

Counteracting Stereotypes and Forgiving Bad Deeds:
How are Calgarian Journalists Framing the White Pride Parade?

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A thesis submitted to the
Faculty of Graduate and Postdoctoral Studies
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the
MA degree in Conflict Studies

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Abstract:

Drawing on the concepts of stereotyping, cognitive consistency and intergroup relations found in Social Identity Theory the researcher analyses journalistic coverage of confrontations between white pride group and antiracist group (ARA) in Calgary and Edmonton between 2008 and 2012. The aim of the analysis is to understand how Calgary journalists are framing the annual white pride parade. The journalistic frames are analysed with the help of content analysis and are guided by two research hypotheses: 1. Journalists from Calgary (as opposed to journalists from other regions of Canada) are more forgiving of anti-racists than the white pride group because of their stereotyped driven views; 2. Journalists from Calgary (as opposed to journalists from other regions of Canada) are portraying the white pride group as outsiders to protect their community's image.

Acknowledgement:

First and foremost I would like to express my deepest appreciation to my thesis advisor, Dr. Jean-Guy Goulet, who played an instrumental role in guiding this research. His help was invaluable and his questions and comments were indispensable. I am eternally grateful for his dedication and to the promptness he afforded me throughout this research. Without his knowledge and guidance this thesis would not have been possible.

I would also like to thank my fiancée Annie whose continuous love, support and patience made the long hours and late nights easier. My family Gilles, Jocelyne and Pascale Duguay, also helped me throughout this process with their love, encouragement and very much needed Sunday night dinners.

Finally, I would like to give special recognition to my mom, whose positive attitude during her battle with cancer was not only inspiring throughout this process, but is a keystone of my strength and determination today. My Grand Father, Conrad Duguay, also influenced this research with his open-mindedness and empathy. As he would say: “le soleil brille pour tout le monde” or “the sun shines for everybody”.

Introduction

White Pride: Calgary Wide?

On March 21st 2008, the streets of Calgary, Alberta were filled with families celebrating Good Friday. For the 25th consecutive year, the city attracted fifteen hundred people to partake in the “Way of the Cross [...] to contemplate the 14 Stations of the Cross and the message of peace, brotherly love and caring for those who suffer” (Lakritz, 2008, p. A20). Unlike previous years, however, 25-30 neo-Nazis gathered downtown and surprised the large crowd. Equipped with masks and flags waving the Nazi symbol and their slogan, ‘white pride’, they were there to celebrate WPW (white pride worldwide), the international day of white supremacy. Interestingly, the tourists and Calgarians commemorating the Way of the Cross were not alone in this confrontation. A group of 150 anti-racists¹, rallying for the international day to eliminate racism, had seen the group’s intentions for the rally on the Aryan Guards website (Calgary based white supremacy group) and organized a counter rally.

The rallies astounded many Calgarians. One reporter stated: “stunned tourists and shoppers watched open-mouthed as the screaming crowd marched down the popular Calgary avenue” (Cityplus, 2008, B6). Another wrote: “passerb[ies] caught by surprise, finding themselves in the thick of the Aryan Guard march, told reporters how awful they thought the spectacle was” (Lakritz, 2008, p. A20). Although this was the first white

¹ The Anti Racist Action (ARA) group is an organization that aims to eliminate racism. They reach out to their members’ online using local, national and international websites i.e. ara-calgary.anarchistservices.ca.

pride parade Calgary had seen, it was not going to be the last. In fact, every year until 2011 the white supremacists and the anti-racists confronted each other as they gathered in a previously agreed place from where they attempted to march toward Calgary's town hall.

Based on news sources, it seems Calgarians were infuriated with the first neo-Nazis rally. An onlooker expressed sadness when she commented, "this is a sad sight, an unsettling sight" (Cityplus, 2008, B6). While another one simply stated, "I think it's horrible [wiping away tears after she found herself in the thick of the protesters]" (Cityplus, 2008, B6). A journalist also described the group's actions as "sickening and abhorrent" (Barr, 2008, p. B1), while another described its members as "creeps, lowlifes and a bunch of extremists" (Lakritz, 2008, p. A20). In 2008, this kind of language was typical of the one utilized to describe the neo-Nazis, as found in the local news transcripts collected for this research².

Over the years, the parade and group dynamics seemed to change. In 2009, several journalists pointed out that the parade attracted sixty members of the Blood and Honour, a group of white supremacists, and four hundred people from the Anti-Racists Action group (anti-racists). Though the city of Calgary was aware of the parade and increased police presence to ensure public safety and protect freedom of speech, the number of protesters overwhelmed them. A reporter for the Alberni Valley Times (Alberni Valley, BC) stated, "56 downtown police officers tried to control the rowdy throng; and additional 30 on-duty members were later called in for reinforcement" (Komarnicki, J., 2009, A6). Despite their efforts, a Calgary Police Service Insp. observed,

² See methodology section on page 13.

“the level of violence at the protests was troubling” (Komarnicki, 2009, A6). Interestingly, the anti-racist crowd initiated the violence when they “lobbed rocks and tin cans at the group” (Remington, 2009, A9).

In 2009, journalists suggested Calgarians worried about the rally’s effect on the city’s image. While reflecting on these sentiments, Robert Remington (2009) argued, “as Calgarians fret last weekend’s Aryan Guard rally will reinforce their mistaken image as intolerant rednecks, it might do the city well to recall Ralph Kleins’s famous quote about “creeps and bums” coming to Alberta causing trouble” (p.B2). The concern over Calgary’s image was also observed in many news article titles. The Edmonton Journal’s headline was “white supremacists organizers lured to Alta. by ‘better skinhead scene’; Calgarians worry Aryan Guard rally reinforces redneck image” (Remington, 2009, p. B6). Similarly, the *National Post* headlined “Alberta worries about becoming racist haven” (Remington, 2009, p. A8).

The databases consulted for the research (see method section below) only revealed five articles discussing the white pride parade in 2010. For the most part, it was mentioned within the context of another article, thus, not committing an entire section to it. For example, an article in the *Calgary Herald* only mentioned it in its title: “Racist graffiti suspect arrested; Anti-racism march will take place Sunday” (Van Rassel, 2010, p. B1). Moreover, a 2011³ article made reference to the 2010 rally as smaller than the previous year with only “a handful of extremists” (Andrea, 2011, p. A3) gathering on the streets.

³ Merger & Bermingham (2010, March 19). White rights, anti-racists set to clash . *The Province*, p. A20.

Finally the 2011 media coverage mostly revolved around policing strategies. An article on the calgaryherald.com stated, “police [...] spoke with both groups to get an idea of how many people are expected to attend the weekend’s event” (van Rassel, 2011, section: City). Another article reported that police were “fearing violent clashes that had broken out between the groups in the past [which prompted] about 100 police officers [to] form a block-wide cordon between them and the white supremacists” (Gerson, 2011, p. A5). That year, only 16 white supremacists showed up and were met with 200 counter demonstrators according to Post Media News and The Red Deer Life.

Another important element of the 2011 rally is the emphasis that two arrests were made: “Police said they saw one man on the anti-racist side of the line filling his pockets with rocks. When searched, they said they found a crowbar and a hammer in his knapsack” (Gerson, 2011). Interestingly, some news sources neglected to mention the person arrested was part of the anti-racist crowd. Many sources pointed out that “the de facto leader of the Calgary branch of Blood and Honour, Kyle McKee, 35, was unable to attend Saturday’s rally for a second year in a row as he was serving a 60-day jail sentence after pleading guilty to three criminal charges” (postmedia, 2011, A8).

The media discourse revolving around the White Pride parade clearly changed over the years. Initially, it seems journalists focussed on the presence of white supremacists in the community. They seemed surprised and disappointed, using derogative language to describe the group negatively. The second rally was described as negatively impacting on the community as journalists expressed fear that it was perpetuating an age-old stereotype that Calgarians are ‘racist rednecks’. The 2009 rally also had the highest turnout (60 white supremacists /400 anti-racists) and a higher rate of

violence. Although fewer sources described the rally's third year, some of the 2011 articles depicted it as somewhat low key. The final rally, on the other hand, was described through policing strategies and mentions of arrests.

Theoretical perspective, research question, and methodology

This thesis argues that the local news coverage of the rallies is influenced by the local journalists' perception that it threatens their community's image. This fear, provoked by in-group and out-group distinctions, is reflected through statements, such as "both drywallers (white supremacists), they told the paper they planned on moving to Alberta because there was more work and "a better skinhead scene" (Remington, 2009, B2), which was reported in the Calgary Herald. Similarly, Gen Garson stated, "despite much braying about a resurgent neo-Nazi movement in Calgary, only a dozen white supremacists arrived downtown" (Postmedia News, 2011). On the other hand, a city official (John Mar, A Calgary alderman and former RCMP officer) directly addressed the out-group when he "spoke out against the supremacists during the anti-racism rally ... I represent a huge portion of the downtown of Calgary and I know that this is completely contrary to Calgary values, to Alberta values and Canadian values" (CBC Calgary web site, 2011).

The proposed research seeks to understand how local journalists are framing the coverage of the conflicting rallies by testing two hypotheses: 1. Journalists are more forgiving of anti-racists than the white pride group because of their stereotyped driven views and (2) Calgarian journalists are portraying the white pride group as outsiders in an effort to protect their community's image. Both hypotheses will be tested through social identity theory, framing and stereotypes/cognitive consistency. To better understand the

hypotheses through media coverage of the events, content analysis is the methodological framework guiding this thesis. Additionally, the different narrative frames used by Calgarian journalists to describe the confrontational rallies between white supremacist and anti-racist groups will be tested through Social Identity Theory (SIT), framing and stereotyping. The following paragraphs briefly outline the theoretical frameworks previously mentioned and elaborate how they inform this research. The remainder of the introduction, then, is divided in five sections: Social Identity Theory, Stereotyping, Cognitive Consistency, Methodology and Conclusion.

Social Identity Theory

Social identity theory is commonly viewed “as an analysis of intergroup relations between higher level social categories, which rest on a cognitive and self-conceptual definition of the social group and group membership” (Hogg, Abrams, Otten and Hinkle, 2004, p.247). Social identity theory encompasses many of the concepts discussed below (i.e., prototype based perception, stereotyping, cognitive consistency and metastereotyping). In their understanding of in-group and out-group relationships, for instance, Hogg, Abrams, Otten and Hinkle (2004) identify two types of categorizations: prototype-based perception and self-categorization.

Prototype based perception “is more commonly called stereotyping; You view “them” as being similar to one another and all having out-group attributes” (p.254). Drawing on news coverage of the event and stereotyping research, the thesis argues that prototype based perception is occurring through the process of developing a distinction between Calgarians and white supremacist groups by defining the latter as abnormal and extremists.

Hogg et al. (2004) argue that “when you categorize yourself, exactly the same depersonalization process applies to self: You view yourself in terms of the attributes of the in-group (self-stereotyping), and because prototypes also describe and prescribe group-appropriate ways to feel and behave, you feel and behave normatively” (p.255). Consequently, by identifying the frames used by Calgarian journalists, the research expects to reveal signs of stereotyping and self-stereotyping. It is also argued that social identity processes are guided by two basic motivations: self-enhancement and uncertain reduction. These motivations are “cued by the intergroup social comparison idea that groups strive to be both better and distinct” (Hogg, 2004, p.255), which are anticipated to be observable in local news coverage of the event as well.

Stereotypes Cognitive Consistency

By highlighting the perceived differences among groups, the concepts of stereotyping and cognitive consistency help establish social identity theory as valid theoretical framework for this research. Ramasubramanian (2010) states that stereotypes help identify the relationship between groups by referring “to the widely held culturally rooted cognitive representation of out-group members” (p.105-106). This research utilizes stereotypes to help identify the different frames as well as the way journalists epitomize in-group and out-group members for their readers. As seen in the discussion of social identity theory, identifying the relationship between groups and their perceptions of one another will play an important role in testing the first hypothesis: Calgarian journalists are more forgiving of the anti racist group than the white pride group because of their stereotyped driven views.

In accordance Ramasubramanian (2010), this thesis argues that journalists employ stereotypes to simplify the complexity of the confrontation, which he argues is their primary function: “stereotypes are used to conserve mental resources, to simplify the world around us, to get a greater sense of predictability of the world, to justify social reality, and facilitate self-fulfilling prophecies” (p.106-107). The introduction of the research showed signs of this taking place. For example, while describing the white supremacists in 2008, journalists seemed to categorize the white pride group as evildoers and extremists. Similarly, in 2009, when the rallies became aggressive, journalist appeared to blame the white supremacists for the violent outbreaks, by ignoring the fact that the anti-racist crowd initiated the tensions.

Since the thesis argues that local journalists are using stereotypes to distinguish their (in-group) community (Calgary) from the white supremacists (out-group), the definition is grounded in social psychology: “stereotypes may be viewed as beliefs concerning, characteristics, attributes, and behaviours of members of social groups” (Maris & Hoorens, 2012, p.624). Evidently, this broad definition allows the research to investigate the way in which journalists describe these groups.

To help understand why journalists are working to protect their city’s image, the thesis will draw on the concept of cognitive consistency, which (according to Mitchell 1981), is intertwined with the concept of stereotypes. Baran & Davis (2009) define this concept as “the idea that people consciously and unconsciously work to preserve their existing views” (p.149). As a result, the thesis argues that journalists re-enforce stereotypes, consciously and unconsciously, to preserve a negative image of the white

supremacists and a positive one of the anti-racist group as well as that of their community.

The research is anticipated to reveal that journalists are “processing [...] information based on social categorization rather than individuated processing based on the specific attributes of the individual with whom [they] are interacting” (p.107). More specifically, it is hypothesized that Calgarian journalists are protecting their community’s image by promoting the white pride group as outsiders who do not belong in their community.

Methodology:

The Canadian news sources were collected from three databases (Eureka, Infomart and ProQuest) using the key word ‘white pride’. The key word was selected after reading from several sources and attempting others such as ‘white supremacy’, ‘rally’, ‘anti-racist’ and ‘Aryan Guard’. The other key words, however, either yielded too many irrelevant results or too few. By searching the years between 2008 and 2012 individually and restricting them to the months of March and April also narrowed the results. It was not necessary to review the other months of the year because the research solely focuses on the framing of the annual white pride rallies within Calgary and compares the results with the framing of it outside Calgary.

The databases retrieved 165 news articles, including duplicates, which are both local (67) and national (98). While the local news sources are the most important, as they reflect Calgary journalists’ perception of the event, other regional news sources will serve to compare the results. Once the data was filtered to remove all duplicates, letters to the

editor and irrelevant⁴ articles the research was left with 68 relevant news articles: 16 from Calgary and 52 from other regions. It is important to note that the sample includes columns (2) and editorials (1) since the databases were not consistent in identifying the different types of articles. Additionally, articles categorized as ‘other regions’ strongly relied on newswires (see chapter one), which borrowed their material from original source articles. As a result, distinguishing columns and editorials from the ‘original source’ sample could skew the results because those same articles could be included in the newswires.

Evidently, the thesis qualitatively assesses the language used to describe the news stories through the meaning given to the event and the perceived implication on the community. As stated above, the findings of the qualitative aspect of the search are presented in three chapters, two of which are founded on the hypotheses⁵ while the third tests the correlation between the two. As a result, the following section describes the methodology utilized to analyse news content, which leads to a discussion on how it was applied in each hypothesis.

Content Analysis

Content analysis is a methodology used in social sciences to analyse communication texts, whatever the means of transmission: television, radio, internet or print format. The goal of this method, according to Krippendorff (2004), is to “justify the methods of unitizing [physical, syntactical, categorical, propositional, and thematic] by

⁴ Articles discussing the key words ‘parade’ and ‘white pride’ either separately or/and in a different context.

⁵ 1. Calgarian journalists are more forgiving of anti-racists than the white pride group because of their stereotyped driven views and (2) Calgarian journalists are portraying the white pride group as outsiders in an effort to protect their community’s image

showing that the information needed for the analysis is represented in the collection of units, not in the relationship between units, which unitizing discards” (p.83). This is important, because content analysis often involves quantifying qualitative data to represent large amounts of findings and to better capture differing relationships. This methodological framework also keeps this research consistent with the aims of the scientific method (replicability and transparency).

As a result, the goal of this section is twofold: (firstly), to outline the six components of content analysis and demonstrate how they were applied in this research; secondly to explain the two processes of content analysis (developmental and executive) and their application in each hypothesis. It should be noted that this information is general and does not directly support or contradict the two hypotheses. It is relevant, however, as it can help further explain the inferences made from the data supporting or opposing the hypotheses.

Content Analysis Applied as a Methodological Framework

According to Krippendorff (2002) content analysts follow six steps “to proceed from texts to results” (p.83): unitizing, sampling, recording/coding, reducing, abductively inferring and narrating. “Listing these components is merely a convenient way to partition, conceptualize, talk about, and evaluate content analysis” (p.83). This section, then, assesses these components within the context of the thesis to demonstrate how they were followed, thus, maintaining transparency and allowing for replication.

