I see your arm—in short sleeve uniform shirt—pumping back and forth, brutally beating. I see the baton in that hand. And do you, Police Chief Bill Blair, recognize this cop? Was he one of yours, pounding on Adam Nobody that awful day, June 26, 2010 when peaceful G20 protesters were assaulted by some law enforcement thugs at Queen’s Park? If so, what do you intend to do about it now, sir? (Dimanno 2010 December 7).

Despite countless allegations of police brutality and violations of civil liberties, just two police officers face charges related to the G20. In both cases, the charges stemmed from protracted probes by the Special Investigations Unit, the provincial watchdog that investigates potentially criminal incidents involving police. In

numerous other cases, witness officers could not identify suspect colleagues, sparking criticisms of failed account-ability (O'Toole 2011 June 24).

These articles were often accompanied by citizen or protester-captured images that depicted the police assaults on protesters, as well as portrait-cropped photographs of the offending officers. In conjunction with text and editing software, these images were used by the media as both visual evidence of police brutality as well as to emphasise the reported lack of police accountability. Firstly, while the footage and images helped to provide visual evidence of police brutality, they often displayed chaotic scenes from the G20 weekend, or were of poor quality. Consequently, it was sometimes difficult for the viewer to decipher meaning from images alone. For instance, while it was clear from video footage that police officers had run toward and knocked Adam Nobody to the ground, it was not as apparent that an officer was kicking and hitting him. To help the viewer properly interpret the footage, the media used text to describe the actions of police, as well as visual cues (i.e. slowing down video footage) to highlight the actions of interest (Daubs 2011 March 9; Dimanno 2010 December 7; Warmington 2010 May 26).

Thus, while overall many of the news stories used marginalizing frames, there was a shift over time with regard to media frames. The news coverage surrounding the Toronto G20 summit initially used marginalizing frames, however as time progressed, the media came to increasingly use sympathetic frames. I now turn to describing how media reports used and presented official and unofficial sources.

Media use of Official and Unofficial Sources

Overall, throughout all time periods, the newspapers tended to primarily rely upon the views, opinions and accounts provided by official sources. For instance, the *National Post*, *Toronto Sun* and *Toronto Star* used more official than unofficial sources in their

news articles (see Table 4). These official sources were not only frequently used, but were also presented in news reports as being the primary authoritative voice on matters relating to the G20, and as generally being more credible than unofficial sources (see Table 5). This was especially apparent when comparing the credibility of police sources with the credibility of protester sources (see Figure 1).

Of the official sources, the media primarily used police sources followed by various levels of government, lawyers, and miscellaneous officials (i.e. those conducting inquiries into the Toronto G20) (see Figure 2, Figure 3, and Figure 4). For instance, the news sources frequently quoted Police Chief Bill Blair, Det. Sgt. Gary Giroux, Media Relations Officer Wendy Drummond, as well as Ian Scott, the Director of the SIU.

With regard to unofficial sources, protesters or protests groups were the most frequently used non-official source. The news sources repeatedly interviewed and provided quotes from the same protesters (i.e. Alex Hundert, Adam Nobody and Nathalie Des Rosiers), and same groups (i.e. the Southern Ontario Anarchist Resistance or the Canadian Civil Rights Association).

However, while these were overall trends, there were notable differences among the news sources with regard to how they used and presented official and unofficial sources. For instance, of the three news sources, the *Toronto Star* tended to use the most sources, and be the least reliant upon official sources (see Table 4). The *Toronto Star* also tended to present unofficial sources, such as protesters as having a higher degree of credibility, and police as having a lower degree of credibility than the *National Post* or *Toronto Sun* (see Figure 1).

Table 4 Newspaper Use of Official and Non-Official Sources

	Time 1		Time 2		Time 3		Time 4		Total	
<i>National Post</i>										
Official	19	70.4%	24	54.5%	19	57.6%	48	68.6%	110	63.2%
Non-Official	8	29.6%	20	45.5%	14	42.4%	22	31.4%	64	36.8%
Total	27	100.0%	44	100.0%	33	100.0%	70	100.0%	174	100%
<i>Toronto Sun</i>										
Official	28	73.7%	26	47.3%	28	60.9%	35	72.9%	117	62.6%
Non-Official	10	26.3%	29	52.7%	18	39.1%	13	27.1%	70	37.4%
Total	38	100.0%	55	100.0%	46	100.0%	48	100.0%	187	100%
<i>Toronto Star</i>										
Official	43	62.3%	66	59.5%	17	54.8%	54	57.4%	180	59%
Non-Official	26	37.7%	45	40.5%	14	45.2%	40	42.6%	125	41%
Total	69	100.0%	111	100.0%	31	100.0%	94	100.0%	305	100%

Table 5 Average Credibility of Official and Unofficial Sources

	Time 1	Time 2	Time 3	Time 4	Total
<i>National Post</i>					
Official	4.1	4.1	4.1	3.7	4
(Police)	4.3	4.6	4.6	3.6	4.3
Non-Official	2.4	2.3	3.3	2.8	2.7
(Protesters)	2.5	2.3	2.5	2.6	2.5
<i>Toronto Sun</i>					
Official	3.5	4.4	4.2	3.3	3.9
(Police)	4.4	4.7	4.3	3.1	4.1
Non-Official	2.4	2.6	2.7	3.3	2.8
(Protesters)	1.9	2.5	2.5	2.8	2.4
<i>Toronto Star</i>					
Official	4.2	4.0	3.4	3.4	3.8
(Police)	4.5	4.1	3.5	2.6	3.7
Non-Official	2.6	3.6	3.3	3.7	3.3
(Protesters)	2.3	3.4	3.3	3.3	3.1

Figure 1 Average Credibility of Police and Protesters

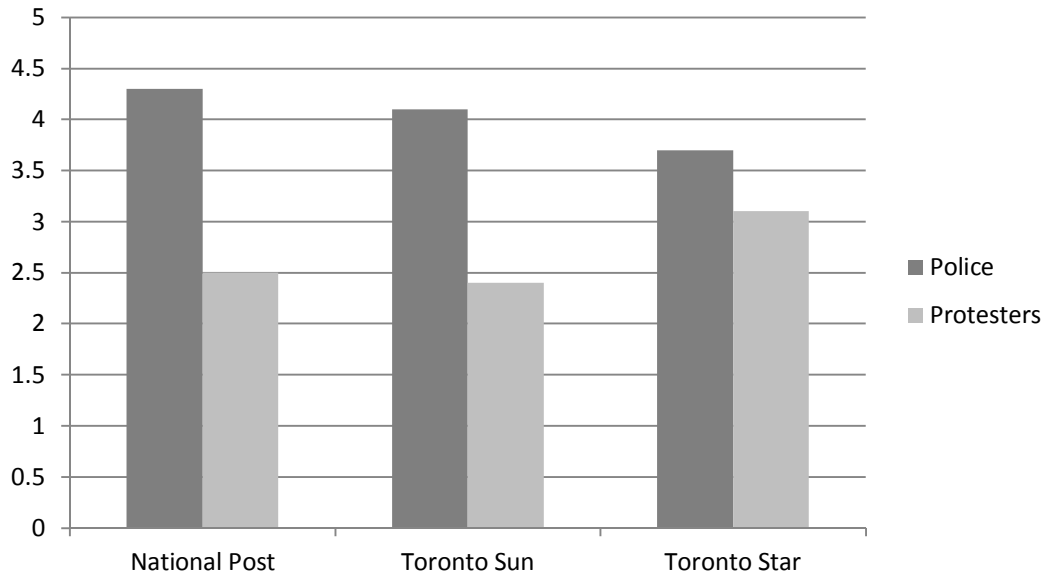


Figure 2 *National Post*: Distribution of Official Sources

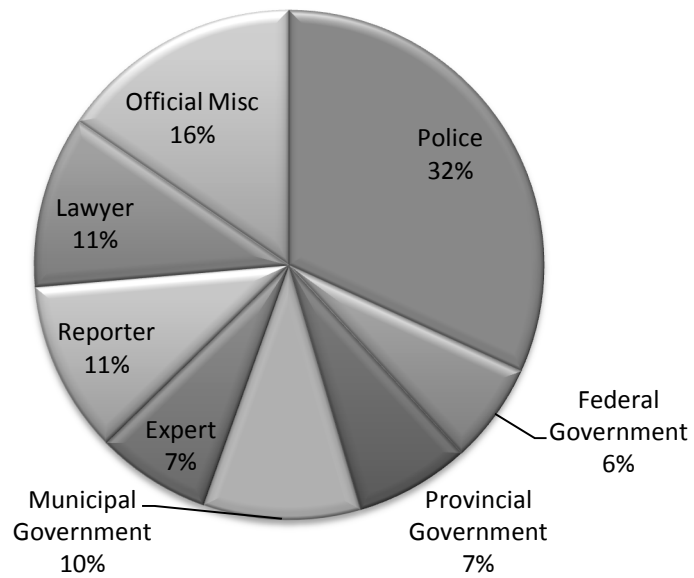


Figure 3 *Toronto Sun: Distribution of Official Sources*

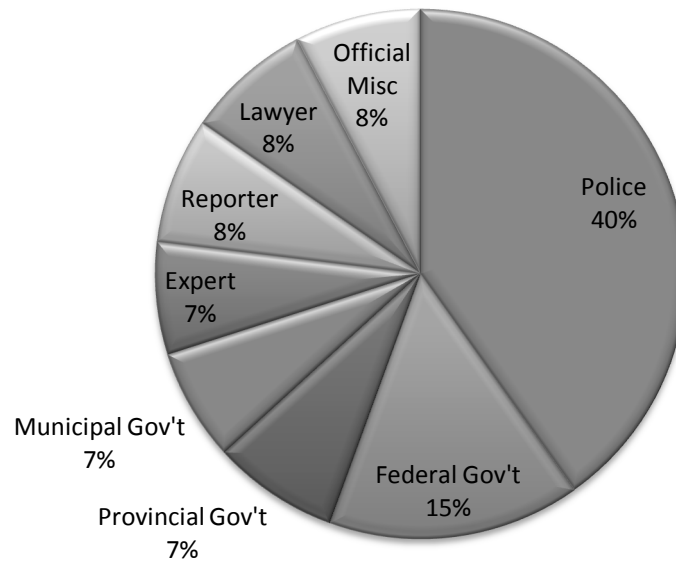
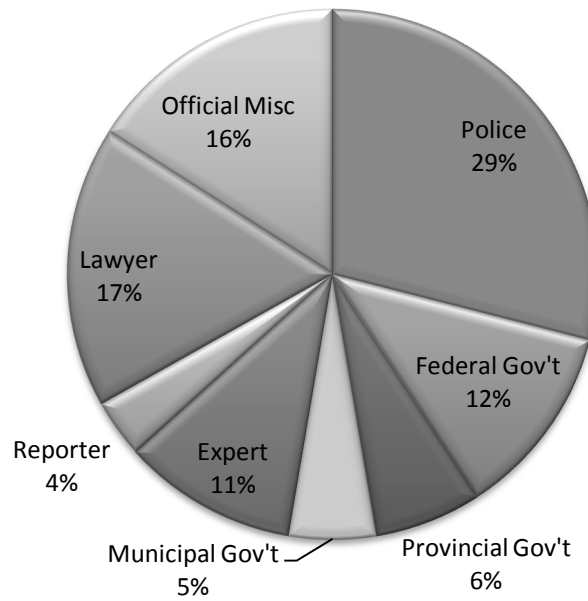


Figure 4 *Toronto Star: Distribution of Official Sources*



In addition, over time there were changes with regard to how official and non-official sources were used. While the aforementioned trends generally held true for time periods 1-3, come period 4 there were slight differences with regard to how sources were used and presented. For instance, leading up to, during, and immediately after the summit, official sources such as police and government officials seemed to dominate and dictate the nature of media accounts. These sources were used by the media to outline the dangers posed by protesters, to outline the nature of police-protester interactions, and to sometimes even define what images of the summit depicted:

Const. Wendy Drummond, spokesperson with the summit's Integrated Security Unit said the decision to move the matriarch elephant and her two calves was done by the property owner and not recommended by police. The statues, however, could become targets, she said. "They could spray paint. They could damage it that way" (McLean 2010 June 21).

Mayor David Miller condemned the "criminals" who vandalized the city's streets, expressing outrage at the way some protesters chose to make a political statement as world leaders met here for the G20 summit. "We were concerned about people coming to Toronto to deliberately commit violent acts and I have no doubt whatsoever that this is what we are seeing. Torontonians should be angry about it," Miller said. "People who want to deliberately break windows and burn cars. This has nothing to do with protests" (Toronto Sun 2010 June 26).

Many people have come forward in the media claiming they thought they were part of a peaceful demonstration and that they were unaware of any black bloc protesters within the group they latched onto. "If anybody had said that to me prior to me before mid-afternoon on Saturday (when the violence erupted), I would have accepted that excuse," Blair said. "After these anarchists and criminals demonstrated their intent by attacking the people of Toronto, by attacking our streets, then there was no excuse for standing shoulder to shoulder with those criminals, to protect them in your numbers. "We told the curious and naive to get out of the way and let us do our jobs. Thereafter, people who stood with the criminals were complicit in their activity," he maintained (Doucette 2010 June 28).

Toronto Police have released a Top 10 "Most Wanted" list and related pictures in the hopes of tracking down and charging some of the ne'er-do-wells who took over the streets on June 26, during the G20 summit.[...]Another man with a covered face is shown holding a bag of rocks he allegedly used to break glass

throughout the downtown core, contributing to \$300,000 in property damage to Starbucks, Tim Hortons and other businesses. “Do I think he’s one of the worst? Yes I do,” Det.-Sgt. Giroux said (Vallis 2010 July 14).

Det. Sgt. Gary Giroux, who leads the G20 investigative team, said three others wanted on Wednesday’s list have also been named. Police have issued arrest warrants for Kurt Roarco, 22, of no fixed address, Michael Corbett, 29, and Bryan O’Handley, 19, both of Toronto. Police say all three men are wanted for mischief charges, and Roarco is also wanted for arson. The probe has so far identified six people of about 60 wanted for destruction and violence during the G20 summit since police began releasing images of suspects last week. Three are now in custody on charges relating to arson, mischief, theft and assault (Stancu 2010 July 16).

In contrast, during these time periods the media rarely relied upon unofficial sources such as protesters or protest groups. When unofficial sources were used in articles, they were only briefly mentioned, and/or presented in a manner that served to discredit them as well as question their legitimacy as a protester. For instance, the newspapers would sometimes overtly discredit protesters by using negative or derogatory terms such as “Free-ride anarchy thugs” (Warmington 2010 June 23), “self-described anarchist[s]” (Blaze Carlson 2010 June 14), and “so-called anarchists” (Doucette 2010 June 26). These news sources also tended to discredit protester sources by drawing attention to their deviant appearance or behaviour (Kay 2010 June 27; Murphy 2010 June 28; Robertson 2010 July 22).

Media reports also subtly discredited unofficial sources by using various literary devices as well as creatively comparing and contrasting the accounts provided by unofficial sources with those accounts provided by official sources. For instance, in order to create the appearance of a balanced article, the media would incorporate the opinions of both protester sources and police sources. However, while both ‘sides of the story’ were included, the reports tended to heavily rely upon and consequently reflect the

opinions of police sources. In addition, while the media frequently allowed for and presented police rebuttals to comments or allegations made by protesters, protesters were rarely awarded the same courtesy. This granted police the ability to deny and discount protester assertions as well as to have the final authoritative word in news articles:

Among the most worrisome tactics police have deployed are visits to activists' homes and workplaces, they said. Kevin Tilley of the Movement Defence Committee said there have been 28 incidents where activists have been contacted by police since Feb. 21, ranging from benign phone calls to supposed interrogations. Alex Hundert, a member of the community-based activist group AW@L, said CSIS officers visited his Bloor West home a few weeks ago to talk about his intentions during the summit. After he declined to speak and closed the door, the officers lingered on his front step, he said.[...] "One (member) had his family's immigration status threatened by Toronto police," alleged Hundert, 30. "I think they're trying to scare people. They're trying to make people think it's not safe to protest and that it's better to keep quiet." Toronto Police Staff Supt. Jeff McGuire said any visits are so police "can gather information so we can make plans to provide safety to the citizens of Toronto." "Our goal simply is public safety. We're not trying to intimidate anybody. But we won't stand back and let criminal acts to occur," he said. McGuire said he wasn't aware of any complaints filed against police in connection to visits. Earlier in June, Const. George Tucker, an officer with summit's Integrated Security Unit's community relations group, told the *Star* that most protesters approached by ISU officers have just been slamming the door in their faces. He suggested that perhaps reports are being exaggerated. "They don't happen," he said. "There is a little bit of . . . subterfuge going on from those groups," Tucker said. "The last (visit) was two female officers, just dressed like you are — so that's intimidating (protesters claim)" (McLean 2010 June 8).

LRADS will mainly be used as a communications tool to transmit messages to a large crowd over a wide distance, but there are protocols for using the high-pitched alert function on people, said Const. Drummond of Toronto Police [...] "Saying a sound cannon is a tool for communications is like saying waterboarding isn't torture, just a tool for encouraging dialogue," Mark Calzavara, a Council of Canadians organizer, said in a statement. He went on: "This is meant to intimidate people and make them too scared to protest. They have spent over a billion dollars on security for this event now and it is clearly violating our charter rights." [...] Guidelines for use of the devices are currently in the process of being finalized and approved. All officers on the force have been briefed on their functions. The hand-held units, known as the 100x model, have a maximum decibel level of 137 at one metre away and can be harmful if used improperly. The decision as to what decibel level will be used is at the discretion of a trained supervisor. The main benefits of the devices for police are that pre-

recorded messages in many different languages can be used to disperse a gathering or warn suspects. “It’s very effective when dealing with a very large crowd, and having to overcome loud sounds, such as music and chanting,” Const. Drummond said. “Things such as evacuations, riots and protests will be the most likely time they are used” (Higgins 2010 May 27).

Designed to hold about 500 people at any given time, the prison contained about 650 at its peak; the last group was released Monday night. Many have complained they were never told of the reasons for their detention, nor given access to legal counsel. “All our civil liberties were taken away from us,” said Samantha, who spent Saturday night in the detention centre. “I completely lost all hope in democracy.” Staff Supt. McGuire rejected such allegations, leading journalists through a series of booking trailers, where he says all detainees were advised of their right to a lawyer and the charges against them, and given a chance to respond. He also directed the tour to a bank of Bell telephone booths, to which he said detainees had access — though not necessarily with dispatch.[...] “The No. 1 purpose for most of the arrests was basically to re-establish peace on the streets,” Staff Supt. McGuire said, calling the weekend a learning experience for the force. “I’m not going to stand here and say we’re perfect ... We faced the most challenging time that we ever had, [but] no one died, and that is a true credit” (O’Toole 2010 June 30).