Unitizing

“Unitizing is the systematic distinguishing of segments of texts – images, voices and other observables – that are of interest to an analysis” (Krippendorff, 2002, p.83). To

help with this task, the research began with two hypotheses to guide the analysis of news content. These hypotheses were based on theoretical frameworks and preliminary data samples (see introduction). Each article was then read with the intention of identifying ways in which authors framed their articles using quotations, phrasings, formulations, order and presentation of ideas, arguments and positions. Evidently, the articles were read differently for each hypothesis, since the cues varied and each contained different writing styles and objectives (which were importantly accounted for as well). Consequently, the unitizing aspect of the research employed the developmental aspect also, as the analytical design was content-specific (see developmental to executive section for more details).

Sampling

“Sampling allows the analyst to economize on research efforts by limiting observations to minimal subsets of units that is statistically or conceptually representative of the rest of possible units, the population or universe of interests” (Krippendorff, 2002, p.84). The researcher obtained all articles from three databases (InfoMart, Eureka and ProQuest) using the key word ‘white pride parade’. Systematic sampling was then used for the month of March and April over a five year period as ‘k’ unit, which is “favored when texts stem from regularly appearing publications, newspapers, television series, interpersonal interaction sequence or other repetitive or continuous events” (p.115). As stated earlier, this narrowed the results to 68 articles once duplicates and irrelevant content was eliminated. Clearly, it is likely that not all articles in Canada discussing the white pride parade in March between 2008-2012 were accounted for, but this method seemed to obtain the maximum amount of articles in the least amount of time.

Recording/Coding

According to Krippendorff (2002), the main objective of recording/coding text is to avail the research replicable and available for other researchers. However, since this research relied on written text, which “is always already recorded in this sense, and, as such, it is rereadable” (p.84), an interested researcher simply needs to follow the instructions above to yield the same data.

Reducing

Once the news transcripts were read to identify varying writing styles, presentations and description of the event to determine the type of approach (see developmental to executive section bellow) necessary, reduction was identified and applied in two phases: The first reduced the original texts into more manageable sizes by extracting the material relevant for each hypothesis. Once extracted, the data was categorized by year, source and news agency. For each article, a summary was written describing whether it supported the hypotheses and answered the questions why or why not.

The second phase consisted of quantifying the qualitative data. Since the thesis is concerned with the frequency at which the hypotheses are supported within the articles, each in favour was given the value of one, while those not in favour, were given the value of zero. The units were then accumulated and converted into percentages. Furthermore, general statistics containing a numerical value were also recorded during the first phase for each article, such as, the number of paragraphs, origin of article, negative words to describe white supremacist, negative words to describe anti-racists, number of times

someone from the anti-racist was quoted, someone from white supremacist was quoted, and number of ‘other’ sources (see second chapter).

Evidently, quantifying the qualitative data simplified the comparative aspect of the research. It should be noted, however, that the quantitative conversion eliminates significant findings from the discussion. Though this is a normal occurrence, the thesis compensates by including supportive or unsupportive qualitative examples from the news sources. This not only helps the reader understand the researcher’s rationale, it also illustrates the developmental and executive strategy (in the following section) and maintains an element of transparency necessary for duplication.

Abductively Inferring

Abductive inferring is the crux of content analysis as it encourages the researcher to assess outside the data. In this research, abductive inferences stem from the theoretical frameworks (outlined in the introduction) and take place in the discussion section of each hypothesis. The goal is to “bridge the gap between descriptive accounts of texts and what they mean, refer to, entail, provoke, or cause” (Krippendorff, 2002, p.85). In other words, the theoretical frames will help justify the conclusions by helping the researcher explain the findings.

Narrating

Finally, the narrating in content analysis refers to the “practical significance of the findings or the contributions they make to the available literature” (Krippendorff, 2002, p.85). This component of the methodology occurs in the concluding section of the thesis and explains why this conflict was important to study. It also demonstrates why it is

important to further the discussions through the rejection-identification model and constructive controversy theory.

Developmental to Executive

This section describes how the developmental and executive processes of analysis applies to each hypothesis. Notwithstanding, they must first be distinguished from one another: “[1] the development of a content analysis, during which a design emerges that processes context-sensitive specificity, and the [2] execution of a content analysis, during which the design is relatively fixed and ideally replicable, regardless of what the texts could teach the analyst (Krippendorff, 2002, p.87). The following subsections briefly highlight the transition of one stage to another in each hypothesis.

First Hypothesis

The first hypothesis states that Calgarian journalists are more forgiving of the anti racist group than the white pride group because of their stereotyped driven views. As a result, most of the qualitative data gathered for the first hypothesis was implicit, in that it could not solely be analysed quantitatively like the second chapter. For instance, many news outlets borrowed articles from various news sources (i.e. CanWest, The Canadian Press and NewsCan), but the articles did not state the same thing even though they shared the same author. This is because the news outlets changed the tone of the articles by choosing which paragraphs would remain or be eliminated and by changing their order. As a result, the same article used in different news sources could support and oppose the same hypothesis simply because the same paragraphs were not used or they were ordered differently.

To take the data from a developmental to an experimental stage, the researcher began by reading each article to understand its context, its objectives and its audiences. Unfortunately, since each article was written differently, no systematized mechanism to determine whether an article did or did not support the hypothesis was developed (see third and fourth chapter for specific examples). Nonetheless, each article was assumed not to support the first hypothesis to avoid a biased reading. Where support was found, it was noted in an excel spread sheet, which was categorised by article location and year (see explanation above). To facilitate the qualitative to quantitative conversion, an article either supported or did not support the first hypothesis. In other words, an article validating the hypothesis was given the value of one.

Since each hypothesis was categorized by year and location, the analysis consisted of comparing the total values within their respective categorizations. Evidently, Calgary was singled out, since the white pride parade took place in that region and was then compared to news sources from the other regions⁶. Though other Canadian regions commented on the event, they were all counted together as oppose to individually, because the hypotheses are founded on that premise. Moreover, the theoretical frameworks seem to be written for regions where the conflict is occurring, which is why the thesis specifically focuses on Calgary and then Edmonton in 2012.

Second Hypothesis

The second hypothesis stipulates that Calgarian journalists portrayed the white pride group as outsiders because they were protecting their community's image. To confirm this hypothesis, any phrasing that presented the community's image as

⁶ "The tendency to stereotype increases when high levels of tension are experienced" (Mitchell, 1981, p.82).

threatened was marked as supporting the second hypothesis. Thus, the data in this section was more explicit than the first hypothesis, in that journalists clearly stated they feared Calgary's image could suffer as a direct result of the white pride group's behaviour. Though this made the data collection easier, journalists worded their feelings differently, which meant the researcher could not identify a specific set of key words to search for (see chapter three for more specific examples). It should be noted, however, that the qualitative information was counted as it was in the first hypothesis; ascribing each article supporting the hypothesis with a value of one in an excel spread sheet. The value for each was then summed and converted to a percentage comparable to the total number of articles, which were categorized by region and date. Again, the analysis for this section was very comparable to that of the above section, since the data was handled similarly.

Conclusion

As we can see, the thesis predicts that by using stereotypes, local journalists are framing the story to distinguish themselves and Calagarians (in-group) from white supremacist (out-group). Since the concept of stereotyping is borrowed from SIT, the research is anticipated to reveal the local journalistic frames as projecting the out-group as inferior to the in-group. The thesis suggests the framing is driven by the Calgarian journalists' perception that the group is threatening their community's image. As a result the research also anticipates that Calgarian journalists are utilizing stereotypes to preserve their social identity, while protecting their community's image.

Each section of the thesis contributes to the overarching question: How are journalists framing the white pride parade in Calgary, Alberta? The sections outlined above (Social Identity Theory, Framing Analysis and Stereotypes/Cognitive Consistency)

are based on concepts that will help analyse and test the data compiled from the news articles. The remainder of the thesis, then, is divided in 5 chapters: General Data Overview, First Hypothesis, Second Hypothesis, Comparative Analysis and Conclusion.

The General Data Overview outlines the physical data accumulated through the research, such as the origin (source), number of paragraphs and the number of quotes for each article. This data is also compared by region and date using three units of measurement: total, mean and standard deviation. The goal of this section is to prepare the reader for the final analysis (chapter four), where the data will be useful to explain the research's findings.

As mentioned earlier, the third chapter assess the level of support for the first hypothesis, which is posited to be driven by the concepts of stereotyping and cognitive consistency. The data in this section is presented qualitatively and quantitatively, which supplement one another. The objective of this section is also to compare the level of support to that of other regions to help determine whether Calgarian journalists report the story differently than their counterparts.

With similar objectives, the fourth chapter aims to understand whether Calgarian journalists' reaction to the white pride parade is the result of their community's identity being threatened (the second hypothesis). Again, the data is presented both in a qualitatively and quantitatively, which also helps the reader better understand the researcher's reasoning. As earlier stated, the aspects of in-group/out-group relationships outlined in social identity theory guide this chapter's hypothesis.

The fifth chapter measures the correlation of both hypotheses (first and second) occurring within the same news article. As this section's theoretical assumption

underscores, social identity theorists posit that stereotyping typically occurs as a result of an identity threat. It should be noted that the physical data introduced in the second chapter will be utilized in this section to help explain any discrepancies in the findings since this chapter also contains the final discussion.

In conclusion, the final chapter explains the outcome of the research by recapitulating the findings and pointing to other research. This sixth and last chapter utilizes Constructive Controversy Theory and Rejection-Identification model to explain the importance of the findings and to make policy recommendations.

Chapter 1 *Physical Units: A General Data Overview*

“The quantitative/qualitative distinction is a mistaken dichotomy between the two kinds of justifications of content analysis design: the explicitness and objectivity of scientific data processing on the one side and the appropriateness of the procedures used relative to a chosen context on the other”

(Krippendorff, 2004, p.87)

Introduction

As stated in the methods portion of the introduction, there are different ways of defining units within content analysis (physical, syntactical, categorical, propositional, and thematic). Each type of unit applies to different types of research, which entail different results. The first units encountered in the paper are defined as physical, since it “partitions a medium by time, length, size or volume but not by the information it would provide analysts” (Krippendorff, p.104). The data in this section, then, is very stable and is not inferred from; as a result it deals with the research’s closest source of quantitative data.

The physical information mentioned above includes the dates, authors, origins, news sources, pages, quotes and number of paragraphs for each article. Initially, this information was only compiled in the event it would become necessary for the study, since this type data is not collected for ‘the information it would provide analysts’, but for its static properties. Consequently, it is not accounted for in the following two chapters (first and second hypothesis); nonetheless, it is useful in the final discussion section of the thesis. The goal of including them in the beginning of the paper, then, is to make the

reader cognizant of their potential implications. Accordingly, the readers are encouraged to keep them in mind while reading the subsequent chapters.

This section of the thesis has six components: methodology, newswire vs. original sources articles, length, quotes, discussion and conclusion. The methodology section outlines how the data was compiled and calculated to contrast and draw comparisons between the different sections. The ‘newswire vs. original source articles’ section highlights the distinction between both types of articles and compares them by year, sum, mean and standard deviation. The third section, on the other hand, deals with the length of articles and is subdivided in six sections (an overall section and one for each year). Moreover, each subsection is further divided by origin of article (Calgary only, other than Calgary and Newswire). Though the fourth section (quotes) follows a similar set of divisions with an overall section followed by yearly divisions, it is also subdivided to account for the article’s origins. Additionally, the quotes are evaluated within three different categories: other, ARA and white pride, which are also subdivided by date and location.

The discussion section recapitulates the findings and elaborates how the data can potentially influence the results for each hypothesis. This section ends by assessing current and potential shortcomings. Finally, the conclusion underscores important findings and highlights their potential implications for the thesis’s hypotheses and sets the stage for the following chapters by underscoring future areas of research.

Data Collection

As stated in the introduction, the data only deals with the physical characteristics (i.e. paragraphs, quotes, news source etc.) of each article. This part of the analysis took

place during the first reading of the news articles. Once the data was accumulated, it was entered in an excel spreadsheet (see Table 1), which was divided by category, region and date. The total amounts (the accumulation of quantitative data) for each section were also categorized by origin (Calgary, Other than Calgary and Newswire) as well as sum, average and standard deviation.

The research accounted for multiple dimensions to better understand the nuances between, sometimes, unapparent differences. For example, a set of articles can contain the same amount of white pride and ARA quotes, both with the same average, but diverging standard deviations, which is symptomatic of chronicling large amounts of information. Evidently, such an outcome suggests the articles were not quoting the groups at the same rates. One article, for instance, could have two ARA quotes and one white pride quote while the other could contain three white pride quotes and no ARA quotes. As a result, a group quoted with smaller standard deviations is quoted more consistently, while a group quoted with higher standard deviations is disproportionately cited.

It is important to reiterate that the newswire distinction was not recognized as significant until later in the process of analysing, since the newswire articles were not isolated from the other sections (Calgary only articles, other than Calgary) until the data was fully compiled. In other words, the Calgary only articles and the other than Calgary articles contain newswire articles. Though this obviously skews the results, it only does so for the other than Calgary articles, because they contained a disproportionate amount of newswire articles.

The following sections contains three classifications: newswires, length and quotes. The newswire section conceptualizes ‘newswires’ and outlines the use of newswires in this study. Though the later two are self-evident all three categories are subdivided by year, location and origin. The data is compared either through the sum, mean or standard deviation depending on which is most relevant. Though it is still early to discuss the data’s implications for each hypothesis, potential consequences are underscored.

Article	Year	Location	Author	Length	Quotes	Anti Racist Agenda	White Supremacist Agenda	All Quotes	Hypothesis is A	Hypothesis is B	Number of newswires
Red Deer Advocate	2008	Red Deer, Alberta	Mary Ann Bar	22	0	1	1	2	1	0	1
Calgary Herald	2008	Calgary, Alberta	Elizabeth Keith	5	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
Calgary Herald	2008	Calgary, Alberta	Náomi Lektvitz	25	4	1	0	5	1	1	1
The Province	2008	British Columbia	CarWest News Service	5	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
Edmonton Journal	2008	Edmonton, Alberta	CarWest News Service	12	3	1	0	4	0	0	1
Time Colonist	2008	British Columbia	Jamie Kornaricki	18	1	2	1	4	1	0	1
Calgary Herald	2008	Calgary, Alberta	Jamie Kornaricki	16	4	2	1	7	1	1	1

Table One

News Outlets: Newswires versus Original Source Articles

As stated above, the newswire distinction was not recognized as important until later in the analysis, thus, this section underscores the use of newswire articles in the regions analysed for this research. Since the researcher was unable to obtain an academic definition of newswire, it was borrowed from the Canadian Press website, which escribed it as:

. . . a sophisticated satellite network connects us directly to the newsrooms of hundreds of daily papers, radio and TV stations, allowing us to send and receive content in multiple formats, in real time. Journalists call it the “wire,” an old telegraph term still used even though satellite dishes and the Internet have replaced the ‘wire’
(http://www.thecanadianpress.com/about_cp.aspx?id=76).

The goal of this section is to determine whether there are physical differences between original source articles and newswire articles. This is because newswires operate differently than news outlets. As oppose to generating profit by selling their material directly to consumers, they sell it to news outlets who subsequently sell it to them. In their critical analysis of ‘prominent news and information sites on the web’, for example, Broderick & Miller (2007) describe how the world-renowned news agency (newswire), the Associated Press’s (AP) composition:

. . . the AP is not so much a formal news organization as a loosely allied brotherhood (and sisterhood) of reporters in bureaus in 120 countries. More than 3700 reporters contribute reports to the AP, which then disseminates the information to newspapers, television stations, and radio outlets around the clock and around the world (p.40).

As highlighted above, this network of journalists provides access to news stories from around the world that, under normal circumstances, difficult to cover in timely relevant manner or within a limited budget.

Nonetheless, when a news outlet purchases a newswire article, it can reshape the content by removing paragraphs and/or by reordering them to change the flow of the story. Though the newswires in this study (i.e. CanWest and The Canadian Press) are not as renowned as the AP, they play an important role in delivering news content nationally. It is anticipated, then, that news articles from outside Calgary will be similar to those of Calgary, since those articles will have been purchased from a newswire.

Of the 68 relevant news articles, 38 (55.8%) were from newswires, of which, one (5.88%) was from Calgary and the rest (37) were from other regions. Considering a total 50 articles were from other regions and 74% of them originated from a newswire service, the 'newswire' distribution among articles from outside Calgary was obviously disproportionate. In 2008, for example, a total of 8 located articles: 3 were from Calgary and 5 were from other regions; of the five from other regions, three were from a newswire.

In 2009, on the other hand, the databases identified a total of 29 articles: 6 Calgary only, 18 from other regions, 16 of which were newswires and of those none were from Calgary. In light of what was stated earlier, this is not a mistake, one of the articles came directly from the newswire. As mentioned earlier, if it was initially coded as other region and if it was chosen by the database, but not displayed by a news outlet, it was recoded as newswire only. On the other hand, the parade received much less coverage in 2010 with a total of five articles: only one from Calgary, four from other regions and one from a newswire. As stated in the introduction of the paper, it is hard to determine why the parade received so little coverage in 2010. Nonetheless, 80% of articles originated from a newswire.