While unofficial sources were used less often and were presented as having a low degree of credibility, there were some exceptions to these rules and differences among news sources. For instance, citizen sources were generally presented as having more credibility than protester sources. In addition, citizen and protester sources who expressed beliefs that were congruent with those of the police and media were often quoted more frequently and were generally presented as being more credible than dissenters¹¹ (Burnett 2010 June 26; Contenta 2010 June 26; Russel 2010 July 2).

In time period 4, the manner in which the media used and presented official sources and non-official sources began to change. First, although the proportion of official sources in news articles actually increased during this time period, police accounts of events no longer dominated the articles. Instead, the news sources primarily

relied upon official accounts provided by inquiry investigators (such as the SIU) as well as lawyers representing protesters:

“I’ve never seen that before,” said Norris, who plans to appeal Hundert’s initial arrest for breach of bail conditions, as well as the newest rules put on his client. Alan Young, a law professor at Osgoode Hall, says bail conditions are meant to prevent crimes from being committed — and a person’s rights can be infringed upon to a “reasonable” extent to ensure public safety. But in this case, Young says, the court has gone too far. “It’s basically putting a gag order on a citizen of Canada, when it’s not clear that the gag order is at all necessary to protect public order,” he said, of Hundert’s restriction from speaking to the media (Robson 2010 October 15).

The provincial police watchdog Special Investigations Unit said Tuesday that Const. Babak Andalib-Goortani was charged with assault with a weapon. The charge follows the SIU saying Nov. 25 that excessive force was used on Nobody on June 26 at Queen's Park but were unable to identify anyone in the video evidence, which was shown on YouTube.[...] Among the 12 officers who were designated as witness officers and interviewed, none were able to positively identify themselves as being in the videos or identify the other involved officers, the SIU said (Lamberti 2010 December 21).

The SIU also made an appeal Tuesday for the public’s help in locating additional people who may have videotaped Mr. Nobody’s beating. After further examination of Mr. Bridge’s original video, the SIU identified two men in the footage who can be seen near the scene of the beating holding what appear to be cameras.[...]Mr. Nobody’s lawyer Julian Falconer said Tuesday’s new video footage was “one step closer to getting at the truth,” but lambasted Chief Blair for refusing to order officers with knowledge of who participated in Mr. Nobody’s beating to come forward (Wallace 2010 December 7).

Second, in comparison to previous time periods, the credibility of police in media reports decreased, whereas the credibility of protesters increased. During this time, the media often challenged accounts provided by police sources and supported or defended accounts provided by citizen or protester sources—especially if these unofficial sources were already supported by accounts offered by other official sources as well as visual evidence. For example, during the investigation into the police assault on Adam Nobody, Police Chief Bill Blair attempted to discredit citizen and protester accounts of the event.

When the citizen video of Adam Nobody (filmed by citizen John Bridge) first emerged in media reports due to the SIU investigations, Blair alleged that the video had been tampered with. According to Blair, footage had been edited out of the video—footage which would have explained and justified why police ran toward and knocked Nobody over. Blair essentially attempted to redefine for the media what the image depicted. In previous time periods the media may have allowed police sources to define situations, however, this time the media challenged the account provided by Blair, and instead supported the accounts provided by other official sources, as well as protesters and citizens; police were no longer granted the power to define situations in media reports:

Blair said the YouTube video cited by the SIU as evidence of excessive police force, was “tampered with” and edited out of context. Shot by web developer John Bridge, the video shows Nobody chased by about six uniformed officers and then tackled. “It is very likely that what has been removed sheds light on why the man was arrested, and why force was used,” Blair said Monday. Charges were withdrawn in October against Nobody, who suffered a broken cheekbone and nose.[...] In an affidavit, Bridge said he turned his camera off briefly because he saw police rushing toward him, then turned it back on when he realized they weren't coming for him. The Star obtained a copy of the original video. The time code indicates a pause of four seconds between the two clips. “Police really only had the time to bring Adam to the ground,” said Bridge of the gap, adding there was no resistance or violence on the part of Nobody. [...] Firing back at Blair's comments, Ian Scott, director of SIU, announced Tuesday he would reopen his investigation into injuries suffered by Nobody. “I will be asking Chief Blair to provide the SIU with any further relevant information he has with respect to this incident and more specifically any forensic evidence in his possession regarding the allegation of tampering with the videotape,” Scott said.[...] [Adam Nobody] was taken behind a paddy wagon by two plain clothes officers and kicked repeatedly in the head. He said one officer was calling him a “piece of s---.” “Get up and fight me,” he recalled the officer saying, adding there were “tons of police officers around laughing” (Poisson 2010 December 3).

In general, as the media began to discuss police misconduct and silence, the credibility of police sources seemed to decrease in media accounts (Artuso 2010

December 7; Baute 2011 Jan 20; DiManno 2010 December 7; McPharland 2010 Dec 22; McPharland 2011 January 6; O'Toole 2011 June 24; Poisson 2010 December 3; Warmington 2010 November 26; Warmington 2011 May 26; Warmington 2011 June 18). In contrast, the credibility of unofficial sources seemed to increase in media reports. However, this increase in credibility appeared to be primarily produced by the increased use of supportive official sources such as the SIU, as well as visual evidence which helped to substantiate protester accounts.

Media use of Citizen Journalism

In general, the media rarely incorporated textual or visual material that was created by bystanders, protesters, or citizen journalists. Instead, the news articles tended to be accompanied with images captured by in house photographers, or images provided by professional image companies such as Getty (see Figure 5, Figure 6, and Figure 7). Additionally, quotes from or links to materials such as protester websites, Facebook groups or blogs were seldom incorporated into news articles.

However, with regard to images, it is important to note that it was sometimes difficult to determine who produced the material. For instance, when the media included images provided by third parties such as the police, the image was often cited as a "police handout". This made it difficult to determine whether the image had been captured by police surveillance or by a citizen journalist. Finally, it was sometimes difficult to determine whether material came from a vlogger/blogger, protester or a bystander as the media reports did not always make a clear distinction between the sources. Thus, instances of citizen journalism may have been unavoidably under detected in the analysis, as due to photo credit labelling, images produced by citizen journalists may have been

Figure 5 *National Post* Distribution of Sources

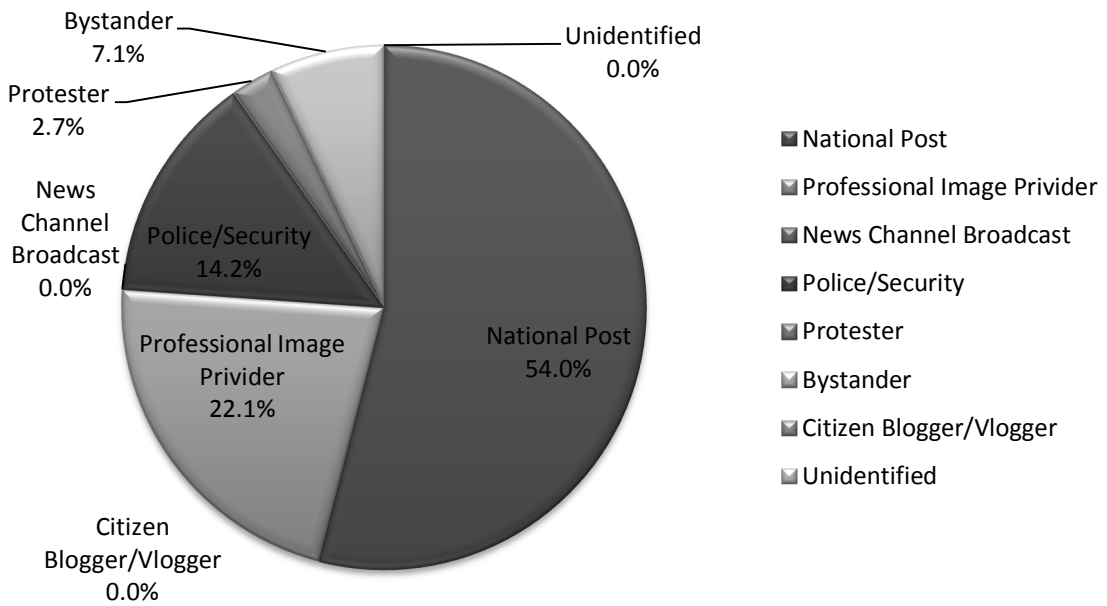


Figure 6 *Toronto Sun*: Distribution of Image Sources

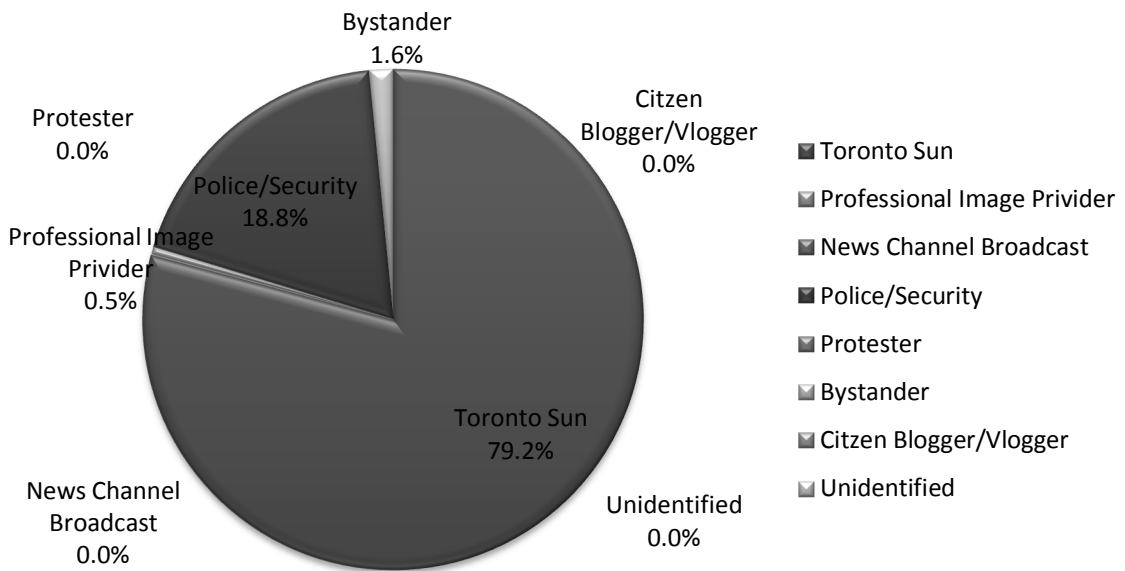
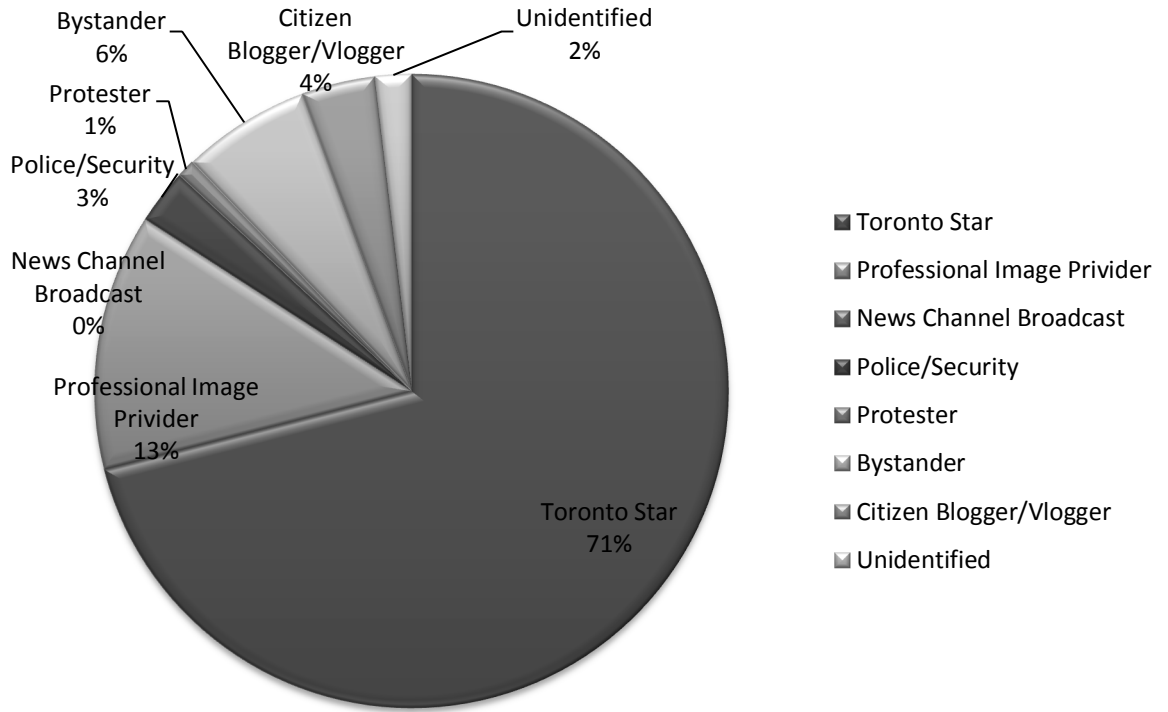


Figure 7 *Toronto Star: Distribution of Image Sources*



attributed to other sources such as the police or the mainstream media.

While bystander, protester, and citizen journalist material was rarely used, there were important differences among news sources as well as across time periods with regard to how this material was incorporated into articles. For instance, the *National Post* and *Toronto Star* were more likely than the *Toronto Sun* to incorporate this material into their articles. The *National Post* tended to incorporate this material primarily during time period 1-3, whereas the *Toronto Star* primarily incorporated this material during time period 4.

Additionally, during time periods 1-3, protester, bystander, and citizen journalist material was predominantly used by the media to support negative constructions of protesters. However, in time period 4 this material was increasingly used by the media to construct police in a negative fashion. It was also during this latter time period that the media began to increase their incorporation of citizen material. I will now turn to further describing how this material was used by the news sources throughout the different time periods.

Media use of Citizen Material for Negative Constructions of Protesters

From time period 1-3, bystander, protester and citizen journalist material was used by the media in order to construct protesters in a negative manner. The media carefully selected and incorporated this material in a manner that provided strong support for their construction of protester violence, vandalism and criminality. Material that was protester generated was selected and re-framed by the media so that it promoted negative stereotypes and served as evidence against protesters.

In time period 1, the media tended to select and incorporate materials which were created by violent or anarchist protesters rather than peaceful protesters. This material often depicted protester violence and helped to create support for media assertions regarding the impending threat posed by protesters—especially since this material was created by protesters themselves. For instance, the news reports would occasionally include hyperlinks and quotes from more ‘extreme’ protest groups—quotes and material which promoted protester violence:

The Southern Ontario Anarchist Resistance (SOAR) plans to take part in the June 26 People First march — a popular public rally at London’s G20 summit in 2009 — before continuing down to the security fence to “confront the police state.” “This action will be militant and confrontational, seeking to humiliate the security apparatus and make Toronto’s elites regret letting the dang G20 in here,” said the message, which first made rounds early last week (McLean 2010 May 18).

The news articles also included visual evidence of the threat posed by protesters in the form of protester and citizen created YouTube videos. These videos included footage of previous protests in which violence had erupted, as well as music videos created by anarchist rap groups which encouraged protesters to use black bloc protest techniques (Blaze Carlson 2010 June 14; Higgins 2010 May 27). While this material was used by the media to provide support for negative protester constructions, it is important to note that much of this material had been original created with the intention of providing support for and uniting protesters.

In time period 2 and 3, bystander and protester material continued to be used to support negative media constructions of protesters; however, this material tended to be more visual than textual in nature and was primarily incorporated into media reports due to the ongoing Toronto G20 police investigations. As previously mentioned, the police reached out to the public through the media for help in their investigation, and requested

that citizens submit their photographs and video footage, as well as provide assistance in identifying the suspects. The police also provided the media with images captured by citizen cameras and police surveillance devices. These images formed the ‘most wanted list’ and included action shots of individuals engaged in acts of violence or vandalism (i.e. smashing windows or setting cars on fire), as well as ‘mugshots’ of the suspect which had been cropped and enlarged from the original image in order to draw attention to the individual’s face and identity.

The police investigations also used citizen and protester images that were found on social media sites such as Facebook or YouTube. While the intention the material’s original creator or uploader may not have been to provide support for negative protester stereotypes, the police, and subsequently media sometimes reframed this material in a manner that cast protesters in a negative light. Specifically, the media used text as well as format choices in order to present such material as supportive evidence of protester violence, vandalism and criminality. For instance, a protester had uploaded a video onto YouTube with the intention of providing evidence of a police agent provocateur (Vallis 2010 July 14). The video depicted a young man dressed in expensive gear stomping on a police car, and the uploader had included a textual description outlining the reasons as to why this individual was likely a police officer. However, regardless of the deviant’s true identity, the *National Post* presented the video as evidence of protester violence and vandalism. The content of the video was redefined by both the author’s choice to embed the video in the article, as well as their reliance on the police narratives. As a result of embedding the video rather than providing a hyperlink, the *Post* was able to easily redefine the content as the uploader’s text no longer accompanied the video (the textual

write up was only available if you went directly to its YouTube webpage). According to the reporter and the police, the individual was not a police officer, but rather a protester. Consequently, the *Post* controlled for alternative interpretations of the image and promoted interpretations which favoured protester deviance and criminality (Vallis 2010 July 14).

It is important to note that during time period 3, there were some news articles that mentioned Facebook petitions for a public inquiry into police actions. There were also reports that mentioned the existence of YouTube videos and photographs that depicted instances of police misconduct. However, this material was not as prominent as material which related to the ongoing police investigations into protester deviance and criminality. Furthermore, although there were some articles in the sample which briefly mentioned the existence of images of police misconduct, none of these articles actually included such images. It was not until time period 4 that this material began to be actively incorporated.

Media use of Citizen Material for Negative Constructions of Police

In time period 4, the media began to change how it used citizen or protester created materials. While much of the material used in time period 4 had been available on the internet immediately following the summit in June 2010, it was not until mid- fall 2010—after the SIU completed its investigations into complaints of police brutality that the media appeared to readily incorporate this citizen journalist material. Instead of using citizen material to construct protesters in a negative manner, the media began to use this material to negatively construct the police. More specifically, the media began to incorporate citizen and protester material as evidence of protester victimization, and more

importantly, as evidence of police misconduct or violence. Additionally, this material was used by the media to offer assistance to the investigations into *police deviance*.