On the other hand, 2011 yielded a total of 20 articles: 4 from Calgary and 15 from other regions (80% of which (12) were from a newswire). Finally, in 2012, a total of 10 articles originated from a newswire service: 2 from Calgary and eight from other regions. It should be noted, however, that the only two newswire articles originating from Calgary in 2012, was the year the white pride demonstration relocated to Edmonton, Alberta. Considering the way these articles are obtained and distributed it is quite telling that 50% of articles from Calgary were purchased from a newswire that year compared to none in previous years.

As demonstrated above, news outlets from regions outside Calgary heavily utilized newswire articles. Though this section does not research where the newswire articles originated from, the following chapters shed light on this aspect by measuring the similarities between their content. Nonetheless, the heavy reliance on newswire articles suggests there might be strong similarities between those articles and the Calgary only articles, if not in content then from the physical aspect.

Counting paragraph as a matter of length

Given the number resources and time dedicated to the news stories, an article's length was measured with the number of paragraphs. Although this is not the most accurate way, such as number of words or number of lines, it was the most convenient and time efficient since the task was carried out manually. Nevertheless, the length of an article gave the researcher an idea of the resources and time dedicated to a news story. It might be the case, for instance, that an article is longer because it contained a higher number of quotations and explored the conflict from many angles. Similarly, it might be the case that shorter articles would be less analytical and contain fewer quotations.

Overall, the average article contained 10.64 paragraphs with a standard deviation of 6.58. Though the mean fluctuated from year to year, the standard deviations were very similar: 2008 (7.30), 2009 (5.84), 2010 (6.89), 2011 (7.35) and 2012 (5.09). Interestingly, when considered exclusively, the Calgarian articles' standard deviation closely resembled that of the national average with minor differentiations in certain years: 2008 (6.49), 2009 (6.11), 2010 (4.41), 2011 (5.56) and 2012 (5.71). The data reveals that only 2010 experienced less variability while the others were within one deviation point of each other. On the other hand, the articles from Calgary were substantially different from one another and the national average experiencing greater variability by two deviation points: 2008 (10.01), 2009 (8.50), 2010 (only one article), 2011 (8.73) and 2012 (7.07).

This outcome can be attributed to news services or newswires, which are responsible for providing news articles to news outlets across the country. The differences are made more evident when broken down. First, of the 'other articles' 36 of 49 (73%) originated from a newswire, compared to 1 out of 16 (6.25%) among articles from Calgary only. Evidently, their over representation in other regions significantly skewed the mean of 9.3 paragraphs, since newswire articles had a mean of 7.94 compared to 13.30 for original sources.

Comparing the standard deviation suggests that newswire articles had less variability than original source articles. Overall, for example, the standard deviation among newswire articles was 4.47 while original source articles had a deviation score of 8.42. Similarly, articles from Calgary (minus The Canadian Press article) had a standard deviation of 6.28, suggesting more variability between them as well. The resemblance

between original source and Calgary also suggests that articles not originating from a news outlet vary more in their content than those of newswires.

To further the analysis, specific newswires were isolated to test variability among overall and yearly data. Overall variability among CanWest articles was 4.91, which is similar to overall results including all news sources. The yearly breakdown, however, demonstrates less variability: 2008 (4.04), 2009 (5.26), 2010 (no articles), 2011 (only one article) and 2012 (2.07). Similarly, overall, 'The Canadian Press' articles strongly resembled one another with a standard deviation of 3.55. It should be noted, however, that the data base search only yielded a total of eleven 'The Canadian Press' articles.

The results suggest substantial differences between the original author articles and unsubstantial differences between the newswire articles, at least as far as length is concerned. Whether the differences also apply to content will be revealed in the following chapters. Nonetheless, it cannot be ignored that the original Calgary articles are more similar in length to original source articles from other regions, than newswire articles generally. It is also important to note that the mean differed between all four categories. Overall, the Calgary articles had an average length of 15.25 paragraphs compared to 7.5 for Canwest articles, 8.9 for Canadian Press articles and 11.75 for original author articles outside Calgary. Original author articles appear to be more similar to one another than to newswire articles; again, whether this similarity applies to content will be revealed in the following chapters as part of the qualitative assessment.

Who says what, when and where?

As stated in the introduction and demonstrated in Table 1 the paper also recorded the number of quotations in an article as well as its source (ARA, white pride or other).

Recording this information helped demonstrate which group was most favoured by the authors. Evidently, it is expected that a year trending in favour of the ARA would yield more support for the first hypothesis. At this stage it is too early to investigate correlations between this data and that of a hypothesis, nonetheless, it is helpful to understand the goal of this section for the final discussion section; in the short term this data will help outline the yearly fluctuations in the regions and data sources.

The data in this section is grouped in three categories: ARA, white pride and 'other'. While the first two obviously dealt with the groups directly involved in the conflict, the 'others' ranged between police officers, politicians, university professors and bystanders. Though the initial coding of quotations was to underscore the amount of articles to determine which group was given the most attention (ARA or White-supremacist), all quotations were gathered.

A total of 135 quotes were compiled among all articles, across all regions and dates with an average of 2.01 quotes per article with a standard deviation 1.68. Though verifying the number of resembling quotes between regions and sources was beyond the scope of this paper (see conclusion) it revealed the following number of quotes for each group: ARA (39), White Pride (30) and others (66). It is important to note that journalists were likelier to quote someone from the 'other' category, since it included a wider range of groups. Not surprisingly, given the brief overview of the theories in the introduction, journalists were also likelier to quote the ARA than the white pride group at a rate of 0.58 to 0.44. Though this is a small difference, it suggests that journalists were giving more weight to the anti-racist group's point of view than that of the white supremacist group, which supports the first hypothesis.

Of the 39 ARA quotes, 26 (65%) were from other regions and 13 (33.3%) were from Calgary alone. On the other hand, Calgarian journalists quoted the white supremacists 7 (23.3%) times out of 30, compared to other regions, that quoted them 24 (80%) times. It should be noted, however, the rates are significantly different, in support of the first hypothesis. Calgary was significantly more likely to quote the ARA group at a rate of 76.4% compared to other regions (52%). Similarly, Calgarian journalists only quoted the white supremacists in 41.1% of the articles compared to other journalists who quoted them in 48.9% of them.

Equally interesting is that newswire articles were almost equally as likely to quote members of the ARA (17 of 40) as members of the anti-racist group (18 of 30), though slightly favouring the latter. The standard deviations (0.55), however, were similar for both groups. It is also important to note that the newswire articles were the least likely to quote from the 'other category' earlier mentioned: 21 out of 39 times for newswire articles compared to 34 for Calgary articles.

Overall, 26 quotes were compiled from the 2008 data, representing 19.2% of all quotes (13 other, 9 ARA, 4 white pride). Intriguingly, the standard deviation for the anti-racist group (0.83) was slightly higher than that of the white pride group (0.53), which suggests the later were concentrated between certain articles, whereas the earlier were spread out. Furthermore, it should be noted that the small difference in distribution (0.30) could be attributed to the number of quotations per article. In other words, it might be the case that most journalists quoted both groups, but not at the same rate within the article.

Interestingly, the 2008 articles revealed the same number of articles (3), ARA quotes (3) and white pride quotes (1) from the Calgary and Newswire articles. Even

though this suggests content between news sources was very similar, it cannot be ignored that newswire articles were nearly two times shorter (46) than original source articles (29). Similarly, articles from other regions contained the same deviation of ARA quotes (0.83) and white pride quotes (0.54) as the Calgary only and newswire articles.

The 2009 data uncovered an even number of ARA (13) and white pride (13) quotes, while favouring other sources with 31 quotations. Not only were the sums of quotes for both groups even, they were also equally distributed with standard deviations close to the billionths of a decimal point (0.58594653 to 0.585946528). On the other hand, the data revealed a weak correlation between the two sets (0.45), which demonstrates that not all articles gave both groups equal face time. This is surprising, considering the theoretical framework for the first and second hypothesis (explored in more details later).

Interestingly, of the six articles originating from Calgary, a total of 25 quotes were identified, averaging 4.1 quotes per articles: four from the ARA, another four from the white pride group and seventeen from other sources. The standard deviations between the quotations indicate an uneven distribution between ARA (0.81) quotes and white pride (0.51) quotes. This surprisingly indicates that more articles contained white pride quotes without the presence of an ARA quote than ARA quotes with white pride statements, which suggests journalists preferred quoting the white supremacists than the ARA. The following chapters, however, will reveal whether journalists were positively or negatively reflecting on the group.

Though data from 2009 newswires reveals an even amount of quotations for the ARA (8) as the anti racist group (8), the average number of quotations per article was

significantly lower than Calgary only articles (1.6). It seems, then, the newswires were more interested in quoting the conflicting groups than the 'other' sources, contrary to Calgarian journalists. Correspondingly, the standard deviation is different than those of the Calgary only articles at a rate of 0.51 for ARA quotations compared to a distribution of 0.61 for white pride quotations. Thus, the difference stems from the rate at which the groups were quoted: newswire consistently quoted the anti-racist quotes, while the white pride group was quoted more often within the same article.

In 2010, on the other hand, only five articles discussing the white pride parade surfaced among the three databases: one from Calgary and four from other regions. A total of eight quotes were detected with five from other sources, three from the ARA and none from the white pride group. Interestingly, the three ARA quotes neither came from Calgary or newswires, but from originally sourced articles from regions outside Calgary. The research was unable to determine, however, whether they were obtained through their own interviews or borrowed from local journalists. Alternatively, the Calgary article quoted from the 'other' category three times, which was more often than the newswire (0) articles and the articles from the other regions (2). It should be noted, however, that too little data was accumulated from Calgary only and newswire articles to compare the averages and standard deviations.

Contrarily, the 2011 data was much more significant than the previous year with a total of 19 articles: other (8), ARA (7) and white pride (8). The standard deviations slightly varied with 0.76 for other category, 0.59 for the ARA and 0.76 for the white pride group. Clearly, quotes from the ARA group were slightly more evenly distributed than the other groups, suggesting journalists were likelier to use them in their articles.

Inversely, this also suggests the white pride group was more heavily quoted in the articles citing them, opposite to the 2009 results.

Interestingly, Calgary only articles did not follow this trend. In this category, anti racist action group citations deviated at a rate of 0.81 compared to those of the white pride group 0.57, even though four ARA quotes were discovered compared to two white pride ones. To the contrary, captions from the articles categorized as ‘other than Calgary’ (including newswire articles) deviated at a rate 0.45 for the ARA group and 0.82 for the white supremacists. Though slightly more pronounced, this trend is much more similar to the Calgary only articles than the newswire articles which equally deviated (0.49).

Finally, the 2012 data follows the same trend as the year prior, even though the parade occurs in Edmonton, Alberta, 298km north from Calgary: the ‘others’ were quoted nine times, the ARA seven times and the white pride group five times. Overall, the ‘others’ were quoted the most consistently, with a standard deviation of 0.37, the least was the ARA with 0.67 and the white pride group found themselves in the middle with a SD of 0.52. Though the ARA quotes from the Calgary only articles deviated slightly more (0.70), the white pride group did not receive attention from any of the regions news outlets that year. Within the newswire articles, on the other hand, citations from both groups deviated at nearly the same rate (ARA 0.53 and white pride 0.51), but negatively correlated with a score of -0.25.

What does this tell us about the hypotheses?

The above sections outlined three types of physical data compiled from the accumulated databases: source, length and quotations. The data was first divided by year and region and subsequently divided by amount, mean and standard deviation for

comparative purposes. Though each primary division (source, length and quotations) revealed potential consequences for the analysis, they also underscored important aspects of one another. As stated in the introduction, then, the discussion section recapitulates the above results and explains their potential implication for both hypotheses.

As mentioned earlier, the physical data is collected for its static properties, which are not inferred from, rendering this part of the analysis easier to replicate. Although this is a significant advantage, the disadvantages should be noted. Its lack of flexibility, for instance, distances the findings from an article's meaning. In other words, the physical properties of an article do not necessarily determine whether a hypothesis is supported; an article that heavily quoted the white pride group might not necessarily yield support for the first or second hypothesis, for example, as the quotes might have reflected group on positively. Conversely, an article heavily quoting the ARA might not support the first or second hypothesis, as the quotes might have painted a negative picture of the group.

Moreover, shortening an articles length could change a newswire article's physical properties, but not its content. Interestingly, the data revealed that the average newswire article was much shorter than original source articles (7.94 to 15.25), which suggests they were modified. Conversely, it might be the case that the newswire articles originated from the newswire; which is unlikely, both considering the distribution process of a newswires and the illogical process of a secondary source being longer than the source it was created from. Nevertheless, the data compliments the idea that they are from a shared source as it revealed that newswire articles were much more similar to one another in length, with a standard deviation of 4.47 compared to that of original source articles (8.42).

Additionally, in the section ‘News Outlets: Newswires versus Original Source Articles’, it was suggested that articles from newswires could be similar to articles from their original sources. The physical data in this section, however, illustrates a different story. Both the length and the number of quotes were substantially different between original source articles from Calgary and outside Calgary than those of newswire articles. The overall average length of an article, for example, was 15.25 in Calgary, 9.3 outside Calgary and 7.94 for newswires. Likewise, articles within Calgary contained an average of 2 quotes while articles outside Calgary averaged 0.67 and newswires 0.55. From the physical point of view, then, it does not follow that newswire articles are similar to original source articles. The physical change can be explained by a number of things, such as the granting of space by the editor. As stated in the definition of physical data, however, it is not compiled for what can be inferred from it, but simply for its static properties.

The number of news outlets outside Calgary utilizing newswires was surprising, even though no predictions were made in this regard: 74% (37 out of 50) reliance on newswires. It is important to note, however, that the physical data does not help determine who supplied the newswire with the story, because they closely resembled one another, both in length and in the number of quotations, but were different than the ‘original source articles’. On the other hand, it was posited that newswires acquired the articles from a local news source and redistributed it around the country to news outlets that did not have the resources to send a reporter on the scene. Since the data, indicates that newswire articles were very different than original source articles, it seems to be the case they were tailored according to the news outlets needs.

Nonetheless, because the data in this section is superficial, it is hard to draw any conclusion from them. Since a zero sum gain seems to have been achieved in this analysis, it is important to recall Krippendorff (2004) words in the introduction of this chapter, the physical data merely “partitions a medium by time, length, size or volume but not by the information it would provide analysts” (Krippendorff, 2004, p.104). In other words, the physical data in this section is only part of the analysis; the qualitative aspect that follows is equally necessary.

Conclusion

The above results reveal important differences between the varying news sources and the source of their content. As stated in the introduction of this chapter, it is imperative to keep this information in mind while reading the following two chapters, as it will be utilized in the fifth chapter. Though it is a significant shortcoming that the newswire distinction was not recognized as significant until late in the analysis, concluding questions for the following chapters reveal that they are necessary to consider.

That being said, it would have been more advantageous to subtract from Calgary and outside Calgary newswires articles at the beginning of the analysis. Doing so would enable the results to be evaluated against three groups (Calgary Only, Outside Calgary and Newswires) throughout the analysis. Although the research does not account for them in the following the chapters, it redeems itself in the fifth chapter, which tests the correlation of the hypothesis within the three groups.

Nevertheless, the research would have benefited from analysing the distinction between newswire and original source articles by assessing release dates, authors (if any)

and/or number of common words in each article. Knowing the articles' origin could have clearly helped the researcher make better predictions from the outset even though it does not necessarily follow that they are not similar to one another in their content because they were not similar in a physical sense. In other words, the physical data is not enough to predict whether a hypothesis is supported, which is why it is necessary for this research to analyse the frames of each article.

The above findings illustrate interesting differences relating to newswire and original source articles lengths, types of quotation and origins. Thus far, however, these findings have only revealed superficial distinction between news sources and their origins. Evidently, then, the research's next step is to draw a link between hypotheses by exploring whether they are supported, which the thesis undertakes through social identity theory. As a result, the two following chapters will consider the first and second hypothesis mentioned in the introduction.

Chapter 2 Different Standards though Equally Defiant

The dark side of social identities is that in expressing commitment and affection to in-groups, there is a tendency to devalue and disrespect out-groups, thus contributing to in-group conflict in situations involving incompatibilities.

(Fisher, 2006, p.182)

Introduction

The white pride and anti-racist demonstrations in Calgary were surrounded with tension between manifesting groups, police officers and bystanders. For example, the 2008 parade caught the city of Calgary off guard and escalated to low levels of violence. Similarly, according to a 2009 Canadian Press⁷ article, that year's parade ended with "at least two people suffering[ed] head injuries", which stemmed from tensions between the anti-racists (estimated at 400) protesting against the 60 white-pride marchers coupled with a low level of police presence. An article published in the Montreal Gazette stated "Calgary police had to call in reinforcements when a white-pride march deteriorated into a violent melee as counter protesters lobbed rocks and tin cans" (Remington, 2009, p. A9). Even though subsequent years were described as somewhat peaceful, the violent outbursts were held in check by a strong police presence that kept both groups apart. Although it is hard to tell whether violence would have ensued without police intervention, certain signs seemed to indicate that both groups were ready to fight beforehand (i.e. members of both groups wore balaclavas).

⁷ The Canadian Press is a newswire agency that provide "multimedia news delivery round the clock and in real time to daily newspapers and more than 500 radio and TV stations" (<http://www.thecanadianpress.com/home.aspx?ID=58>). Because its content is also available online, their articles were included in news databases results.

Moreover, police statements from several news articles made it clear that both groups were equally responsible for the violence and tension erupting during the coinciding processions. A preliminary examination of news articles seemed to conversely paint a different picture, namely, that the white pride protesters were more responsible for the violence than the anti-racist group. Interestingly, this presentation of events seemed more present in Calgarian articles than those of other regions, which lead the research to hypothesize that Calgarian journalists are more forgiving of the anti-racist group (first hypothesis).

As demonstrated in the introduction, Social Identity Theory (SIT), through the concepts of stereotyping and cognitive consistency, informed this hypothesis. Briefly, stereotyping is understood as “cognitive structures that contain the perceivers’ knowledge, beliefs, and expectancies about some human group (p.63). (Rudman, 2008, p.63). While the latter (cognitive consistency) is borrowed from Baran, & Davis (2009) who illustrate that it “is the idea that people consciously and unconsciously work to preserve their existing views” (p.149). As a result, the thesis posits that Calgarian journalists are consciously and unconsciously working to preserve their categorizations of each group, by depicting one more positively than the other.

To test this hypothesis, both qualitative and quantitative assessments of news articles are employed. As a result, the findings section is divided in two parts (qualitative and quantitative), which helps explain the inferences made from the qualitative data as well as its quantification. The qualitative section is further divided in four sections to better illustrate how journalists framed their articles to be more forgiving of the anti-

racist group. The presentation of the quantitative section, on the other hand, is subdivided in two sections (yearly and regional) for comparative purposes.

The findings section is followed by the discussion section, which outlines the theoretical framework and examines whether the first hypothesis was sustained. The discussion section also aims to determine if and how the concepts (stereotyping and cognitive consistency) appropriately explain the findings for the first hypothesis. Therefore, this chapter is divided in five sections: Introduction, Theoretical Framework, Findings, Discussion, and Conclusion.

Theoretical Framework

As stated in the introduction, the first hypothesis was inspired by the concepts of stereotyping and cognitive consistency found in Social Identity Theory (SIT). Though stereotypes are understood in various ways, depending on the authors', theoretical framework (Greenberg & Kosloff 2008, Ramasubramanian 2010 and Rudman 2008) or discipline (Campbell 1995 and Eagelman 2011), the thesis utilizes one found in social psychology: "stereotypes may be viewed as beliefs concerning, characteristics, attributes, and behaviours of members of social groups" (Maris & Hoorens, 2012, p.624). Social psychologists understand that stereotypes play an important role in everyday life by simplifying the physical and social world into categories. They argue that the "process of categorizing groups of people in such a manner assists in developing an individual's ability to cope with a complex environment" (Mitchell, 1981, p.82).

Additionally, "the tendency to stereotype increases when high levels of tension are experienced" (Mitchell, 1981, p.82). Thus, the thesis argues that Calgarian journalists, as members of the community where the conflict is occurring, are experiencing 'high

levels of tensions'. Hence, their proximity to the demonstrations causes them to overstate certain aspects (i.e. negative behaviour) of the white pride group while simultaneously understating the anti-racist group's negative behaviour, which helps sustain their own preconceived characterizations of both groups.

Expanding on the notion of preconceived characterizations the thesis also utilizes the concept of cognitive consistency, which Baran & Davis (2009) argue is a psychological mechanism that helps maintain one's world views. Evidently, this concept works hand in hand with the one of stereotyping, which helps shape our understanding of the social world. Since stereotypes are understood as existing views (in all definitions), this thesis argues that journalists categorized each group with a certain set of stereotypes and worked to preserve them by highlighting and neglecting to present information, overemphasizing information and creating false links by presenting new information.

This is consistent with research on 'Cognitive Consistency'. While studying prejudice on a sample of students from the University of Western Ontario, for instance, Gawronski, Peters, Brochu, & Strack (2008) argued:

. . . people typically base their evaluative judgments on their immediate affective reactions unless the evaluation implied by these reactions is inconsistent with other judgment-relevant beliefs. In this case, the resulting inconsistency has to be resolved by rejecting at least one of the relevant propositions or by finding a new proposition that resolves the inconsistency (p.660).

It is important to note that even though stereotypes have a negative connotation, the thesis understands them as functional; thus, they are neither positive nor negative. Moreover, stereotypes are analytically useful to help comprehend how the groups involved in the conflict understand and interact with one another.

Furthermore, as stated in the presentation of the methodology, the journalistic discourse was assessed through framing, which is a process of “selecting some aspects of a perceived reality to make them more salient in communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation” (Eagleman, 2011, p.156). Accordingly, by analysing how journalists are working to preserve certain images (frames), the thesis identifies the assumed stereotypes and demonstrates how and why stereotypes enable journalists to be more forgiving of the anti-racist marchers, despite their questionable behaviour.

From Qualitative to Quantitative: How Frames, Stereotypes and Cognitive Consistency were identified in Journalistic Discourse.

The first hypothesis stipulates that Calgarian journalists are more forgiving of the anti-racist group because they are perceived to share the community’s values. However, as mentioned in the methods section, since ‘more forgiving’ is a general rule, as oppose to a specific concept, different approaches were used to collect data for this hypothesis. Additionally, since journalists changed their focus every year (i.e. community, image, police), the research also considered four open-ended questions to help evaluate a news article’s support for the first hypothesis: 1. How are the groups depicted in the article? 2. What kind of wording did journalist utilized to describe the groups? 3. Were the groups described negatively or positively? 4. What adjectives were used to describe the groups? Once the article was dissected, it was coded as either supporting or not supporting the first hypothesis.

Put simply, each article was initially coded as not supporting the first hypothesis until one of the four questions was answered positively. However, if the article presented

contradictory information (forgiving or not forgiving), it was coded as not supportive. As illustrated in the methods section, each article supporting the first hypothesis was coded with a number one. The following section discusses articles that both supported and contradicted the first hypothesis. This section is divided in four parts (one for each question enumerated above). The goal of the section is to identify circumstances where the hypothesis was explicitly supported and where it was implicitly supported.

1. Adjectives used to describe the conflicting groups?

In obvious cases, journalists described the white pride group very negatively and used positive adjectives to exemplify the ARA. In a 2008 article (Calgary Herald, A20), for instance, the author (Naomi Lakritz) used the following adjectives to describe the white pride group: ‘horrible, lunatic, creeps, cowardly, lowlifes, bad, extremist and promulgating evil’. Conversely, the ARA marchers were described as good people who are ‘anti-racism advocates’. In this instance, the author was very deliberate in her approach; drawing diverging images (good and evil) of both groups (See Table 2).

To capture this effect, the negative words used to depict the white pride group and anti-racist group were compiled from the 68 news articles utilized for this research. As illustrated above, derogatory words included: neo-Nazi, abhorrent, dangerous, terrorists, pathetic egos, creeps, lowlifes and statements such as “they should be treated the same as their pseudo-Islamist counterparts” (Lakritz, 2008, A20) were counted as well.

When a news article described the white pride group more negatively than the anti racist group, support for the first hypothesis was found. Similarly, if the anti racist group was depicted more or as negatively as the white supremacy group, the article was counted as not to support the first hypothesis. The research anticipated the white pride group to be

more negatively described than the anti-racist group by most news outlets. The research was also anticipated to reveal an even distribution between 2008 and 2012. In accordance with social identity theory, Calgary journalists were also expected to be more likely to employ this method than other journalists.

Over the sixty-seven news articles published between 2008 and 2012, thirty-four words were used to describe the white pride group negatively, as oppose to two used to describe the anti-racist group negatively. Although this is consistent with the research's expectation, the thirty-four words were distributed among seventeen articles while the two (used to describe the anti-racist group) were distributed between two. To further contradict the expectations, thirty-one words were found exclusively between 2008 and 2009, which is an uneven distribution. As anticipated, however, most negative words used against the white pride group came from Calgary articles (16 in 2008 and 3 in 2009). Unsurprisingly, though, few negative words (1 out of 6) characterizing the anti-racist group also came from Calgary.

Contrary to the hypothesis's predictions, negative words only influenced support for the first hypothesis in ten (22.72%) out of forty-four articles and countered support in two. Where support was countered, words were used to describe the anti-racist group negatively, indicating the author's discontent with the group's actions. Though support for first hypothesis was not found in two articles, it is not the case that the white pride group was depicted positively, it is because the author was displeased with both groups. Also, where neither group was depicted negatively with specific adjectives, support for the first hypothesis could still be found through the techniques illustrated below.

Table Two⁸

Stats	Quantity
Words to describe white supremacists	1. Horrible 2. Lunatic 3. Creeps 4. Cowardly 5. Lowlifes 6. Bad 7. Extremist 8. Promulgating evil 9. These people
Words used to describe anti-racists	1. Advocates 2. Good

2. Misdirection?

In his research on Narrative Techniques of Fear Mongering, Glassner (2004) identified common strategies applied by hate groups to lure people in. Among those techniques was misdirection, “a term that comes from the world of stage magic. If a magician wants to make a coin appear to vanish from his right hand, he may try to make the audience look at his left hand while he gets rid of the coin” (p.822). The research found that misdirection was often applied to portray the white pride group more negatively. Thus, this section underscores instances where misdirection was utilized against the white pride group and the article was found to support the first hypothesis.

While the 2009 march was the most violent due to the Anti-Racist Action group, according to police sources, most news articles (see data section below) used a variety of techniques to maintain the ARA’s image of ‘good’ (see Naomi Lakritz). For example, an article on the CBC Calgary Website stated, “violence ensued when people on both sides threw bottles, rocks and signs” (CBC, March 23, 2009), but reminded the reader of an

⁸ The sample originates from: Lakritz, N. (2008, March 26). Calgary’s reputation easily withstands racist march. *Calgary Herald*, p. A20.

incident in October 2007 that turned violent because the Aryan Guard protested a court decision to allow veiled voting. In this article, the author not only neglects to mention who was responsible for the violence in 2009, but suggests it could have been the white supremacists as they have a history of violent behaviour.

On the other hand, other authors made their negative characterisations more implicit. In 2009, six articles argued that the leaders of the white pride group, Kyle McKee and Bill Noble, were not from the region. Those articles often cited the duo as having a violent past and moved to Calgary with the intention of forming a white supremacy group. These articles seemed to have a three-fold purpose: First, they served to state that Calgary does not espouse those values (see second hypothesis). Second, they appeared to suggest that Calgary was free of white supremacists prior to the duo's presence. Third, they often detracted attention from the violence that occurred.

When applied, misdirection was often used to discredit the white pride group by suggesting they could be responsible for the violence and by demonstrating that their non-violence during this event is not atypical of their character. As a result, when misdirection was employed, the articles were often found to support the first hypothesis.

3. *Who were the victims?*

Another prominent strategy used to maintain the anti-racist group's positive image was to portray them as victims. An article in the Lethbridge Herald, stated:

. . . the Anti-Racist Action group gathered outside city hall to commemorate the international day to eliminate racial discrimination. As they marched through the downtown, a bus carrying members of the Alberta-based neo-Nazi Aryan Guard arrived in the same area (Wiremanager, 2009, P.1).

Interestingly, the paragraph is worded in such a way that makes it appear as though the ARA were there for the sole purpose of commemorating the international day to eliminate racial discrimination. Additionally, the author appears to be suggesting that the neo-Nazis' arrived at the location specifically to interrupt the ARA's event.

This statement, however, slightly distorts the truth to make the anti-racist protesters appear to be victimized. As stated in the introduction of the thesis, 2009 was the most violent year because counter protesters (anti-racist) "lobbed rocks and tin cans at the group" (The Journal Pioneer, 2009, p. A6). Interestingly, law enforcement officials on the scene interpreted the anti-racist group's preparedness as a confrontational gesture against the white pride marchers.

Similarly, an article on the CBC website posted a picture with the following statement: "a white pride supporter, right, punches an anti-racism supporter during a violent confrontation in Calgary on Saturday. Bottles, rocks and signs were thrown by both sides and at least two people received treatment for head injuries" (March 21, 2009). Again, this article downplays the ARA's involvement in initiating and perpetuating the violence that took place. Although this article clearly states that both parties were equally involved in throwing projectiles, it contained a picture of a white pride marcher punching an anti-racism protester, which emphasizes the group's negative image and draws attention away from the fact that the ARA were equally culpable.

4. Other Tactics?

Another tactic utilized by journalists to maintain the ARA's positive image was to depict them as victors and white supremacists as losers. An article in the Canadian Press stated, for example, "the protest ended when the Blood of Honour group gave up and

hopped on a city bus and left the area” (The Canadian Press, 2011). Other articles were worded to make it seem as though police officers sided with one group over the other. A piece in the Medicine Hat News reorganized a Canadian Press article for a quotation from Jason Devine (leader of ARA) to be followed by the statement: “16 members of the Blood of Honour, chanting “White Pride Worldwide” found their paths blocked by Calgary Police officers, including riot squad members, who cordoned off several streets in the downtown” (March 21, 2011, p. A5).

Though the above examples are not explicitly depicting the white pride group more negatively, the authors’ deliberately made certain events more salient than others to favour the anti-racist protesters. In the first case, the author states that the white-pride group gave up and left on a city bus. But how does the author know they gave up? Were they supposed to leave after the anti-racist group? Similarly, the second statement suggests police officers were present to block the white pride protesters, however, it was clear from police statements they were there to prevent violence and protect freedom of speech, not take sides.

Data Analysis

In this section, the data is presented both yearly and regionally. Firstly, the goal of presenting the yearly fluctuations is to account for the different angles chosen by journalists during the demonstrations progression. Secondly, the regional comparison is to evaluate the hypothesis’s primary claim, that articles originating from Calgary are different than news articles from other regions in Canada. Additionally, since the 2012 parade occurs in a different location, two overall analyses are included to better understand the consequences of the change.

As stated in the methodology, the data was categorized in four sections: hypothesis, location, date and news agency. In the 'all news agencies section', the data revealed that 64.17% of all news articles supported the first hypothesis. Interestingly, the results for the 'Canada minus Calgary' section were slightly lower with a total of 59.18% while the total results were significantly higher in Calgary (76.47%).

Interestingly, support for the first hypothesis varied yearly in all categories. In 2008, the first hypothesis was supported in 75% (6 of 8) of the articles. In 2009, support for the first hypothesis dropped to 52% (13 out of 25) and the 2010 data revealed 60% (3 out of 5) support. As noted in the introduction, however, data for 2010 was limited to only five articles. On the other hand, 2011 showed support for the first hypothesis at a rate of 84.21% (16 out of 20), while 50% (5 out of 10) of articles in 2012 supported the hypothesis.

The yearly fluctuations are also very different between Calgary and the rest of Canada (excluding Calgary). In 2008, the first hypothesis was supported in Calgary only at a rate of 66.66% (2 out of 3) compared to 80% (4 out of 5) in the rest of Canada. As seen above, support for the first hypothesis dropped in 2009, but more significantly in the rest of Canada (38.88%/7 out of 18) than in Calgary (83.33%/5 out of 6). Although only one article from Calgary discussed the parade in 2010, it did not support the first hypothesis, while 75% (3 out of 4) of the articles outside Calgary did. Interestingly, the 2011 data for Calgary revealed the same outcome (75%) as the year prior for the rest of Canada. On the other hand, the 2011 data for the rest of Canada revealed that 16 out of 17 articles (94.11%) supported the first hypothesis. Finally, the 2012 data elaborates another fluctuation: Calgary (80%) and the rest of Canada (37.50%). In 2012, however, only one

article from Calgary was found compared to 8 for the rest of Canada. It is also important to note, however, that the parade relocated to Edmonton, Alberta that year.

There appears to be two implications causing the fluctuations in the yearly support for the first hypothesis: amount of coverage and primary themes. As mentioned in the introduction, each year's primary theme changed: 2008 was surprise and discussion; 2009 was concern for the city's image as well as violent outcome; 2010 did not have enough articles to identify a theme, while 2011 focussed on police efforts and strategies. Interestingly, though, the themes did not always correlate with the hypothesis as anticipated.

As discussed earlier, it was initially expected that both the 2008 and 2009 data would strongly support the first hypothesis, because the first year was a surprise. On the other hand, the 2009 rally was the largest and most violent, presenting journalists with an opportunity to be more critical of the white pride group. As the data earlier revealed, however, this was not necessarily the case. On the national scale, which included all 68 news articles, for example, 2009 showed the lowest support for the first hypothesis (52%/ 13 out of 25). Although this was mostly due to the 19 articles outside Calgary (36.84%), the number was anticipated to be higher than other years. The Calgary data (83.33%/ 5 out of 6) for 2009, on the other hand, was much higher than the national average and was the highest during the five year period. Nonetheless, it should be noted that only one news article was retrieved from Calgary for 2010 (1) and two for 2012 (2), two of which supported the first hypothesis, obviously skewing the percentage score.

It is surprising that 2011 articles garnered the most support (84.21%/16 out of 20) for the first hypothesis nationally (including Calgary), since this was the year with the

most police intervention. The research expected that the focus on police action would take attention away from both groups and reduce group stigmatizations. The opposite, however, might better explain the results; the focus on a third group may have actually increased the otherness of the white pride group. During the first parade (2008), for example, a group of Christians were walking through the city to celebrate the Way of the Cross, and that year, the second highest rate of support for the first hypothesis was (75% (6 out of 8)) was found.