Overall, the media primarily incorporated only those bystander, citizen, and protester materials that were already subject to official investigation and that pertained to police violence or misconduct. Images from these sources were used in media reports to provide visual evidence as well as to support eye witness accounts regarding police brutality and the assaults on protesters such as Brendan Latimer, Adam Nobody and Dorian Barton. This material was also used by the media to challenge accounts provided by police officials such as Chief Bill Blair. As previously discussed, Chief Blair had asserted that police brutality did not occur during the summit; however, the media's inclusion of contradictory evidence (captured by citizens and protesters) quickly discredited these assertions.

While citizen or protester captured images helped facilitate media constructions of police deviancy, this material alone did not necessarily speak for itself or provide uncontested evidence. For instance, when the media first began to discuss the victimization of Adam Nobody as well as the citizen footage which had captured the attack, the police immediately attempted to redefine this visual material. For instance, Chief Bill Blair initially stated that the material had likely been tampered with, and asserted that the video did not accurately portray the incident¹². However, the credibility and validity of this visual material remained stable and untarnished as media reports primarily used supportive official statements made by the SIU to define the video. The media also provided support for the material by carefully examining it and asserting that the material had not been edited.

Although there were similarities among newspapers, it is important to note that there were also differences in time period 4 with regard to how citizen material was incorporated into news articles. Of the three sources, the *Toronto Star* tended to incorporate this material the most frequently and used it in an active manner as an investigatory tool. For instance, the *Star* began its own investigation into the lack of police accountability by requesting submissions of additional evidence from protesters and citizens, as well as reaching out to the public for help in identifying the officers in question. In contrast, the *National Post* and *Toronto Sun* tended to be more passive in their pursuit and use of citizen or protester material. More specifically, these news sources tended to only include materials which had been provided to them by the SIU. These news sources also did not actively seek out public assistance.

5. ANALYSIS

Media Constructions of the Toronto G20 and the Protest Paradigm

Observing all of the results condensed together, in keeping with previous research (Doyle 2003: 72; Greer and McLaughlin 2011: 26; Greer and McLaughlin 2010: 1048; Juris 2008: 62; Mawby 2002: 305; McFarlane and Hay 2003; McLeod and Detenber 1999; McLeod and Hertog 1999; Rosie and Gorringer 2009: 37; Sanders and Lyon 1995:32; Smith et al 2001: 1397), this thesis found that the majority of media coverage relating to the Toronto G20 portrayed protesters in a negative manner and rarely presented protesters in a positive manner. In contrast, police tended to be constructed by the media in a positive or neutral manner. Additionally, like many previous studies (Chan and Lee 1984; McLeod and Detenber 1999; McLeod and Hertog 1999), this thesis found that the media coverage of the Toronto G20 largely adhered to the protest paradigm pattern of

reporting. More specifically, for the most part, the news coverage of the Toronto G20 tended to use marginalizing frames, heavily relied upon official sources such as police, occasionally invoked public opinion (which was negative toward protesters and positive toward police), and engaged in other techniques of de-legitimization.

In sum, the majority of media coverage surrounding the Toronto G20 textually and visually focused upon protester criminality, violence and vandalism as well as anarchists or black bloc protesters. For instance, although the media indicated that the majority of protests and protesters were peaceful during the summit, much of this news coverage disproportionately focused upon the ‘attack’ waged on the city by ‘criminal’ protesters ‘dressed in black’ who lacked a ‘legitimate cause’ and who ‘smashed’ storefront windows or set police cruisers ablaze. This news coverage also tended to take on the perspective of the police and concentrated on police efforts to apprehend these dangerous criminal protesters. In comparison, peaceful protests and protester causes were rarely discussed or visually represented in media reports.

Police on the other hand were generally constructed in a positive or neutral manner as doing their job, preparing for the summit, and protecting the city from protester deviance, criminality, and mayhem. Photographs that accompanied these articles often followed suit, as police were shown standing in a line formation in their riot gear, containing angry mobs, as well as arresting those who were ‘responsible’ for the acts of violence and vandalism.

This media coverage largely marginalized, demonized and criminalized all protesters. Firstly, the media presented an overly simplified version of the Toronto G20 protests and protesters, as it largely neglected the diversity among protesters and protest

groups. Instead of discussing the many peaceful protests that occurred, or exploring the issues that drew many of the protesters to the summit in the first place, the media primarily concentrated upon protesters who used more extreme protest methods such as violence and vandalism. This disproportionate focus helped to perpetuate negative stereotypes as protesters were largely constructed as violent criminals without a cause.

Additionally, the media coverage also tended to create a caricature of anarchists and 'black bloc' protesters. These reports often only equated these groups with violence and criminality, and largely failed to provide an adequate explanation of anarchism or black bloc protest techniques. For instance, though some anarchists may use violence, there are many anarchists who reject its use (Monaghan and Walby 2012). More importantly, in contrast to what the media reports suggested, anarchism is a political stance rather than a specific type of protester (Monaghan and Walby 2012). Furthermore, while black bloc tactics involve destruction and vandalism of corporate properties, violence is not the sole purpose of this tactic. Instead, this tactic has historically been used by protesters to offer protection to one another. By dressing alike, these protesters work together to prevent the capture and arrest of comrades (Monaghan and Walby 2012). While black bloc techniques encourage the use of violence, it is important to understand that this violence is not intended to be malicious in nature nor to injure citizens; instead, as outlined by Juris (2005), it is performative in nature. Specifically, this violence is intended to gain media attention (so that protests might receive public attention), as well as to symbolically convey disapproval and rejection of capitalism. However, due to the simplistic media coverage, which primarily invoked stereotypes of protesters, these important details and nuanced differences were largely ignored. Instead,

the reports often conflated anarchism and black bloc protesters with criminality—protesters who were identified as anarchists or who used black bloc techniques were often automatically constructed or labeled in media reports as criminals.

Finally, the media reports also downplayed the effectiveness of protests, as well as constructed certain kinds of protests as being illegitimate. For instance, by expressing that individuals should have just stayed at home, the news articles conveyed the message that protests are not an acceptable form of expressing political dissent. Additionally, by comparing and contrasting peaceful protesters against violent protesters, the media often promoted the belief that peaceful protests are the only form of legitimate dissent; violent protests on the other hand are criminal and ineffective. Scholars have argued that such media reports help to support the status quo and help the elite maintain their position in society (Juris 2005; McFarlane and Hay 2003; Rosie and Gorringer 2009). By presenting violent protests and protests in general as being illegitimate and criminal in nature, individuals may be discouraged from voicing their political dissent and the general public may be deterred from listening to or taking their message seriously. Furthermore, by denouncing violent and radical protest techniques, the media may encourage individuals to only engage in peaceful protests. The latter may pose less of a challenge as it may be seen as less likely to threaten the elite or bring about change to the status quo.

The Fluctuation of Media Constructions and the End of the Protest Paradigm?

However, while the ‘lump sum’ of results offered support for the protest paradigm, the examination of news coverage throughout different time periods revealed that media constructions of the Toronto G20 protests, protesters and police did not remain stagnant, as this paradigm implies. Instead, and in keeping with previous research (Doyle

2003; Greer and McLaughlin 2010), as well as the tenants cultural criminology, this thesis found that over time, media presentations of the Toronto G20 underwent a continuous process of negotiation and construction. Firstly, while much of the news coverage throughout time period 1 to 3 adhered to the protest paradigm, there were subtle differences between these time periods with regard to how protesters were visually and textually constructed. In time period 1, media reports created anticipation of the potential threat posed by protesters. In time period 2, the media focused textually and visually upon protester violence and vandalism, and largely presented protesters as criminals and thugs without a legitimate cause. Finally, in time period 3, the media primarily focused upon the efforts of the police to apprehend the ‘anarchist thugs’ and ‘black bloc criminals’. These reports frequently incorporated mug shot photographs taken from the Toronto Police ‘most wanted list’. In contrast, throughout all these time periods police were generally presented in a positive manner and the G20 was largely constructed and defended as a policing success.

Secondly, the media’s use of the protest paradigm seemed to waiver as time progressed. Specifically, starting somewhat in time period 3, and then predominantly throughout time period 4, the media began to use marginalizing frames less frequently—instead news articles began to readily incorporate sympathetic frames. Consequently, this resulted in a change in how the media presented police and protesters, as the G20 weekend came to be largely constructed as a policing failure. Police began to be constructed negatively, whereas protesters began to be discussed in a more neutral manner. Protester violence was no longer the hot topic in Toronto G20 news coverage; instead the media produced stories that textually and visually outlined police misconduct,

silence and violence. Finally, police were no longer constructed as the heroes—they were the *offenders*, and protesters were the *victims*.

Furthermore, during time period 4, the media stopped depending and relying upon the police as their main source in articles. Police sources were also presented as being less credible and their accounts were frequently challenged (especially by the *Toronto Star*). Instead, the media tended to rely on other official sources such as those who were conducting inquiries into the Toronto G20. These sources provided accounts that were generally supportive of protesters—especially those who had been victims of police misconduct or violence. In turn, support from these official sources helped to increase the credibility of accounts offered by unofficial sources.

It would appear that during period 4 the media generally stopped using the protest paradigm in their news coverage as constructions of protester violence and criminality dissipated. However, to a large extent, the news coverage still incorporated some aspects of the protest paradigm. Specifically, although the media began to increasingly use sympathetic frames and construct protesters more neutrally, the media still continued to rely primarily upon the input provided by official sources. Though these sources were no longer the police, but rather inquiry investigators, and while these sources may have provided accounts that were more positive toward protesters than those provided by police, it still meant that official sources rather than unofficial sources were awarded the dominant voice in media reports. This meant that the nature of news reports was still dictated by the interests of official sources. For instance, these official sources directed media attention to the visual evidence and primarily focused upon specific instances of protester victimization and police misconduct or violence. Thus, these issues rather than

protester causes or concerns dominated the news coverage. Additionally, only a small proportion of protesters who claimed to have been victimized had their cases presented by the media. Consequently, the news coverage of the Toronto G20 only presented protesters in a binomial fashion as victims or offenders; throughout all time periods, the multiplicity of protester causes and the diversity of protesters remained absent.

Finally, although this thesis found general patterns in the news coverage among all three newspapers, it is important to mention that there were also subtle differences between the sources with regard to their adherence to the protest paradigm. In comparison to the *Toronto Star*, the *National Post* and *Toronto Sun* tended to produce more news coverage which followed this traditional pattern of reporting. In general, the *National Post* and *Toronto Sun* news coverage was quantitatively and qualitatively more negative toward protesters and more positive toward police than that of the *Toronto Star*. This result was not surprising as the *National Post* and *Toronto Sun* are typically conservative in political affiliation and tend to be more supportive of the police than the *Toronto Star* (which is liberal in political affiliation) (Worldpress 2012). Additionally, the *Toronto Star's* investigatory efforts were not out of character as the *Star* has previously taken it upon itself to question police and examine instances of discrimination in the criminal justice system (see Wortley and Tanner 2003). Overall, the results of this research provide empirical support for the commonly reported characteristics and typifications of the *National Post*, *Toronto Sun*, and *Toronto Star*.

The Role of Citizen Journalism

According to Greer and McLaughlin (2010) and Goldsmith (2010), lay people armed with technology are helping to bring about change in society's major institutions.

Greer and McLaughlin (2010) focused upon the impact that citizen journalism had on the mainstream media's reporting of the London G20. Their study indicated that citizen material likely played an important role in shifting media constructions from protester violence to police violence. These researchers concluded that citizen journalists are "a key player in the news production process and a key indicator of the changing contexts within which 'news' is generated, disseminated and consumed" (Greer and McLaughlin, 2010: 1053). Thus, citizen journalists have the potential to challenge mainstream media constructions as well as the traditional hierarchy of credibility.

Goldsmith (2010) focused upon the impact of image capturing technology on the accountability of the police. Goldsmith (2010) argued that due to the increase of image producing technology, police are experiencing a 'new visibility' in which previously unseen aspects of police work have the potential to be captured and broadcast for the world to see. Consequently, in contemporary times, police may be less able to explain away instances of misconduct as they are increasingly under public scrutiny.

The results of this thesis produced some support for these scholars' assertions. Firstly, the media coverage of the Toronto G20 occasionally incorporated citizen and protester material, and some of this material seemed to help change the media's constructions of the Toronto G20. While initially presented as a policing success, by time period 4, the media came to construct the G20 weekend in a very different manner. Instead of discussing protester violence and police professionalism, the media instead began to discuss protester victimization and police brutality. Additionally, there seemed to be a slight shift in the hierarchy of credibility. Instead of relying upon accounts provided by the police, the media began to rely upon accounts provided by other officials

such as inquiry investigators. In comparison to previous time periods, police accounts tended to be presented as less credible, whereas protester and citizen accounts were presented as being more credible (due to the existence of visual evidence *and* the support of official investigators).

Secondly, with the assistance of the mainstream media, this material acted as a police accountability mechanism, as it provided visual evidence of instances of police misconduct and brutality—incidents not (likely) captured by or disseminated by mainstream news cameras. Citizen complaints of police misconduct (many of which were backed by visual evidence) initiated numerous inquiries into the policing of the G20. After examining this evidence, these inquiries concluded that police misconduct and brutality had likely occurred. Regardless of these conclusions, due to a reported lack of cooperation by police, many of these traditional accountability mechanisms initially failed to hold any officers accountable for their actions. At this point the media seemed to take over from the official investigations as news reports increasingly incorporated visual evidence of police misconduct, as well as challenged and questioned police accounts of the incidents. Inspired by the existence of visual evidence produced by bystanders and protesters, the *Toronto Star* even initiated its own investigations into these ‘unsolved mysteries’. By widely publicizing these instances of police misconduct to the general public, calling on police to hold their officer accountable, as well as collecting additional visual evidence of misconduct, the media made it increasingly difficult for the police to ignore or explain away the incidents. The media’s embracement of this material also appeared to help official inquiries reopen and ultimately be solved.

Had it not been for the numerous citizens and protesters who captured visual evidence of police misconduct and brutality, the shift in media coverage from protester violence to police violence would likely have never occurred. More importantly, the police may not have been held accountable for their actions. This material helped to bring the victimization of protesters to the public's attention as well as prevent instances of police misconduct from being discounted or explained away by officials. Overall, this material helped to provide convincing evidence of the truth that was hard for even the media to ignore.

However, that being said, it is important not to overstate the impact of citizen journalism, especially on the mainstream media's reporting practices. As Greer and McLaughlin (2010: 1056) cautioned:

Citizen journalists are neither automatically nor naturally imbued with cultural authority: they are not 'authorized knowers' (Ericson et al. 1989). Their position in the 'hierarchy of credibility' is precarious and contingent.

While this thesis produced findings which provide some support for Greer and McLaughlin's (2010) study, like other studies, the results of this thesis also indicate that the mainstream media still maintains its role as the gatekeeper in the news production process (Bachmann and Harlow, 2012: 219; Domingo et al., 2008: 327; Goode, 2009: 1291; Lewis et al., 2010: 164; Singer, 2010: 128). Specifically, while image capturing devices and citizen journalism may occasionally bring about some change in some of the media reporting practices, citizen journalism is not causing an overhaul in the news making process. The mainstream media still exercises immense control with regard to the selection, filtering, manipulation and presentation of material. Consequently the

participation of citizens in the news making process remains more of a potential than a reality (Domingo et al., 2008; Goode, 2009; Lewis et al., 2010).

As this thesis found, the existence of citizen or protester evidence does not guarantee that the mainstream media will incorporate it into their reports. This was certainly the case when it came to the coverage of the Toronto G20. Overall, the media did not incorporate citizen material as frequently as expected¹³. While the media reported that many citizens and protesters captured instances of protester or police misconduct, this material was infrequently incorporated into media reports. Furthermore, as previously mentioned, much of the citizen material which depicted police misconduct had been uploaded onto the internet immediately following the summit; however, the mainstream media did not begin to incorporate this material until months later—*after* official inquiries first examined and defined this material.

Though the media occasionally incorporated material produced by unofficial sources, its inclusion—especially in time period 3 and 4, appeared to be still influenced by the hierarchy of credibility (Becker 1967). Much of the citizen or protester material, such as the images or video that comprised the ‘most wanted’ list as well as the videos and images of police misconduct, were provided or brought to the media’s attention by official sources. Consequently, the inclusion of this material in media reports seemed to be contingent upon receiving official endorsement by police or inquiry investigators; the media only appeared to include this material once these official sources indicated its importance as well as defined its contents.

Finally, as the results from time periods 1-3 indicate, although the media may incorporate citizen and protester material, it may not always be used in the manner

originally intended or in a manner that is supportive of protesters. For instance, in the news coverage of the Toronto G20, the media seemed to primarily select citizen and protester materials which depicted protester violence and vandalism—materials relating to protester causes or peaceful protests were not included. Thus, in actuality, citizen or protester created material may be selected and/or manipulated by the media in order to promote rather than challenge pre-existing stereotypes regarding protests and protesters.

In sum, citizen and protester created material often seemed to be selectively and sparingly incorporated into mainstream reports pertaining to the Toronto G20. This finding is in keeping with studies that have explored the media's embracement of citizen journalism and its impact on the media's position as a gatekeeper (Domingo et al., 2008; Goode, 2009: 1291; Lewis et al., 2010: 164; Singer, 2010). These studies provide several reasons as to why the media infrequently or selectively engages with citizen journalism.

Firstly, while newspapers may encourage citizens to submit news tips, images, and videos, the media has the power to make the final decision as to whether or not the material is newsworthy, as well as how to present the material (Domingo et al., 2008: 337). As previously mentioned, many of the decisions made by the media and journalists are often constrained by societal, organizational and ideological restraints (Domingo et al., 2008: 327; Goode, 2009: 1291; Lewis et al., 2010: 164; Nakhaie and Pike 1995; Singer, 2010: 128). As a result, the media may only decide to incorporate those materials that are in keeping with traditional media practices and understandings—such as those that support rather than challenge negative constructions of protesters.

Secondly, while citizen journalist may provide breaking stories and a degree of authenticity, it is also important to consider that “there are issues of simulation,

manipulation, partisanship, and lack of accountability” (Greer and McLaughlin 2010: 1045). Consequently, many newspapers are weary of incorporating citizen produced material due to issues relating to quality, validity and legal liability (Reese et al, 2007: 239; Singer, 2010: 131). This concern may have played a role in the media coverage of the Toronto G20, as the media primarily incorporated citizen or protester material that had already been examined, authenticated, and defined by officials such as the police or SIU.

Thirdly, the media may not incorporate citizen journalism into their reports because the material does not provide anything new, or is unavailable for the mainstream media to easily use. Although citizen journalism is often presented as being in opposition to the mainstream media, and as having the potential to provide alternative accounts of events, research has found that it can provide accounts that are very similar to those offered by the mainstream media (Goode, 2009; Reese et al., 2007; Singer, 2010). This may be due to bloggers or vloggers borrowing or heavily relying upon material from mainstream news sites (Goode, 2009; Reese et al., 2007). Additionally, some citizen journalists may operate in a manner that is very similar to the mainstream media. For instance, like the mainstream media, citizen journalists have been socialized into the dominant ideology of their culture. As a result, just like the mainstream media, there may be certain social factors which constrain whether and how these individuals report on or present issues. Like the mainstream media, citizen journalists may also focus upon spectacle and violence and consequently fail to provide news coverage relating to less sexy or attention grabbing issues such as protester causes or peaceful protests (Poell and Borra 2011).