A 19.11% difference was also revealed in 2011 between Calgarian news articles (75%/3 out of 4) which were less supportive of the first hypothesis than the rest of country (94.11%/16 out of 17). Although from Calgary's standpoint this aligns with the initial assumptions, 75% is a sizeable amount of support. Moreover, compared to other years, 2011 is the fourth highest but falls short of 2012 which has 80% support. As stated earlier, though, the 2012 measure is only based on two articles and should not be taken too seriously.

On the other hand, the difference between the 2009 Calgary data (83.33%) and that of the rest of Canada, on the first hypothesis (36.84%), differs considerably. This suggests Calgarian journalists were either more forgiving of the ARA group and/or more hostile towards the white supremacist group than the rest of country. Another data source, as well as specific wording of news articles, will later be considered in this chapter to better understand this gap.

Discussion

The discussion section for this chapter is divided in three sections: social identity theory, stereotypes and cognitive consistency. The first section briefly re-examines social

identity theory and explores what the data means for the fifth hypothesis as well as the theoretical framework. The second and third section discusses the applicability of stereotypes and cognitive consistency to determine whether they are still suitable despite the quantitative outcome. Each section of the discussion, then, underscores a possible explanation as to why the data did not support the first hypothesis.

Social Identity Theory

As stated in the introduction of this chapter, the thesis posited that Calgary journalists are consciously and unconsciously working to preserve their categorizations of each group, by depicting one more positively than the other. Though the data supports this element of the hypothesis, it was shown that Calgary journalists were slightly more forgiving of the white pride group as their counterparts in other regions of the country. Though this aligns with the hypothesis prediction, it does not explain why so much support was found for the hypothesis in other regions of the country. Evidently, cognitive consistency was employed to reinforce the positive perception of the anti-racist group and stereotypes were utilized to maintain negative perceptions of the white pride group, which was both obvious statistically and qualitatively.

The qualitative section of the analysis revealed deliberate efforts among articles within and outside Calgary to conceal evidence that would compromise the anti-racist group's image. As outlined in the theoretical framework section, however, it is not suspected that journalists deliberately set out to do so. Rather, it seems to be symptomatic of their social categorizations, since:

. . . social identity theory tells us that the simple perceptual act of group categorization in a minimally competitive context will set in motion a process of group differentiation with resulting in-group favouritism. This is apparently due to the need of individuals to attain and maintain a

positive social identity, which they do by first engaging in the social categorization of groups, and then by making favourable social comparisons of their own group in relation to other groups (Deutsch, M.P., Coleman, & Marcus, E., 2006, p.180-181).

It is the researcher's understanding then, that journalists reporting on the event are in a competitive environment which is compelling them to distinguish their group's values (which is shared with the anti-racist group) with the ones of the white pride group.

As stated above, however, this does not account for the resembling news coverage of the event at local and national level. Again, based on social identity theory's elements of competitiveness, context and group, it seems the identity should be more local than national because the conflict is occurring at a communal level. Nevertheless, the data seems to suggest that the white-pride parade is perceived as threatening the national identity.

Stereotypes

The data interestingly revealed significant support for the first hypothesis in the regions outside Calgary, which is surprising, considering the hypothesis's theoretical assumptions. Namely, that "stereotypes increase when high levels of tension are experienced, so that simplifying the key attributes of another, rival group and ignoring the differences and divisions within that group are processes likely to increase during any intense inter-group conflict" (Mitchell, 1981, p.82). Thus, it was anticipated that because Calgarian journalists were in the area of conflict, they would be more likely to stereotype to enhance the gap (good and evil) between their community and white pride group.

Though this was the case, the hypothesis stipulated that journalists from the conflict region would report the story much differently. This lack of distinction, however, can be explained by a limitation within this research. As we have seen in the first

question of the findings section, Cagarian journalists used more explicit language to belittle the anti-racist group, especially in 2008. However, the data revealed that journalists (both within and outside Calgary) were almost equally more forgiving of the anti-racist group. This is because a measure of ‘more supportive’ was not applied to the research.

In other words, whether an article slightly supported or greatly supported the hypothesis the article was given the value of one. Therefore, all articles are perceived as equally supporting the hypothesis, regardless of journalists explicitly attacking the white pride group, while others were merely hinting at their violent behaviour. Although this might skew the research, it does not change support for the first hypothesis. Even though journalists outside Calgary were also found to be forgiving of the anti-racist group.

Cognitive Consistency

The most interesting finding, in the qualitative assessment of the first hypothesis, was the element of misdirection. Clearly, misdirection is most appropriately explained by the concept of cognitive consistency. It seems, journalists anticipated the white pride group to lash out violently against the anti-racist group. However, contrary to their beliefs, it was the anti-racist group that lashed out violently. To preserve their views, however, journalists either concealed the anti racist group’s actions or detracted from their non-action by highlighting the white pride group’s violent history.

Interestingly, though, this tactic was not only utilized in articles originating in Calgary, but across Canada as well (unless they relied on articles generated in Calgary, which will be explored later in the chapter). Two findings might help explain these results: First, it might to be the case that Canadian journalists shared the same beliefs

about the white supremacy group, causing them to depict both groups analogously. Secondly, the second chapter (general findings) indicated that there seemed to be a lack of original news articles outside of Calgary, in that newspaper companies used news agencies to provide information for their articles.

As mentioned in the second chapter, an overview of the authors suggests that the news agencies purchased articles that originated from the Calgary community; however, because many articles are without an author (only newswire or unknown) it is not possible to determine. On the other hand, the results coupled with the number of newswire articles (39 out of 51) suggest Calgarian journalists were leading the discussion of this event. As a result, the data exposed strong similarities between the Calgary based news articles and the articles from other regions, which camouflaged the distinction between different regions.

Conclusion

Evidently, the data supports the hypothesis that journalists are more forgiving of the anti-racist group, across all regions. Though it was the case that Calgarian journalists were more supportive of the anti-racist group than their counterparts, stronger support than anticipated was found among other regions; despite Deutsch, Coleman & Marcus (2006) claim that “group categorization in a minimally competitive context will set in motion a process of group differentiation with resulting in-group favouritism” (p.180-181). Three possible explanations underscored in the discussion may explain this outcome. First, it might be the case that most Canadian journalists perceived the white pride group as a threat to Canadian identity. Secondly, because articles were given the

value of one, the research did not account for different levels of support. Thirdly, Calgarian journalists might have been leading the discussion.

As stated above, the first possible explanation is that most Canadian journalist perceived the group as a threat and did not distinguish their community from the Calgarian community. As a result, the white-pride group was perceived as a threat to the Canadian identity, not just Calgary's. This could help explain why articles from all regions were similar to one another and why they were equally likely to shed a positive light on the anti-racist group, despite their questionable behaviour.

The second possibility is that ascribing articles the value of one might have been limiting. This is especially obvious in 2008, when the Calgarian media negatively characterized the white supremacy group by using such adjectives as 'extremists', 'abhorrent' and 'creeps'. In fact, they were thirteen times more likely to use them than their counter parts in other regions of the country. Interestingly, though, this did not translate into more support for the first hypothesis that year. In 2008, the first hypothesis was supported at a rate of 33.33% in Calgary compared to 40% in the rest of the country.

On the other hand, 2008 was an exceptional year for the use of negative adjectives. As noted above, it accounted for twenty (16 in Calgary) of the forty negative words (50%) used to describe the white supremacist group during the five-year period. Therefore, assessing articles on a scale of multiple units (i.e. 1 to 10), as oppose to units of one, might have slightly changed the results, but not necessarily the outcome of the research. The explanation, then, might be a combination of the second and third possibility.

The second chapter outlined other statistics compiled from the 68 news articles, such as, the number of paragraphs, the articles authors, where the articles originated from and the use of sources. Interestingly, this data revealed that most news articles outside Calgary utilized newswires (i.e. CanWest or The Canadian Press), which contained identical paragraphs as the ones in Calgary. Based on the Calgary articles publisher, date of publication and author, it was obvious the articles borrowed from CanWest and the Canadian Press originated from Calgary. Therefore, the third possible explanation is that most news articles reflected the Calgarian articles as oppose to the regional interpretation of the conflict (see fifth chapter).

Though the latter seems to be the likeliest explanation, the paper will also test for the first explanation in the following chapter: that the white-pride parade is perceived as threatening the national identity. Social identity states that groups in a competitive environment are likelier to engage in-group differentiation, which can result in in-group favouritism. Because this was not disproven in this chapter's findings, it is important to verify if the white pride group was threatening the national identity. Thus, by testing whether Calgarian journalists expressed a higher rate of concern for their community's image, as oppose to the rest of the country, the first and third explanations could be accounted for.

Chapter 3 Calgarian journalist are working to preserve their city's image

Groups can assert their own identity as credible, deny others access, call attention to a shared commonality, and establish an ongoing process of the negotiation of authenticity.

(Josey, 2010, p.28)

Introduction

As demonstrated in the first chapter, both Calgarian and Canadian journalists were more forgiving of the white pride group than of the white supremacists. Additionally, 'forgiveness' was attributed to ideological support for the anti-racist group, which was evidenced through their use of journalistic techniques (i.e. diversion, ridicule and punishment) to amplify the group's negative image and to alienate the white pride group, by depicting them as the antithesis of the anti-racist group. To explain this outcome, the discussion section offered three possibilities as to why the data did not support the claim that Calgarian journalists would be more likely to forgive the anti-racist group. Among the three, the first posited that Canadian journalists equally felt their identities threatened by the white pride group. As previously concluded, to evaluate this possibility, this section tests whether these negative reports have been brought about by a need to protect one's community (second hypothesis).

As it naturally flows with the theme of this research, the concept of identity is borrowed from Social Identity Theory (SIT), which "argues that social categories are represented in our minds as social identities, which, when they are contextually salient, help describe and prescribe our behavior in that context" (Hornsey& Hogg, 2000, p.242).

Moreover, as many researchers have aptly demonstrated in the past (Puddifoot, 2003, Ballesteros & Ramirez, 2007), this paper contends that communities make social identities contextually salient. Since the data in the previous chapter reveal that Calgarian news articles were describing and prescribing behaviours slightly differently from the ones of other regions, these assigned behaviours were evident through stereotyping and cognitive consistency in all regions. It is important, then, to understand whether the results are illustrative either of journalistic practices or of a shared national identity.

Thus, from these concepts (identity, community), the paper deduces that if Canadian journalists felt their identities threatened by the white supremacy group, signs of protectionism in journalistic discourse would be apparent. As a result, this chapter tests whether journalists from Calgary seemed more protective of their community's image than their counterparts in other regions of the country by examining whether they can be distinguished from a social identity perspective. Testing for this hypothesis will help answer two questions: (1) whether the white pride parade was perceived as a threat to national identity and (2) whether news articles from regions outside Calgary were simply borrowing text from the original source (see second chapter).

The relationship between the first and second hypothesis is also supported through Social Identity Theory, which demonstrates that

Groups in conflict are notorious for the conformity pressures that they place on members to toe the line and support the cause. Group norms (standards of acceptable behavior) and related social influence processes dictate both the stereotypes and the discriminatory behavior that are appropriate with respect to out-groups. Members who deviate from these norms are called to task and may be ridiculed, punished, ostracized, or eliminated, depending on the severity of the conflict and the deviant behavior. Polarized opinions are a characteristic of cohesive groups under threat, and insidious and powerful influences are brought to bear on members who voice disagreement with the majority (Fisher, 2006, p.183).

As illustrated in the first hypothesis, Canadian and Calgarian journalists utilized ridicule and punishment to distinguish themselves from the white pride group. Following from Fisher's statement, then, it seems the research should find support for the second hypothesis within articles showing signs ostracizing.

It is important to note that the thesis recognizes the Calgarian community as an 'in-group', which is being challenged by an 'out-group' (white pride). Evidently, the in-group is characterized by its ideals and behavioural standards, which journalists from Calgary perceive they share with their community. As argued above, the qualitative section identifies instances where journalists make the distinction between their community's set of ideals to those of the white pride group. Contrary to the previous hypothesis, however, this section underscores instances where the distinction was perceived as a threat by analysing how journalists were contextualizing the conflict.

To test this hypothesis, this chapter is divided in four sections: Introduction, Data Collection, Data Analysis, Discussion and Conclusion. Similar to previous sections, the first section explains how the data was collected, interpreted and quantified. The aim of this section is twofold: to be as transparent as possible and to help future researchers replicate this analysis. The data analysis section articulates the quantitative data to help guide the discussion section. This section is subdivided by region, year and comparative data analysis. While it is obvious what the regional and yearly data consist of, the comparative data subtracts the 2012 results to underscore the significance of a regional change. The discussion section, on the other hand, considers the data within the guiding concepts (identity and community) identified in the introduction. The goal is to explain its potential support for the second hypothesis as well as the result's implications on this

hypothesis. Finally, the conclusion briefly summarises the results outlined in the discussion and raises important questions for this research as well as future research, which leads to the final conclusion.

Qualitative Data Collection

The way in which the data was interpreted and quantified is an important process to account for as it helps ensure transparency and provides interested researchers a way in which to duplicate the compiling of the data and its analysis. More importantly, replicability is an intrinsic aspect of content analysis as it is defined as “a research technique for making replicable and valid inferences from texts (or other meaningful matter) to the contexts of their use” (Krippendorff, 2004, p.18). Thus, providing readers with this information helps maintain the integrity of this research method.

Though the strategy applied for the data collection was similar to that of the first hypothesis, the data was more explicit, in that statements questioning the community reputation or the group’s belongingness to it were researched. In other words, the research for this section is not so much interested in journalistic frames such as it was for the first hypothesis, but in explicit statements. Accordingly, when a journalist made it clear the white pride group presented a threat to his/her community’s identity, the article was marked as supporting the second hypothesis. On the other hand, if the anti-racist group was presented as a threat to the community, the article was marked as not supportive of the second hypothesis.

Because the hypothesis stipulates that Calgarian journalists want to protect their city’s image, a threat was inferred from their writing when they portrayed the white pride group as outsiders or as not belonging to their community. Again, this aligns with SIT

theory, which states that “members who deviate from these norms are called to task and may be ridiculed, punished, ostracized, or eliminated, depending on the severity of the conflict and the deviant behavior” (Fisher, 2006, p.183). As exemplified below, the paper especially found support for the second hypothesis when journalists utilized ostracizing and elimination as primary tactics (us vs. them).

When Elizabeth Keith (Calgary Herald) stated, for example, that “the rest of us are getting along quite well and would have fewer problems doing so if there weren’t extremists like them around” (April 23, 2008, p.23), the article was marked as supporting the second hypothesis. In this instance, the journalist began her statement with ‘the rest of us’, which clearly excludes the white pride group from the community. Additionally, the author appears to blame the group for an occurring conflict, which was interpreted as a perceived threat.

Similarly, Naomi Lakritz’s article was marked as supporting the second hypothesis because it argued that “the good in Calgary on Good Friday so dramatically prevailed over the bad that there is just no way one march by a small bunch of extremists can be interpreted as a black mark on the city’s reputation” (Calgary Herald, 2008, A20). Although this article does not construct the group as an ‘other’, as did the previous article, the author argues that the group is different than the rest of the community members. In fact, the author depicts them as a bunch of extremists. Furthermore, Lakritz expressed concern that the group could be dangerous for the ‘city’s image’, which was interpreted as a direct appeal to the public not to let this incident define her community’s identity which was understood as a perceived threat.

In another case, the author portrayed the leaders of the group, Kyle McKee and Bill Noble, as complete outsiders. Remington (2009) quoted Ralph Klein “about creeps and bums coming to Alberta causing trouble” (B2). The author’s article was presented in such a way that underscored the fact that the duo do not originate from Calgary and are not representative of Calgarian values. Therefore, it was inferred that the author depicted them as complete outsiders to protect his community’s image.

These examples are a sample of the type of inferences made in support of the second hypothesis. Evidently, there are many variations in the language used to define the group as others and outsiders, since every author has his/her own style. Nonetheless, this should provide insight into the research’s qualitative assessment. The following section examines the rate at which the second hypothesis was supported in news articles around the country.

Quantitative Data

As elaborated in the introduction, this section presents the quantitative data once it has been transformed from its qualitative origin. This section is subdivided in four sections: Overall, Regional, Yearly and Comparative. The overall section presents the data with no regional or yearly subdivisions, which provides a benchmark for the analysis. The regional section, on the other hand, presents the data as it is divided between two groups: Calgary and the rest of Canada. Obviously, the Calgary data only includes news articles that originate from the Calgary region, while ‘the rest of Canada’ includes all other regions excluding Calgary (see methodology).

The yearly breakdown provides the data by year, from 2008 to 2012. This is to account for the yearly fluctuations within the data to compare it with the event in general.

The analysis of the fluctuations takes place in the discussion section, which is guided by two questions: Why was there more support for the second hypothesis in a given year? Was the white pride group's exposure different from one year to the next? Finally, the comparative section subtracts the 2012 data to assess the difference in support for the hypothesis when the parade takes place in Edmonton as oppose to Calgary.

Quantification

When an article was marked as supporting the second hypothesis, it was entered in an excel spreadsheet (see Table 3) which was divided by year and origin of news article. As the case in the previous chapter, the analysis compares those categories. It should be noted that the regional analysis for this hypothesis is more relevant than previous chapters as it is part of the hypothesis. If this hypothesis is supported, it will set Calgary apart from other Canadian regions in the final discussion since it is expected that Calgarian journalists depicted the anti-racist group as a direct threat to their community's identity.

In other words, this chapter examines the prominence of Calgary's distinct identity through the journalists' perception of the white pride group. Though the first hypothesis showed hostility towards the white pride group among all Canadian journalists, this section examines whether Calgarian journalists showed concern for their own group's identity. The data will also include a comparison between the 2008/2011 (as a unit) to 2012 data since the white pride group changed location that year.

Overall/Regional

Using the schema outlined in the methods section (See Table 3), the research found support for the second hypothesis in 35.82% (24) of all 68 articles This number is

slightly higher than expected, since articles from Calgary represent 25% (17) of all articles. Moreover, these numbers are from 2008 to 2012, which are expected to slightly lower support for the second hypothesis, since the parade did not take place in Calgary that year.

Surprisingly, support for the second hypothesis was found in 24.89% (12 of 50) of the national articles (excluding Calgary), and 70.58% (12 of 17) of Calgarian articles. Support for the hypothesis on the national level (excluding Calgary) was not expected to be as high considering the numerical difference between the rest of Canada (53) and Calgary (17). Which means support for the second hypothesis was found in 12 articles published outside Calgary and 12 published in Calgary which aligns with the ingroup and outgroup theories reviewed above.

Table Three

Newspaper	Year	Location	Value	Hypothesis B
Calgary Herald	2009	Calgary, Alberta	1	Calgary Herald
Calgary Herald	2009	Calgary, Alberta	1	Calgary Herald
Globe and Mail	2009	Unknown	0	Globe and Mail
National Post	2009	Unknown	0	National Post
The Windsor Star	2009	Widnsor Ontario	0	The Windsor Star
Calgary Herald	2009	Calgary, Alberta	1	Calgary Herald
The Province	2009	Vancouver, BC	0	The Province

Yearly

2008

In 2008, the data revealed that Calgarian journalists depicted the white pride group as threatening to their region's identity in all (3 of 3) articles, which is not surprising because the group was also portrayed very negatively that year (see first hypothesis). Interestingly, outside Calgary, no articles illustrated the group as a threat to their identity, thus 2008 strongly supports the second hypothesis.

2009

Nationally, in 2009, support for the second hypothesis was closer to the thesis expectations at a rate of 32% (8 of 25). The numbers tell a different story regionally, however, with 83.33% (5 of 6) of Calgary news articles perceiving the group as a threat compared to 16.66% (3 of 18) of the rest of the country. Again, the rate is significantly higher in Calgary than in the rest of the country as anticipated.

2010

Even though only 5 articles were found for 2010, 20% (1) showed support for the second hypothesis. These are deceiving figures, however, as they show 100% support for Calgary and 0% in the rest of Canada. This is because the one article supporting the second hypothesis is from Calgary. Though the results are consistent with the hypothesis, one article cannot be accepted as conclusive evidence.

2011

On the other hand, the overall 2011 data reveals that 31.57% (6 of 20) of articles indicated the anti-racist group to be a threat to their identity. Interestingly, the data reveals less support for the second hypothesis within Calgary (25% (1 of 4)) than the rest of the country (26.66%/4 of 16). Obviously, the 2011 data goes against the hypothesis

with underwhelming support in Calgary and stronger support outside of it (albeit slightly).

2012

The 2012 data uncovered the most support for the second hypothesis, nationally, at a rate of 60% (6 of 10). As stated earlier, however, the white pride parade and the anti-racist rally did not take place in Calgary that year; it took place in Edmonton. Thus, outside Calgary, journalists showed concern for Edmonton's identity at a rate of 62.5% (5 of 8). Although the data revealed 50% support for the hypothesis in Calgary, only two articles were published.

Comparative Data Analysis

Because the 2012 data seemed to skew support for the second hypothesis, it was also subtracted from the overall and regional data for comparative purposes. As stated earlier, this does not invalidate the research since the march took place in Calgary from 2008 to 2011, and changed locations in 2012. Interestingly, removing 2012 from the data significantly changed support for the second hypothesis. Overall, 26.47% of articles depicted the group as a threat to their identity; a drop from 35.82% when 2012 was included. Similarly, the rest of Canada's support dropped to 14% from 24.48%. Contrarily, however, support for the second hypothesis within the Calgary articles was relatively unchanged with a fluctuation of 5.88% (70.58% to 64.70%).

Although the fluctuations seem to contradict the second hypothesis, it is because of the small number of articles originating from Calgary in 2012 (2), one of which did not support the second hypothesis. Thus, this paper argues that the strong fluctuation in the rest of Canada coupled with the relatively small fluctuation in Calgary seemingly

indicates support for the second hypothesis, at least from Calgary's perspective. As SIT suspected through its understanding of ingroup/outgroup relationships, the bulk of support for the second hypothesis in Calgary, originated from the years prior to 2012. As a result, when 2012 was removed from the equation, the data barely changed. On the other hand, support for the second hypothesis was reduced by 10% in 'the rest of Canada' articles; meaning 2012 accounted for 6.84% of the total support (9.43%).

The correlation between the drop in support when the location changed can be attributed to the change in perceived threat. In other words, when the group changed the location of the parade, they were no longer perceived as a threat by Calgarian journalists. Moreover, the fact that only one article was found that year attests that the group was no longer perceived as a threat to Calgary's identity.

Discussion

The goal of this section is to discuss the data as it relates to the theoretical framework and concepts outlined in the introduction. The primary focus is to explain the data through SIT, as it relates to identity and community, to help explain the fluctuations. Doing so will help draw a link between the first and the second hypothesis. The following questions guide the discussion: How did the theoretical framework help explain the findings? Why is the data different between Calgary and the rest of Canada? How can the yearly fluctuation be accounted for? Why did the conclusion change when the 2012 data was removed from the equations and what are the implications for this research? And finally, does the data support the second hypothesis?

As alluded to in the introduction, the second hypothesis stems from SIT, which states that a dominant group will ostracize its own members during a conflict if it feels

that those members do not “toe the line and support the cause”. Moreover, through the second hypothesis, journalists are clearly applying the pressure tactics elaborated in the social identity paragraph cited above (ridicule punishment, ostracism, or elimination). In this instance, it seems the tactic of ostracising served a dual purpose: to establish the common norms and to show that the white pride group does not share them.

The data clearly supports the second hypothesis at a rate of 70.58% for news articles within Calgary between 2008 and 2012. As hypothesized, there is a significant difference between journalistic discourse from Calgary and the rest of Canada (24.48%). Additionally, the gap further increases (50.7%) when the 2012 data is removed from the equation, which emphasizes the role played by social identities while assigning stereotypes. This is especially made obvious when the 2012 quantitative data was removed and 64.70% percent of articles from the Calgary region were found to support the second hypothesis, compared to 14% for the rest of Canada, which is a significant deviation (35%), suggesting the rest of Canada was not as concerned about its identity as Calgary. Evidently, as stated in the data section, this is consistent with the second hypothesis and social identity theory.

Moreover, when 2012 was removed from the equation, overall support for the second hypothesis outside Calgary fell 10.48%, though the drop was anticipated, only two articles originated from Edmonton that year and only one of them supported the second hypothesis. Additionally, 62.5% (5 of 8) of articles in 2012 portrayed the white-supremacy group as a threat, making that year the most supportive of the second hypothesis outside Calgary. Thus, the drop in support for the second hypothesis cannot be solely attributed to the change of location.

It is surprising, however, that Edmonton journalists did not cover the parade with as much intensity as their Calgarian counterparts did when it occurred in their region. Prior to 2012, when the parade originated in Calgary an average of 3.75 articles were from Calgary. Interestingly, less than half were published in Edmonton. It is also surprising when considering that the march was relatively large: a group of 12 white pride protesters were met with a group of 200 anti-racist protesters, who were prevented from approaching each other by a dozen police officers (see Edmonton Journal, March 25, 2012, A3). Therefore, the parade's uneventfulness cannot serve to explain the lack of publication.

Unexpectedly, however, support for the second hypothesis, among articles from Calgary, fell 5.88% once 2012 was removed from the equation. Moreover, one of the two articles from the Calgary region maintained its support for the second hypothesis, while the other did not. Based on SIT, support for the hypothesis should have remained the same or increased as a result of removing 2012 since the parade changed locations. As a result, the fluctuation suggests that Calgarian journalists still perceived the parade as a threat despite its location change. On the other hand, half the number of articles were produced in Calgary. Furthermore, the second hypothesis was supported at a rate of 68.75% prior to 2012, a difference of 18.75% from 50% in 2012. It seems to be the case then, that since Calgarian journalists no longer perceived the group as a threat to their identity, they slowed reporting on the event.

Conclusion

The data clearly supports the second hypothesis with a 46.1% difference between articles originating from Calgary and those of other regions and as predicted through social identity theory, the affects ostracizing and protectionism were present,.

The paper initially tried to explain the fluctuation in support of the second hypothesis, for the rest of Canada, by attributing it to Edmonton journalists reacting to the first white pride parade in their community. In 2008, when the parade first took place in Calgary, all journalists in that region writing about the parade portrayed the white pride group as a threat to their community's identity. In contrast, however, only two articles in 2012 originated from the Edmonton region, and of the two, only one supported the second hypothesis, accounting for 1.47% of the total. Nonetheless, the qualitative data demonstrated that 12 white supremacists, 200 anti-racists and dozens of police officer attended the march, making it as large as the parade in Calgary.

Though this chapter was able to distinguish the way in which Calgarian journalists presented the white pride parade from their counterparts in other regions of the country, it is only one aspect of social identity theory. As stated in the introduction of this thesis, SIT posits that groups whose identities are threatened lash out against those threatening it by employing negative stereotyping. In other words, for the data to support SIT it is not enough to show that journalists from Calgary both supported the first and second hypothesis, both hypotheses have to be supported in the same articles. As a result, the following chapter tests the frequency at which both hypotheses correlate within the same article in a comparative regional analysis similar to that presented in previous chapters.

Chapter 4 Social Identity Theory

. . . audiences rely on a version of reality built from personal experiences, interaction with peers, and interpreted selections from the mass media.

(Scheufele, 1999, p.105)

Introduction

As outlined in the introduction, Social Identity Theory (SIT) posits that “people define themselves in terms of their social group memberships and strive to maintain a positive image of the in-group because a positive regard for in-group can enhance members’ self-view” (Owuamalam, & Zagefka, 2011, p.530). As a result, while testing for the first hypothesis, the thesis employed the concepts of stereotyping and cognitive consistency to assess the journalistic frames utilized to describe the conflict. Though the thesis did not demonstrate that Calgarian journalists were substantially more hostile towards the white supremacist group than their counterparts in other regions of the country, the processes of stereotyping and cognitive consistency were obvious in all regions reporting on the event (see chapter 2).

To determine whether journalistic discourse from Calgary differed from that of other regions, however, another aspect of SIT was tested: whether Calgarian journalists perceived their community to be threatened by the white pride group. As outlined in the previous chapter, SIT argues that “groups in conflict are notorious for the conformity pressures that they place on members to toe the line and support the cause” (Fisher, 2006, p.183). Though it was stated that stereotypes are an important aspect of this framework, it

was also argued that “members who deviate from these norms are called to task and may be ridiculed, punished, ostracized, or eliminated” (Fisher, 2006, p.183). Because the first hypothesis underscored the humiliation of the group (through stereotyping), the second hypothesis focussed on frames of discourse that promote ostracizing and elimination.

The second hypothesis was much more prominent among Calgary articles than articles written by their counterparts from other regions of the country. As a result, it could be concluded that even though stereotypes and cognitive consistency were employed nationally, the communal threat seemed to be motivating Calgarian journalists. This distinction importantly confirmed that the white pride group was perceived as a threat to the Calgarian identity. In other words, the findings in the fourth chapter brought the research closer to the expectation that Calgarian journalists were experiencing the conflict differently than their counterparts as it was occurring in their community.

Nonetheless, SIT also argues that the process of distinguishing the in-group from the out-group using stereotypes and cognitive consistency (first hypothesis) occurs cohesively with the processes of ostracizing and elimination (second hypothesis). Though stereotypes and cognitive consistency do not entail ostracizing and elimination, it seems to follow that stereotypes and cognitive consistency precede ostracizing and elimination. As a result, this section analyses the correlation between both hypotheses in each article. In other words, this section will analyse the number of times the second hypothesis correlates with the first.

As stated above, the correlation is tested through the second hypothesis because the first does not necessitate the second. Since a section of the analysis compares those results with the number of articles supporting the first hypothesis only, this section

determines whether SIT can help explain journalistic discourse from Calgary and other regions throughout the parade's occurrence. Additionally, this section serves as the final discussion section of the thesis since it recapitulates and compares both hypotheses.

As in previous chapters, the remainder of this chapter is divided in five parts: Methodology, Data, Discussion, Newswire Effect and Conclusion. The methodology explains how the data was compiled and compared. Since this section makes use of the data compiled from the first and second hypothesis, however, a lengthy methodology with qualitative examples is avoided. Similarly, the data section is somewhat different as it is divided by region but not by year. Like previous chapters, the discussion section will recapitulate the results and assesses the implications for the overall thesis. The Newswire effect section provides an explanation for the discrepancies between the data and the theoretical framework. Finally, the conclusion section points to the strength and weaknesses of this chapter's findings and prepares the reader for the conclusion.

Methodology

As stated above, the data for this section is recycled from the previous hypotheses, rendering the methodology section very brief. The research simply compiled the data and divided it in three categories: overall, other than Calgary and Calgary only. For simplicity, once the data was accumulated, all articles not supporting only the second hypothesis were initially eliminated. This is justified through SIT, which demonstrates that ostracizing and elimination should follow from stereotyping and cognitive consistency as the latter help define the group's social parameters.

Once the data was filtered, it was compared using rates of support, which were subsequently evaluated against the total number of articles, the first hypothesis, the

second hypothesis and the coinciding occurrences of both hypotheses. The goal of assessing the data from multiple angles is to ensure all viewpoints have been accounted for. Evidently, the Calgary only category is the most significant for the analysis, as SIT stipulates that groups in conflict will utilize all four mechanisms (stereotypes, cognitive consistency, ostracizing and elimination) to distance themselves from the converging group.

Data Presentation

As previously demonstrated, 24 of the 68 articles (from all regions) were found to support the second hypothesis for a rate of 35.29%. Out of the 24 articles, 9 supported only the second, while 15 (62.5%) supported both hypotheses. Though it is significant, it only accounts for 22.05% (15 out of 68) of the total number of articles and 54.54% (15 out of 29) of the articles supporting the first hypothesis. Evidently, a significant portion of the news coverage did not support both hypotheses simultaneously. Nonetheless, this was anticipated since the distribution between Calgary articles (17) and articles outside Calgary (50) was uneven.

Interestingly, of the 29 articles found to support the first hypothesis, only 20.68% (6) concurrently supported the second hypothesis. Additionally, of the 50 articles from other regions, 12 articles supported the second hypothesis (24%) and 6 (50%) of those articles supported both hypotheses; meaning only 12% of the total number of articles supported both hypotheses simultaneously. As anticipated, a small portion of articles supported both hypotheses, compared to the overall sum, which was from regions outside Calgary.

On the other hand, of the 17 Calgary only articles 12 (70.58%) supported the second hypothesis; of those twelve, 9 (75%) simultaneously supported the first and second hypothesis. Thus, only 52.94% of all Calgary only articles supported both the first and second hypothesis. Significantly, of the 17 Calgary only articles, a total of 13 maintained the first hypothesis; meaning 69.23% of all articles supporting first also supported the second. As stated in the introduction, however, it is more meaningful for this research to measure from the second hypothesis as social identity theory argues that the concepts in the first precede those of the second.

As elucidated above, the results clearly support the premise that both hypotheses would be supported in the articles containing the second. This is especially true in the case of Calgary only articles, which simultaneously sustained both hypotheses at a rate of 75%, noticeably setting them apart from other regions (50%). Evidently, then, when the occurrence of both hypotheses is factored in the analysis, the Calgarian journalists' bias against the white supremacy groups appears to stem from a perceived threat to their community's identity. In other words, the second hypothesis coincided with the first more often than the first coincided with the second within articles from Calgary.

Discussion

The data presented in the above section clearly sets Calgary apart from other regions in a way that the other chapters did not. The first hypothesis, for instance, was the furthest away from this distinction and concluded by raising important questions regarding the researcher's interpretation of the theory and the range of its application. As previously stated, however, this chapter helps bridge the gap between the first and second

hypothesis by setting Calgary apart from other regions as SIT predicted would happen in areas of conflict.

Owuamalam & Zagefka (2011) similarly utilized social identity as their theoretical framework to examine whether group members' level of identification could predict the influence of salient stereotypes on in group members and argued that

. . . those who attach great importance to their social identity – so-called high identifiers – are generally biased in favour of their in-group and tend to engage in behaviours that serve the interest of the in-group, particularly if their social identity is threatened in some way (p.529).