Overall, the impact of citizen journalism on the media's use of the protest paradigm and construction of the Toronto G20 seemed to be marginal. While this material helped to bring about change in how the media discussed the Toronto G20, protesters, and police, in comparison to the media coverage of the London G20 (Greer and McLaughlin 2010), it took quite some time before media constructions shifted predominantly from protester violence to police violence. Perhaps this is because the Toronto G20 summit did not result in the death of any participants, or perhaps it is due to differences between Canadian and British media.

Furthermore, the media maintained its role as a gatekeeper and the hierarchy of credibility remained relatively unchallenged. Specifically, the presentation of citizen journalism in media reports was dependent upon the decisions made by officials and journalists; its inclusion was not required, nor was it guaranteed that this material would be used, or used in a manner that was supportive of protesters. The mere existence of this material did not pressure the media to change the manner in which they reported upon the Toronto G20. Instead, it seemed to be the combination of this material, the officials who both authenticated it and presented it to the media as being newsworthy, and the media's decision to ultimately incorporate it into news reports.

Finally, although citizen and protester material (with the help of official sources) appeared to facilitate a change in the media's constructions of the Toronto G20, it is important to also assess the overall quality of this achievement. While the news coverage during time period 4 provided an alternative account of the Toronto G20 summit, this news coverage still produced an overly simplified version of the summit weekend. The media shifted from discussing protester violence to protester victimization, and from

police professionalism to police violence and deviance. Though this shift in news coverage helped to bring about alternative accounts of the summit weekend, this news coverage was still spectacle and event focused; protester issues and concerns remained absent from the news coverage. Thus, while a shift occurred in the media coverage of the Toronto G20, the news coverage still resembled that which has been criticised by scholars (Bachmann and Harlow 2012).

The Role of Images in the Construction of the Toronto G20

Photographs and video played an important role in the construction of protests, protesters and police throughout the media coverage of the Toronto G20. Leading up to the summit, images of security preparations and previous violent protests were used in media reports to help visualize and actualize the ‘imminent’ threat posed by protesters, as well as to construct police as being professional. During and immediately following the summit, images helped media reports to construct protesters as anarchists, deviants, thugs and criminals, as the majority of these images focused upon documenting instances of protester violence and vandalism, as well as identifying those responsible. At the same time, police were still visually constructed as being professional and doing their job, as they were often shown in pictures standing in a straight line and containing protester violence or arresting protesters who were assumedly responsible for the destruction. Finally, commencing in fall 2010, images began to be used by the media to construct police deviancy and to contradict police narratives of the Toronto G20 weekend. Specifically, these images both provided powerful visual evidence of instances of police misconduct as well as contradicted police accounts. In fact, as mentioned, the media

tended to only treat individuals with visual evidence of their attack as worthy and legitimate victims.

These images occasionally conveyed meaning through relay with text, or on their own by subtly projecting visual messages that were not textually stated. For instance, during and immediately following the summit many media reports briefly indicated that violence was an exception rather than the norm as the majority of protests over the summit weekend had been uneventful and peaceful. Nevertheless, the accompanying images told a very different story. Specifically, images that depicted peaceful protests and protesters were nowhere to be found in media reports, whereas images that focused upon spectacle and instances of protester violence or vandalism were abundant. Consequently, the summit was not visually constructed as a peaceful or uneventful weekend; instead, the disproportional visual focus upon protesters dressed in black, smashed windows, fire and burning cars made it seem as though the protest weekend had been largely marred by violence. The brief textual mention of uneventful and peaceful protests became inconsequential and easily forgotten as both the images and text of these articles primarily focused upon protester violence and vandalism.

In comparison to articles that were only text, articles that contained images and text tended to produce more convincing accounts, as the selected images often served as effective evidence of the reporter's assertions. However, while images sometimes created meaning on their own or in relay with text, like Lippert and Wilkinson (2010) and Doyle (2003), this thesis found that text was frequently used to anchor meaning to images. In general, of the news articles that included both images and text, the media primarily relied upon images to provide visual evidence or support for textual accounts¹⁴. More

specifically, media reports used text to frame and define images as well as to encourage or prevent certain interpretations of the visual materials. The text often reflected official statements made by the police or reporters, which informed the reader as to who was in the image (i.e. a protester, anarchist, citizen or police officer), and what the image depicted (i.e. a criminal act, police doing their job). These textual narratives and descriptions also frequently helped to adhere meaning as well as criminality to images that were fairly ambiguous and not inherently criminal in nature¹⁵. Regardless of whether or not these images truly depicted instances of criminality, or whether the individuals depicted in them were responsible for acts of vandalism, the text acted to reduce all doubt by insinuating their guilt (e.g. the most wanted list and mug shots of perpetrators).

While many believe that ‘seeing is believing’ and that an image may capture an event and purport to offer access to the truth, as another old adage goes, an ‘image is worth a thousand words’. Consequently, an image may produce multiple interpretations—interpretations that are dependent upon the viewer’s culture, ideologies, and position in society. However, in order to limit these interpretations and to produce certain constructions, images may undergo a process of manipulation. As this thesis found, the media may select and present certain kinds of images over others and/or use text in order to emphasize a particular idea as well as to control the viewer’s interpretation. Therefore, while it is commonly believed that news images provide evidence and access to the truth, like textual media accounts, news images likely often reflect a constructed reality.

6. CONCLUSION

According to cultural criminology, social constructions are continuously undergoing a process of negotiation (Hayward 2010:2; Ferrell, Hayward and Young 2008:124). As this thesis found, media constructions of protests can change; they do not remain set in stone. More importantly, the media do not always strictly follow the protest paradigm. Definitions of protests may be susceptible to change due to the occurrence of new events in the public sphere (such as the inquiries), or the introduction of new evidence such as that produced by citizen journalists. With regard to the latter and in support of previous research (Greer and McLaughlin 2010), this thesis found that citizen journalism can help to facilitate change in the media's adherence to the protest paradigm and subsequent constructions of the event.

However, this thesis also found that the ability of citizen journalist's to impact the mainstream media is neither inherent nor guaranteed. Firstly, citizen or protester material may promote or be used by the media to promote existing stereotypes. Additionally, this material may be primarily defined by official sources rather than its original creator. Consequently, once published for public consumption, citizen journalists may be unable to exert control over how their material is used or presented.

Secondly, the media's role as a gatekeeper as well as the hierarchy of credibility appears to remain relatively intact and unchallenged. While citizen or protester material may place some pressure on the media to change their accounts of events, the inclusion of this material in mainstream reports appears to be largely dependent upon the decisions made by the media and official sources. Thus, the mainstream media and official sources

still have the ability define what material or topics are important and ultimately dictate whether or not they are included in news articles.

Consequently, although the media's use of the protest paradigm seemed to somewhat dissipate over time, certain aspects of this paradigm—particularly the media's reliance on official sources, remained relatively stable (although somewhat changed). It could be argued that this does not matter, as despite the media's continued reliance on official sources, the media constructions of protesters became less negative; however, it is still an important issue to consider. Specifically, although protester and citizen material was incorporated into mainstream media reports, and although police violence and protester victimization began to be discussed, this shift seemed to be largely dictated by decisions made by officials. Thus, it is questionable as to whether or not protesters were really granted a voice in media reports, as protester issues or concerns remained unaddressed.

Finally, as this thesis found, and in support of cultural criminology assertions, images can play an important role in the construction of crime and criminals. Images in news articles can help to promote or challenge existing stereotypes, and can also act as visual evidence. However, these images often do not work on their own as the media uses text to anchor meaning and to control for possible interpretations. This textual anchoring does not mean that the study of images is unimportant—in fact, it suggests the exact opposite. Images are important to study because they are a component in the media's constructions of events: images are *part of a whole*. This means that when exploring media constructions, researchers should not only solely analyze either text or images as such analysis will only produce a partial 'picture' of the media construction

process. Specifically, while the media may use text to anchor meaning onto images, this process alone, as well as the media's selection and manipulation of particular images, are part of the construction process; thus, both text AND images are essential considerations for media construction studies.

Future research inspired by cultural criminology, the protest paradigm, citizen journalism and images should take into account the findings of this thesis as well as seek to address the weaknesses its weaknesses and limitations. Firstly, scholars exploring media constructions of protests or events should consider widening their timeframe of interest. Many scholars in the past have seemed to primarily focus upon news coverage leading up to and during the protest event. Consequently, as this thesis has illustrated, their studies may miss important changes in how the media constructs the event. However, it is important to note that not even this study has captured the full process of meaning making surrounding the Toronto G20—for practicality reasons this study only explored media reports up until December 1, 2011. Thus, as constructions undergo constant negotiation, it is likely that media constructions of the Toronto G20 weekend have continued to change.

Secondly, future studies which wish to further explore the impact of citizen journalism should analyze more than just the mainstream media constructions as well as incorporate both articles that contain images and text, as well as text alone for comparison. Specifically, while media constructions are important, the media is not the only source which participates in the meaning making process. For instance, the police, politicians, internet, public inquiries, and society in general also add to and alter constructions of protests, protestors, and police (Ferrell and Sanders 1995: 14). This

thesis explored how the mainstream media incorporated citizen journalism, and thus was only able to theorize about the potential impact of citizen journalism on mainstream media constructions. Consequently, there may have been other factors that were important or influential in the mainstream media's constructions.