Although this research was unable to show how strongly Calgarian journalists attach importance to their social identity, it demonstrated they were biased in favour of their in-group through the first hypothesis and they perceived their identities were threatened in some way through the second hypothesis.

It is important to note that Owuamalam & Zagefka (2011) also support the argument outlined in Fisher (2006) (see introduction), that the threat to the identity precedes the in-group bias, as they state it particularly occurs '*if* their social identity is threatened in some way'. As elaborated earlier, 69.23% of articles originating from Calgary simultaneously supported both hypotheses compared to 20.68% for articles outside that region. In other words, journalists from Calgary presented the group as a threat to their community's identity and utilized cognitive consistency to maintain a positive in-group image. Interestingly, the third chapter also demonstrated that Calgarian journalists negatively stereotyped the white pride group.

Though the finale results maintain the research's theoretical approach, the following section attempts to explain why articles employed the use of stereotypes and cognitive consistency, even though many articles did not present the white pride group as

a threat to their community's identity. It also explores why journalists outside Calgary presented the group as a threat to their community, despite the fact that the parade was occurring in another location. As argued throughout the thesis, Calgarian journalists were expected to report the story differently than their counterparts, interestingly, however, their counterparts seemed to have reported the story similarly. Thus, the following accounts for this outcome through the newswire effect, which is the standardization of news through the shared newsroom.

Thus, the following section questions whether a comparative study of regional journalistic discourse can be validated if the opposing data disproportionately originates from a newswire. It is important to test this aspect even though the data sustains social identity theory, because the framework does not account for groups that are not in conflict. If the data reveals that the newswire effect is taking place, then the discrepancy is accounted for and out of the theory's reach. On the other hand, if it cannot be accounted for through the 'newswire effect' another theory should be considered.

Defining the Newswire Effect

In this study, the most utilized newswire was CanWest (22), which subsequently became Postmedia News (3) according to an article in the Toronto star⁹. CanWest/Postmedia is one of Canada's largest newswires with more than 1000 journalist across the country contributing daily. Among the news outlets owned by this news service are: The National Post, The Calgary Herald and the Ottawa Citizen. It is also

⁹ The Canadian Press. "Canwest newspaper chain to be called Postmedia Network, Paul Godfrey says - thestar.com." *News, Toronto, GTA, Sports, Business, Entertainment, Canada, World, Breaking - thestar.com*. N.p., n.d. Web. 28 Oct. 2012. <<http://www.thestar.com/business/companies/canwest/article/831653--canwest-newspaper-chain-to-be-called-postmedia-network-paul-godfrey-says>>.

important to note that most (13 out of 21) news articles originating from Calgary were published in the Calgary Herald. It is not surprising, then, that most news articles were very similar to one another, which is what was referred to as the standardization of news through the newswire or the ‘newswire affect’ in short.

Contrary to the physical data’s presentation of the newswire articles, their content seems to be very similar to articles originating from Calgary, at least through the first and second hypothesis. This, however, is not surprising considering the way in which newswire articles are conceived. In contrast, the second chapter of the thesis (General Data Overview), demonstrated that newswires services are an organized network of journalists or news outlets that work together to cover events in a given region. The newswires dealt with in this research are CanWest/Postmedia News Network (PNN) and the Canadian Press (CP).

Since Broderick & Miller (2007) loosely describes newswire services in terms of what they provide. And the CP is the only organization among the three mentioned above that explicitly described their service on their Website, the definition of newswire was borrowed from them:

A sophisticated satellite network connects us directly to the newsrooms of hundreds of daily papers, radio and TV stations, allowing us to send and receive content in multiple formats, in real time. Journalists call it the “wire,” an old telegraph term still used even though satellite dishes and the Internet have replaced the ‘wire’¹⁰.

As we can see, the ‘wire’ allows news outlets to send and borrow articles from one another allowing them to cover stories they would otherwise not have access to or would

¹⁰ Canadian Press. (n.d.). News sources. *The Canadian Press*. Retrieved November 5, 2012, from www.thecanadianpress.com/about_cp.aspx?id=76

only access them in a delayed time frame. The national newswire, then, helps news outlets access stories from around the country, in a timely manner, without unnecessarily devoting its resources.

As stated above, the physical data suggested newswire articles were different from original source articles when quotations and length were considered. The first and second hypotheses, on the other hand, seem to indicate that both sources were similar in their content. Though this seems contradictory, the above paragraphs demonstrate that a newswire simply provides the story while news outlets publish it how they see fit. In other words, news outlets are free to publish certain aspects of a story while ignoring others. According to the data, then, it seems publishers were also interested in portraying the white pride group negatively by highlighting stereotypes and employing cognitive consistency.

Interestingly, they also published sections portraying the white pride group as an identity threat separately on its own. The data also reveals that both types of articles are similar in one way with comparable results for both hypotheses. However, Calgary journalists seemed likelier to portray the white pride group negatively because they perceived the group as a threat to their community's identity. Newswire articles, on the other hand, seemed to either portray them negatively or as an identity threat, which seems counter intuitive given the premises outlined in SIT.

The Newswire Effect

The previous section was able to set Calgary apart by demonstrating that most articles originating from that region simultaneously supported both hypotheses, as posited in SIT. Since it was unable to account for those articles supporting only one of the

hypotheses, however, assessing the effect of newswires in a comparative analysis was recommended. Thus, this section draws on the physical data accumulated in the second chapter to outline the use of newswires in articles outside Calgary.

The first chapter of the thesis presented the research's physical data and demonstrated that articles originated from three different sources: Calgary news outlets, news outlets from outside Calgary and Newswires. By measuring the length, the number of quotes and the ratio of news outlets to newswire articles, the chapter established that newswires were different than original source articles, as they tended to be shorter (7.2 paragraphs per article) with fewer quotations (1.2 per article). Additionally, by measuring differences through standard deviations, newswire articles were also demonstrated to be more similar to one another than original source articles. Given the attributes of physical data (see Krippendorff, 2004) and the concept of newswire, the importance of taking into account the content of each article was noted. As a result, the reader was asked to consider the data accumulated in the second chapter while reading the thesis.

This section reiterates the concept of a newswire to help explain the discrepancy outlined in this section. Namely, that a significant number of articles supported the first or second hypothesis without following the logical outline established in social identity theory. The subsequent paragraphs, then, utilize the data delineated under the subheading 'News Outlets: Newswires versus Original Source Articles', in the first chapter, which compared the ratio of news outlets to newswires. As a result, the presentation takes place in four parts: 'The First Hypothesis and the Newswire Effect', 'The Second Hypothesis and the Newswire Effect', 'Coinciding Occurrences and the Newswire Effect' and 'The Newswire Effect?'.

The First Hypothesis and the Newswire Effect

The first hypothesis demonstrated that the data from Calgary was not as substantially different from that of other regions as anticipated with 17.37% differentiation (76.47% in Calgary compared to 59.1% in other regions). The 59 percent accounted for 29 out of 50 articles, 22 (75.86%) of which originated from a newswire service. Interestingly, of the 12 original source articles from other regions 5 (41.66%) did not support the first hypothesis while the other 7 (58.33%) did. Though seven is a small fraction, it is interestingly the same percentage of support as the overall result. Moreover, when the 22 newswire articles supporting the first hypothesis are compared to the 38 total newswire articles, the rate of support is 57.89%.

Evidently, if the trends were to continue, support for the first hypothesis would remain the same and the newswire effect would not play a significant role in the first hypothesis. Nonetheless, it cannot be ignored that 75.86% of articles supporting the second hypothesis did originate from a newswire, which significantly outnumbers the amount of original source articles. For the purpose of this study, both points will be considered in the ‘newswire effect?’ section, as they are equally important.

The Second Hypothesis and the Newswire Effect

On the other hand, the second hypothesis yielded 70.58% (12 out of 17) support within Calgary as oppose to 24% (12 out of 50) outside Calgary. As stated in the discussion and conclusion section of this chapter, this was anticipated even though the first hypothesis garnered more support than expected outside Calgary. This is because the second hypothesis stipulated that Calgarian journalists perceived the white pride group as a threat to their community’s identity. As the conflict is occurring in Calgary, it was

hypothesised they would be likelier to experience the conflict at an identity level. Therefore, since the conflict was occurring in Calgary, the second hypothesis was not expected to accumulate a significant amount of support outside Calgary.

Interestingly, all (12 out of 12) articles supporting the second hypothesis outside Calgary are from a newswire service. Moreover, it cannot go unnoticed that 50% of articles from other regions sustained the second hypothesis only. Since the hypotheses pertain to the region and discourse where the conflict is occurs this outcome is not accounted for in the research, although it could be explained through the disproportionate amount of newswire articles, which account for 100% (12 out of 12) of these findings. In contrast with the first hypothesis, the second hypothesis was obviously skewed by newswire services.

Coinciding Occurrences of both Hypotheses and the Newswire Effect

The data section of this chapter outlined the coinciding occurrences of both hypotheses and found support for SIT in 75% of articles originating from Calgary, compared to 50% of news articles from other regions. As stated in the section above, 100% of articles supporting the second hypothesis originated from a newswire. Since the paper extrapolated the data from the occurrences of the first hypothesis coinciding with the second all 6 articles supporting social identity theory, obviously originated from a newswire. Similarly, all 6 articles not supporting both hypotheses were also from a newswire.

It is also interesting that compared to the Calgary only articles; the newswire articles coincided with the first hypothesis at a rate of 27.27%. Evidently, this indicates that newswires did not use stereotyping and cognitive consistency to denigrate the white

pride group as a result of a perceived threat. Since support for the hypotheses, either separately or coincidentally, is inconsistent among newswire articles, the following section briefly investigates how newswire articles come to be.

The Newswire Effect?

The above section clearly demonstrated that the disproportionate number of newswire articles dispersed among news outlets outside Calgary skewed this research. In articles supporting the first hypothesis, for example, they were present in 75.86% of cases and in all articles supporting the second hypothesis. Though a trend in the data sustaining the first hypothesis suggested the results might have been the same regardless of their origin, the thesis conceded that too little data (6 articles (Alberni Vally Times, CBC BC, Postmedia News, two from Times Columnist, Edmonton Journal)) was accumulated to draw a definite conclusion. Nonetheless, the results from the coinciding occurrences further elucidated that support for either hypothesis among newswire articles did not follow the logic outlined in social identity theory.

Through the data analysis, it seems as though newswire articles are all the same, a sentiment reflected through the physical data, which demonstrated that the articles resembled each other much more than original source did to one another. The standard deviation of quotes among newswire articles, for instance, was 1.22 over 56 total quotes spread over 39 articles, compared to 2.22 over 55 total quotes spread among 21 original source articles. In other words, articles originating from a newswire were more consistent. Evidently, then, this renders the comparative analysis less significant because the story was standardized across all regions, which seems to be perpetuated by the joint

ownership of the newswire, its subsidiaries and the Calgary Herald, thus confirming the newswire effect.

Conclusion

While this chapter revealed that the coinciding occurrences of both hypotheses predominantly occurred among Calgary only articles, it also underscored the possible cause of the significant discrepancies surrounding the research's findings. Though the discrepancies were touched on in the second chapter of the thesis, they were not recognized as substantial until much later in the analysis. It is important not to ignore newswire articles all together, but to explore where they are from, where they obtained their information and how the content compares to original source articles. It would be interesting to research how news outlets utilize newswire articles, since they slightly varied from original source articles in length and content. One suggestion, then, is to determine early in the research what this story means to other regions, to decide whether a comparative analysis is necessary. In this case, for instance, the fact that the majority of articles reported on the event through a newswire supports the identity threat outlined in the fourth chapter, something that could have been established without the qualitative aspect of the research.

Another method of measuring the value of a comparative analysis would be to develop a word search algorithm to better understand how closely a newswire article resembled an original source article. Though this would require the use of specialized computer applications, it would also enable the researcher to better understand how the articles were worded and organized. Additionally, having access to this information

would better position the researcher to give the data multiple values, as suggested in the second chapter.

Evidently, the primary goal of this research was to evaluate journalistic discourse revolving around the parade originating from Calgary through the lens of Social Identity Theory. More consideration, then, should have been given to articles outside Calgary, even though most of them originated from a newswire service. Many newswire articles for instance, seemed to be tailored to highlight certain aspects of an article while ignoring the original message. If the newswire effect had been considered earlier on, a second theory explaining how journalists from other regions are predicted to react would have been offered to help measure the influence of newswires.

Through Terror Management Theory (TMT), for example, Greenberg & Kosloff (2008) argue that “stereotypes are internalized aspects of our worldviews that make members of other groups seem simpler and more predictable, and in many cases make them seem inferior, as they are not even human” (p. 1886). Though a thorough discussion on TMT’s scope is out of this research paper’s reach, it cannot be ignored that 75.86% of articles from other regions supported the first hypothesis and 42.86% of articles originating from Calgary did not support both hypotheses simultaneously, compared to 88% of articles outside Calgary. Moreover, 50% (6 out of 12) of articles outside Calgary supported the second hypothesis alone, which does not logically make sense according to SIT. Therefore, as stated in TMT, since stereotypes are employed to analyse members of ‘other groups’ the simple explanation might be that journalists and editors from other regions simply perceived them as that; while Calgarian journalists perceived them as group members threatening their group identity.

Nonetheless, this chapter underscored the distinction between articles from Calgarian journalists and those of newswire services with respect to the simultaneous support for both hypotheses. This was shown through support for the first and second hypothesis, which worked cohesively in articles originating from Calgary. Clearly, the results supported social identity theory demonstrating that Calgarian journalists' reaction to the conflict was more profound than their counterparts in other regions of the country. It was also shown that the lack of distinction, between Calgary based articles and those of other regions, leading to this chapter could be attributed to the newswire effect and the overwhelming use of newswires distinguished them also.

As stated in the introduction, the following chapter will conclude the research answering the overarching question (How are journalists framing the white pride parade in Calgary, Alberta?) by recapitulating the findings in the preceding three chapters. The concluding section also assesses the value of the research findings through constructive controversy theory and rejection-identification model to make policy recommendations as well as future areas of research.

Conclusion Moving Beyond the Research: How Should Journalists Proceed?

Whether controversy results in positive or negative consequences depends on the conditions under which it occurs and the way in which it is managed.

(Johnson, D. W., Johnson, R. T., & Tjosvold, 2006, p.75)

The previous section demonstrated that Calgarian journalists were motivated to stereotype the white pride group negatively, because they perceived the group as a threat to their community's identity. Since this study was guided by Social Identity Theory, it was anticipated that the difference in support for the first and second hypothesis would be much more pronounced than the findings revealed. It also demonstrated, however, that a comparative analysis between the different sources might not have been the best method of comparison for this study, due to the overwhelming use of newswire articles. To explain this phenomenon, the research introduced the newswire effect, which accounted for the standardization of news through news services.

Though the newswire effect was neither anticipated during the data collection process or during the analysis of the first and second hypothesis, its finding did not render this study useless. As was pointed out in the previous chapter, the news outlets chose which elements of the newswire articles they would preserve and which ones would perish. This process helped explain why news outlets outside Calgary did not portray the group as a threat to their community's identity and stereotyped the group negatively simultaneously. Obviously, this is an important distinction because SIT stipulates that groups in conflict settings display more hostility towards an antagonistic group than those who are not.

Additionally, analysing the data from the first hypothesis through newswire services demonstrated that original source data, outside Calgary, followed the same trend as newswires. Though this suggests there might not have been a difference if the articles did not come from a newswire service, it was determined that their presence was too overwhelming to ignore (76.86%). Now that the research has established social identity as a valid framework for assessing the journalistic discourse revolving around the Calgary conflict, it is in a better position to answer the overarching question and point to future research.

As elaborated in the introduction of the thesis, a frame analysis “looks to see how a situation or event is named/defined, and how that naming shapes public opinion” (Ott & Aoki, 2002, p.485). Though the research did not set out to measure how the framing shaped public opinion, it did seek to understand how journalists from different regions of the country interpreted the event in comparison to their Calgarian counterparts. Journalistic frames are not just important to understand how they shape public opinion, but they are also useful to help comprehend whether they are perpetuating a conflict or helping resolve it.

Constructive controversy theory argues that conflicts can help build stronger more inclusive society/community when various ideas are explored. Through the analysis, it seems Calgarian journalists were especially harsh with the white pride group and unwilling to explore their rationale. Though it is difficult to explore a perspective that brings about a lot of negativity and criticism, it seems counterproductive to publicly chastise them. The Rejection-Identification Model (RIM), for instance, argues that “perceiving that one’s in-group is negatively valued and treated by others represents

rejection, which leads people to ‘fall back’ on (or identify more strongly with) the in-group to satisfy a basic human need of belonging” (Owuamalam & Zagefka, 2011, p.529). Thus, attacking the white pride group might have strengthened the group’s moral fibre as oppose to weakening it.