Furthermore, as some of the results of this thesis suggest, citizen journalism may be more influential (or at least more immediately influential) on certain societal institutions in comparison to others (i.e. on police accountability institutions). Thus, in order to get a more complete picture of the meaning making process as well as the impact of citizen journalism, future studies should explore not only media constructions, but also the interaction of these constructions with those offered by social media websites, as well the public sphere (i.e. inquiries). Additionally, studies should explore the impact of these multiple constructions on the general public's understanding of the Toronto G20 weekend. As although constructions and the meaning making process are important to study, it is also important determine how individuals have interpreted these various constructions¹⁶.

Finally, there are a few issues which scholars should consider when studying images and internet material. As previously mentioned, the results of this thesis help to stress the importance for criminologists to study and analyze both text and images. Just like text, the media uses images in their constructions; images are not just used in articles to add colour or make the page look pretty—they help to convey meaning. However, while criminologists should incorporate images into their studies, they also need to consider some issues associated with this material. Firstly, image analysis can be very time consuming. This is an important factor to consider when proposing your study and

planning a viable time frame. Secondly, there can be costs associated with using images especially if you want to include the images in your paper. While researchers are allowed to incorporate external textual material into their papers for free (by quoting, paraphrasing and citing the material), they are unable to do the same with images. This is because you often cannot reproduce an image¹⁷ without first receiving the proper permissions from the image's creator. Often, and in the case of editorial images, these permissions come with a hefty fee¹⁸, as well as many conditions. Unfortunately, while you may be able to analyze the images, it may be difficult to actually include them in your research paper. Consequently, a certain degree of information from your findings and analysis may be lost when you transcribe visual material into text.

Scholars should also be aware of the perishability and manipulability of material on the internet. While internet articles often contain images longer than print material, I found that as time progressed, the news agencies deleted some of their articles. Additionally, some of the links to material became broken and some of the images were even taken down¹⁹. Furthermore, it is important to consider that news agencies have the ability to continuously edit and change internet articles as a story develops. Luckily I had made hard copies of all the materials when I first began this research endeavor; however, that part of my original research plan. Thus, when conducting research on the internet or of images, scholars should carefully plan out their research methods in order to ensure that they maintain access to the material they are analyzing.

There are scholars who might argue that media studies such as this are futile as the media reports are never entirely accurate and there are those who might argue that media constructions have a minimal effect on the real world, (Peelo 2005: 27; Valverde 2006:

33). However, the media can be said to provide accounts that are more or less biased than others (Valverde 2006: 49), and these skewed constructions may lead to very real consequences (Sanders and Lyon 1995: 28-38). For instance, media reports that demonize, delegitimize and criminalize protestors may serve to deter individuals from engaging in protests and exercising their right to free speech. In addition, the general public may come to see protestors as being undeserving of legal protection and as deviant. This may also prevent individuals from participating in protests because they are fearful of the consequences. Furthermore, due to these constructions, police tactics that are unnecessary or excessive may come to be supported. Finally, these reports may also serve as a catalyst or as the inspiration for the development of criminal justice policies that could result in adverse consequences for protestors (Sanders and Lyon 1995).

In the case of the Toronto G20, the media coverage helped to contribute to very real consequences for protestors and citizens. Protestors came to the summit to voice concerns regarding issues such as the harmful effects of capitalism or globalization on the world. However, many of these individuals, along with bystanders had their rights violated, were unjustly arrested, and were even brutalized by agents of the state—all for merely voicing their concerns and exercising their rights. The mainstream media could have used this event to meaningfully explore protestor causes; however, such coverage was largely absent. Furthermore, while evidence of police brutality was captured by citizen journalists and published on websites such as YouTube, this evidence was largely ignored by the media for months following the summit. Instead, the media tended to produce news stories that simplified the events and frequently adhered to the protest paradigm.

In the case of the Toronto G20, the majority of the mainstream media news coverage helped to contribute to a miscarriage of justice for protesters and citizens. The media largely failed to warn the public of injustices and act as a watchdog. Instead, the media acted as a lapdog –justifying and rationalizing unlawful government actions rather than genuinely investigating them.

NOTES

¹ The mainstream media also uses blogs and tweets, however, this material is outside the scope of this thesis.

² Blogs or Vlogs are discussion websites on which an internet user publishes material. Blogs are primarily textually based (i.e. twitter or tumblr) whereas vlogs are primarily video based (i.e. YouTube Channels). The content on these webpages can vary dramatically from the user republishing mainstream news to the user creating their own original content.

³ Such as Facebook, Twitter, YouTube etc.

⁴ For the purposes of analysis, these three categories will be coded separately to control for any differences among the types of citizen journalists.

⁵ The media expressed concerns that the Public Works Protection Act had been purposely passed in secrecy by the provincial government.

⁶ The police originally asserted that the Public Works Protection Act granted them the power to stop, search, and detain anyone who came within 5 meters of the outside of the security fence which surrounded the security zone. However, following the summit, it was revealed that this rule only applied to 5 meters *within* the fence.

⁷ The media seemed to especially take issue with the arrest and treatment of innocent bystanders. This was perhaps because reporters themselves were also arrested during these mass arrests.

⁸ It was reported that the prisons had been overcrowded and very disorganized.

⁹ News articles also indicated that media pressure had also helped to inspire the investigations, however, the results of this study found no direct support for this assertion. Additional research would need to be conducted to explore this matter.

¹⁰ These were all cases that were subject to investigation by the SIU.

¹¹ For instance, protesters who denounced violent protesters were presented more favourably than those who expressed support for violent protesters.

¹² Chief Blair initially suggested that Adam Nobody likely did something to justify the actions taken by police.

¹³ This expectation was based upon mainstream media reports of the availability of citizen materials.

¹⁴ Articles with text and images, and articles with text alone were analyzed in this study. There were no major discernible differences between the two, except that the articles with the images tended to be more compelling and convincing than those without.

¹⁵ Such as in instances where the camera had not captured the act being committed by the perpetrator or in cases in which the images were where of poor quality and difficult to decipher.

¹⁶ For instance, while the media may present certain constructions of an event, an individual does not have to accept these constructions as truth—especially if they subscribe to competing constructions of an event.

¹⁷ This includes reprinting an image, or creating a new image in the likeness of an original image (i.e. by tracing or creating a painting from the original image)

¹⁸ These fees can vary dramatically depending on your end use.

¹⁹ The perishability of material is also the reason as to why webpage addresses were not used in this study to direct readers to particular images. Strictly speaking, in several years

from now, these links may not work, and the material may not even exist anymore. Additionally, readers should be cautioned that web materials are subject to manipulation and edits over time. This means that the news article that I analyzed in early 2012 may be different than the news article that the link now leads to.

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APPENDICES

Table A- 1 McLeod and Hertog's (1999) Protest Media Frames

Marginalizing Frames	
Violent Crime Story	Focuses upon protester violence and police efforts to apprehend the perpetrator.
Property Crime Story	Focuses upon property crimes (i.e. vandalism) and police efforts to apprehend the perpetrator.
Carnival Frame	Presents protesters as theatrical performers.
Freak Show	Emphasis is placed on the deviant appearance of protesters.
Romper Room	Presents protesters as childish and immature.
Riot Frame	Depicts protest violence as random in nature.
The Storm Watch	Focuses upon warning about the impending threat posed by protesters.
Moral Decay	Presents protesters as evidence of social decay.
Mixed Frames	
Showdown Frame	Frames the story around confrontation between police and protesters without a designated villain.
Protest Reaction	Presents the protest as a reaction to a previous event.
Dissection Story	Examination of the protest group practices.
Psychoanalysis Story	Analysis of the psychology of a group.
The Comparison Frame	Comparing and contrasting protest groups with other groups in order to connote legitimacy or deviancy.
The Trial Story	Focuses upon the court proceedings of a protest group.
Sympathetic Frames	
Creative Expression	Explores the artistic aspects of protests.
Unjust Persecution	Focuses upon civil rights violations or police brutality.
Our Story	Presents the viewpoints of protesters using their own words.
We Are Not Alone	Emphasises numerous groups who share the views of a particular protest group.
Balanced Frames	
Debate	Multiple viewpoints are equally and accurately presented.

VITA AUCTORIS

Stephanie Keyes was born in 1986 in Etobicoke, Ontario and grew up in Mississauga, Ontario. In 2004 she graduated from Cawthra Park High School. In 2010, she obtained her B.A. degree in Criminal Justice with Honours and with a minor in Psychology from Ryerson University. Stephanie is currently a Master's degree candidate in Criminology at the University of Windsor and will be graduating in January 2013.

Stephanie was inspired to conduct this research due to her personal experience of living in downtown Toronto during the Toronto G20 summit. She observed the transformation of Toronto leading up to the summit. She also witnessed the destruction that occurred during the summit as she lived right next to Yonge St. and walked along Queen St. on the night of the protests. Stephanie is personally grateful that she was not caught up in the mass arrests that occurred, however, she knows some people who were not so lucky.

She was also inspired to incorporate the analysis of images into her thesis due to her love of art and photography. In fact, before Stephanie pursued her degree in criminology, she studied fashion design. However, she quickly realized that she enjoyed design more as a hobby than a career. By combining the knowledge obtained from her studies in criminology as well as fashion design, Stephanie feels that she has been able to maximize and make full use of her education.