With this in mind, this chapter answers the overarching question and points to future research through constructive controversy theory and the rejection identification model. Though social identity theory was useful to demonstrate how journalists were framing the story, it is equally important to understand why this conflict was researched. The white supremacy movement is a negative and dangerous ideology for a multicultural society like Canada; where multiculturalism is not only embraced by many Canadians, but is also part of its societal fabric occupying its own section in the Charter of Human Rights and is embedded in Ministry of Citizenship and Immigration’ mandate. As a result, preventing these groups from expanding, while maintaining basic freedoms, such as freedom of expression, is a challenge in and of itself. Thus, this chapter argues that journalists should be provided proper training to avoid antagonising conflicts; especially when considering the role they play in shaping public opinion and their ethical obligation to provide unbiased news coverage.

This chapter is divided in two mains sections: Constructive Controversy and Rejection-Identification Model. As seen above, these are two theoretical frameworks that help determine the effectiveness of journalists in dealing with this conflict. The main goal is to determine whether journalists helped resolve or perpetuate the conflict. The chapter will conclude by providing recommendations as to how journalists can approach future conflicts to help calm tensions as oppose to fuelling them.

Constructive Controversy

The concept of constructive controversy is typically utilized to explain, “when one person’s ideas, information, conclusions, theories, and opinions are incompatible with those of another, and the two seek to reach an agreement” (Johnson, D. W., Johnson, R. T., & Tjosvold, 2006, p.70-71). The concept implies that the conflicting groups are, at the very least, seeking or willing to reach an agreement. Though this is clearly not the groups’ goal (see first and second hypothesis) in the case study, this theoretical framework can also be employed to better understand the elements perpetuating a conflict.

Johnson, D. W., Johnson, R. T., & Tjosvold (2006), for example, outline five conditions that help determine whether a controversy will yield positive or negative results: “the context within which the constructive controversy takes place, the heterogeneity of participants, the distribution of information among group members, the level of group member’s social skill, and group member’s ability to engage in rational argument” (p.75). As a result, the following three (The context within which the constructive controversy takes place, and The Eleven Point Scheme, Rational Argument) sections assess the research’s results through the authors’ five conditions.

The context within which the constructive controversy takes place

Whether the context for a controversy is cooperative or competitive can help determine if the outcome is positive or negative. Johnson, D. W., Johnson, R. T., & Tjosvold (2006), for example, argue, “a cooperative context tends to facilitate the constructive controversy, whereas a competitive context tends to promote closed minded

disinterest and rejection of the opponent's ideas and information" (p.75). As seen, both through the theoretical frame works (SIT, stereotyping, in-group out-group relationships) and the data presented in the third and fourth chapter, the Conflict between the anti-racist group, the white pride group and journalists is clearly fuelled by an element of competition, which appears to be the community's identity as discussed in the previous chapter.

On one hand, the white pride group is parading in the streets of Calgary to promote a certain ideology, on the other; journalists seemed to perceive the group's ideology as a threat to their community's identity. As a result, the journalistic discourse promoted 'closed-minded disinterest and rejection of the opponents ideas and information' by using reduction tactics such as stereotyping and misdirection to minimize the group's opinion. Though it is easy to reject and negatively promote a white supremacy group on the grounds that they are fringe organizations that can be disruptive in a multicultural city like Calgary, the following section (Rejection Identification Model) will demonstrate why it is important not to further alienate groups that do not share the same ideologies.

The Eleven Point Scheme

The second condition, Skilled Disagreement, outlined by Johnson, D. W., Johnson, R. T., & Tjosvold (2006), contains eleven points, which are guided by the principle that "for controversies to be managed constructively, participants need collaborative and conflict-management skills" (p.75). Evidently, this component recommends ways in which a controversy can be managed to avoid a negative outcome.

The researcher thought it would be useful, however, to demonstrate where and how journalists did or did not help dampen the conflict.

The first point: “I am critical of ideas, not people. I challenge and refute the ideas of the other participants, while confirming their competence and value as individuals. I do not indicate that I personally reject them” (Johnson, D. W., Johnson, R. T., & Tjosvold, 2006, p.75). The 2008 and 2009 data measuring the use of negative stereotypes clearly demonstrated this was not followed, as Calgarian journalists used 19 of the 31 negative words (extremists, idiots, pathetic egos, creeps and lowlifes) used to describe the white pride group between those dates. Obviously, then, journalists from Calgary, at least between 2008 and 2009, were refuting the group through personal attacks as oppose to ideas.

The second recommendation is to “separate my personal worth from criticism of my ideas” (p.75). In other words, the authors recommend not taking criticism of ideas as personal attacks. Interestingly, this recommendation does not apply to the current study, since the ‘criticisms’ or ‘attacks’ seemed to only occur on a personal level as demonstrated in chapters three through five.

The third recommendation is to change the narrative of the conflict from ‘us versus them’ to the collective ‘us’: “we are all in this together, sink or swim” (p.75). The divisive commentary of the conflict was evident in the fourth chapter, which demonstrated that Calgarian journalists were likelier to describe the parade as a threat to the community’s identity. In 2009, for example, an article in the Calgary Herald¹¹

¹¹ Remington, R. (2009, March 24). When it comes to the Aryan Guard, Ralph was apparently right . *Calgary Herald*, p. B2.

depicted leaders of the white pride group as complete outsiders by taking the reader through the history of the two founders. Though this was understood as a tactic to diffuse negative perceptions, attributed to the community, it clearly goes against the principle of approaching the conflict as a communal problem.

Interestingly, Johnson, D. W., Johnson, R. T., & Tjosvold's (2006) fourth recommendation is to "encourage everyone to participate and to master all the relevant information" (p.75). Evidently, in a large setting, such as Calgary, it is unlikely for everyone to actively participate, though journalism is expected to provoke a certain level of participation. Nonetheless, the recommendation requires participants to master all the relevant information, which cannot be achieved if it is not provided. Thus, not only is it unlikely to persuade everyone to participate in the discussion, those who do, are not participating with all the necessary information (see first recommendation).

The next two recommendations are meant for face to face interactions as they guide mediators and participants through discussions: 5) "I listen to everyone's ideas even if I don't agree, 6) I restate what someone has said even if it is not clear" (p.75). Though, reporting an event is typically one sided, as it involves observation rather than participation, journalism is not restricted to that type of data collecting. By interviewing participants, for instance, journalists would be able to provide readers with the groups' ideas. Though it would be hard for the reader to ask for clarification, they would at least have access to more information.

The seventh recommendation is a combination of the prior two: "I differentiate before I try to integrate. I first bring out all ideas and facts supporting both sides and clarify how the positions differ. Then I try to identify points of agreement and put them

together in a way that makes sense” (p.76). Clearly, if journalists did not adhere to the previous two recommendations, they were not in a position to assess both sides of the conflict to find common points. Again, the idea is that journalists should strive to report the conflict as a problem with the ‘we’, by finding common points to build on, such as the betterment of the community; it increases the chances of diminishing the viciousness of the conflict.

In their eighth recommendation, the authors suggest, “trying to understand both sides of the issue” (p.76). This is somewhat repetitive, as the first point is to be ‘critical of ideas, not people’ and the fifth is ‘to listen to everyone’s ideas’, which both involve understanding the issues. Additionally, the seventh recommendation underscores the importance of evaluating both positions. Nonetheless, the tactics captured in the first hypothesis (misdirection, victimizing and stereotyping) indicate journalists did not thoroughly evaluate both sides of the conflict.

Recommendations nine and ten argue the importance of not only understanding both points of views, but to also adjust ‘your’ point of view when the evidence calls for it: 9) “I change my mind when the evidence clearly indicates that I should do so. And 10) I emphasize rationality in seeking the best possible answer, given the available data” (p.76). It is this research’s understanding that journalism seeks to report a story to let the reader formulate his/her opinion. As a result, this thesis does not recommend these points to journalists, as it asks them to overstep their boundaries.

Finally, the ‘golden rule of conflict’ (“act toward opponents as you would have them act toward you” p.76) guides the eleventh recommendation, which states: “I want the opposing pair to listen to me, so I listen to them. I want the opposing pair to include

my ideas in their thinking, so I include their ideas in my thinking. I want the opposing pair to see the issue from my perspective, so I take their perspective” (p.76). Evidently, this recommendation stipulates that the ‘other’ will reciprocate whatever action taken by one group. Though Johnson, D. W., Johnson, R. T., & Tjosvold (2006) demonstrate how including the opposing opinions can yield positive results, it can also be inferred that the opposite would yield negative results. In other words, by not listening to the opposing ideas, by not including their ideas and by not taking their perspective the results could be negative.

In this study, journalists reporting on the conflict did not seem to respect the ‘golden rule’, which was especially obvious through the first and second hypothesis. For instance, data from the first hypothesis revealed that journalists used derogative language to describe the white pride group, that they mislead the reader by emphasising on certain group members and that they portrayed the anti-racist group as victims of violence even though police officers were quoted stating both groups were equally violent. Similarly, the second hypothesis demonstrated that journalists were also divisive by presenting the group as ‘outsiders’ and as a threat to the community’s identity. Based on Johnson, D. W., Johnson, R. T., & Tjosvold (2006), this seems like a recipe for conflict as oppose to one of resolution.

Rational Argument

Finally, the authors argue that “group members have to follow the canons of rational argumentation”, which, “includes generating ideas, collecting relevant information, organizing it by using inductive and deductive logic, and making tentative conclusions based on current understanding” (p.77). Though this must apply to all

participating groups, it is this paper's position that journalists have a social responsibility to uphold the principles of a rational argument. To measure whether journalists were arguing rationally, however, would require another study, even though it seems to follow that if they did not respect the eleven steps outlined previously they were not arguing rationally.

Rejection Identification Model

In their article, *Downplaying a Compromised Social Image: The Effect of Metastereotype Valence on Social Identification*, Owuamalam & Zagefka (2011) utilize the Rejection-Identification Model (RIM) to explain why compromised group images leads to stronger bonds with the group. They state that "perceiving that one's in-group is negatively valued and treated by others represents rejection, which leads people to 'fall back' on (or identify more strongly with) the in-group to satisfy a basic human need of belonging" (p.529). By applying this concept to the research's results, it seems to be the case that journalists may have strengthened the bond of the white pride group members as oppose to weakening it, thus perpetuating the conflict.

RIM then, is sort of defence mechanism for groups who are being attacked to have "stronger identification with the in-group who buffers group members' sense of self-worth, thereby enabling members to cope with uncomfortable feelings of rejection" (p.529). Though it is not possible to measure whether the white pride group subsided or grew as a result of the journalistic discourse, Owuamalam & Zagefka (2011) argue there are three measurable components in 'attributions to discrimination': a cognitive one, an unfairness one and an affective one. Though the authors use the components to distinguish their research on metastereotypes from RIM, this section demonstrates their

presence in the findings and suggests that Calgarian journalists are strengthening the white pride group membership.

The authors describe the first component, a cognitive one, as “an awareness of something negative emanating from the out-group” (p.529). Thus far, the white pride group was depicted as a part of the ‘in-group’ trying to change the group’s identity. Calgarian journalists, however, treat members of the white pride group, as outsiders since they are perceived as a threat to the community’s identity. As demonstrated in the previous chapters (2,3 and 4), the perceived threat appears to be fuelling the negative depiction of the white pride group in journalistic discourse. As a result, the openly negative depiction of the group, both by journalists and the anti-racist group, might be causing the white pride group to be cognitively aware of their negative image.

The second component (an unfair one) is described as a perception that individual members of the group “have been deprived of opportunities that are available to others because of [the] group membership” (p.529). Though it was clearly stated that police officers were present to defend the group’s right to express their ideas, opinions and beliefs, the anti-racist group and journalists denied them that forum by blocking their message. It might be the case, then, that the white pride group perceived this as ‘unfair’ and strengthened the individual members’ need for the group’s existence.

Finally, the third component (an affective one) describes the group members to be personally victimized “because of [their] group membership” (p.529). It seems obvious that the white pride group members were specifically targeted as a result of their being a part of that group. Both members of the anti-racist group and journalists expressed that there is no room in society for their ideology by describing them negatively. It should be

noted, however, that RIM stipulates that individual group members are specifically targeted. Since the thesis did not survey or follow the white pride group members over an extended period of time, it is hard to determine whether they were individually attacked.

Nonetheless, as demonstrated through the three components of RIM, it seems Calgarian journalists further excluded the white pride group from the community. Since the scope of the research was limited to news articles, however, it is hard to determine how the reporting of the story affected the group members and the group's membership. Unfortunately, the research was unable to evaluate these aspects because the group's website has been taken down since late 2011 and interviews were beyond the reach of this research. The components outlined by Owumalam & Zagefka (2011), however, describe how individuals can potentially feel targeted as a result of actions taken against their group, while this research demonstrates that those actions were taken against the white pride group.

How Should Journalists Proceed?

How are journalists framing the white pride parade in Calgary, Alberta? As illustrated throughout this research, Calgarian journalists seem to be ostracizing the white pride group by describing them negatively using misdirection and stereotyping. Though this was attributed to a perceived communal threat, this chapter demonstrated journalists are potentially perpetuating rather than discouraging the group. In other words, Calgarian journalists are seemingly perpetuating the conflict since they fear their group's identity is threatened. Though the parade took place in Edmonton, Alberta in 2012, it simply means the group relocated in another community. How then, should journalists' proceed to report on the conflict?

Obviously, when journalists are reporting a controversial story they are faced with certain ethical questions. The white pride group's intention, for instance, might have been to garner more attention for their cause and increase their numbers by creating awareness. In other words, the group might have anticipated bad publicity but weighed the consequences and decided that bad publicity is better than no publicity. Aware of this possibility, journalists are forced to decide whether they will report the story. Evidently, in this case, journalists chose to report the story, but did so by sending the message this group does not belong to the community.

How should journalists have reported this story or should they have reported it at all? Research in constructive controversy argues that conflicts are a good opportunity for building a stronger more inclusive society/community when various ideas are explored in a rational manner. Johnson, D. W., Johnson, R. T., & Tjosvold (2006), for instance argued that "difference of opinion leads to inquiry, and inquiry to truth" (p.69). When those ideas are ignored and ridiculed, however, groups can be further marginalized. As a result, the thesis argues that reporting the story is important, since ignoring it can be as harmful as the current reporting of it was shown to be.

The first recommendation, then, is for journalists to be familiarized with some sort of reconciliatory process, such as constructive controversy, to minimize tensions as oppose to increasing them. Though the influence of journalism on public opinion is contested, as evidenced through the various frameworks (direct affect assumption¹² or

¹² Direct Affect Assumption: "the media, in and of themselves, can produce direct affects (Baran & Davis, 2009, p.54).

limited effects perspective¹³), its influence on public discourse has been widely recorded. Farrell & Cupito (2010), for example, cited the story of a reporter named David Brinkley, who early in his career reported the story of a man's century plant scheduled to bloom the following night. Having previously "learned that a century plant blooms at intervals between five and one hundred years" (p.1), he prepared a short one-inch article in the newspaper. The response to the story was unprecedented, "the street [where the man lived] was choked with traffic. The fire trucks showed up to focus a floodlight on the street" (p.2). Had the readers not read David Brinkley's story, the night of the blooming would have gone unnoticed and the streets would have remained the same.

Event though the century plant ironically did not bloom that night, this story illustrates the power of information and cautions journalists not to ignore the potential consequences that can derive from their stories. When asked what he thinks the news is, David Brinkley stated, "What I say it is" (Farrell & Cupito, 2010, p.2). This story illustrates the influence of information on public discourse, or in this case, mobilization. Obviously, the news is a forum in which to communicate information. The way a journalist packages or configures the information tells a different story, which can be tailored for different audiences. As a result, the second recommendation is explained through Campbell's (1995) definition of the news:

a way in which people create order out of disorder, transforming knowing into telling. News offers more than fact – it offers reassurance and familiarity in shared community experiences; it provides credible answers to baffling questions, and ready explanations of complex phenomena such as unemployment and inflation (p.15).

¹³ Limited effects perspective: "the guiding idea that media have minimal or limited effects" (Baran & Davis, 2009, p.132).

Though the definition does not state how journalists should package the information, it gives room for constructive controversy without distorting its main goal: providing information.

On the other hand, Campbell's (1995) definition of 'the news' sheds light on certain aspects of this research's findings. For instance, his statement that '*News offers more than fact – it offers reassurance and familiarity in shared community experiences*', aligns with the findings of the first hypothesis. For instance, through cognitive consistency, the thesis was able to explain why journalists were more forgiving of the anti-racist group, despite their questionable behaviour, as it seemed they strove to preserve their community's image. Since the anti-racist group's values aligned more appropriately with those of the community, Calgarian journalists might have been using them symbolically to reassure their readers by providing them with something more familiar to their values.

Similarly, it seems stereotypes were the *ready explanations of complex phenomena*. It should be recalled that stereotypes were borrowed from social psychology, which perceived them as "widely held culturally rooted cognitive representation of out-group members" (Ramasubramanian, 2010, p.105-106). In other words, they were the 'ready explanations' to the conflict unravelling in their city centre. It is easy to see why Calgarian journalists fell back on these psychological mechanisms to ensure their city's image remained positive in the eyes of their community and to outside audiences. Thus, the second recommendation is to encourage journalists to dig deeper than their preconceived notions. As stated in RIM, negatively depicting a group can further its marginalization and strengthen its membership.

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