

Is the Canadian Media ready for a Tahrir Moment?: Comparing the Canadian Media's
Framing Strategy of Social Movements at Home and Abroad

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Abstract

Mainstream media use “the protest paradigm” in framing social movements. The protest paradigm frames protests negatively by marginalizing protesters, trivializing their demands, focusing more on violent and dramatic issues instead of trying to establish a rational discussion around the reasons behind the protests and by neglecting the existence of their presence by simply not covering the protests at all. . The main function of a social movement is to challenge the status quo, while a main function of the mainstream media is arguably to contribute to the governance of society and the maintenance of public order; in a sense, to maintain the status quo. Thus, a main reason behind the consistent usage of the protest paradigm in covering protests is the conflict between social movements and mainstream media in society. But is it easier for mainstream Canadian media to challenge the status quo abroad than at home? Are Canadian media more reliant on the protest paradigm for covering global protest than local ones?

Grounded in the theory of Media Framing, particularly the works of Entman (1993) this thesis compares the framing strategy that various Canadian media outlets applied while covering the 2011 Egyptian Uprising and the Occupy Toronto Movement. Empirical data collected by conducting deductive content analysis is applied to the coverage of the Toronto Edition of the *Toronto Star*, *The Global and Mail* and *The Toronto Sun* during the 18 days of the Egyptian uprising in January and February 2011 and the 42 days of Occupy Toronto from October 14th till November 24th, 2011 . The main argument of this thesis is that the Canadian media did not follow consist framing strategy in covering the two protests’ activities. The literature of the protest and media only focus on the notion of challenging the status quo without taking into consideration the factor of the location of the protests. Consequently, this paper is trying to add the location factor to the literature by trying to discover if the Canadian media is taking the same position from social movements that challenge the status quo regardless of where it is taking place or not.

Dedication

To

Manal Naguib (My Mother), Dr Ahmed Abdallah Roza, May Telmissany, Mohamed Goher

Thank you for teaching me what Revolution means

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Table of Contents

Chapter One: Introduction: Mainstream Media & Protest Paradigms.....	7
1.1 Background & Context.....	8
1.2 Literature Review: Public Sphere, Media Democracy, Social Movements & Media Frames.....	12
1.3 Research Problem and Objectives.....	31
Chapter 2: Methodology.....	35
2.1 Developing a research methodology.....	36
2.2 Defining Content analysis.....	37
2.2.1 Definition of the research problem.....	40
2.2.2 Selection of Media and Sample.....	40
2.2.3 Defining the analytical categories.....	43
2.2.4 Constructing a coding schedule.....	44
2.2.5 Piloting the coding schedule and checking reliability.....	46
2.2.6 Data Preparation and Analysis.....	48
3.1 Advantages and Limitations of Content Analysis.....	49
Chapter 3: Results.....	50
3.1 Quantitative Results.....	51
3.1.1 The Different Genres.....	53
3.1.2 Trends in coverage.....	56
3.2 Qualitative Results.....	63
3.2.1 Voice in the stories according social movements.....	63
3.2.2 Voice in the Egyptian Uprising by Newspaper.....	67
3.2.3 Voice in the Occupy Movement By newspaper.....	69
3.2.4 Frames used according to social movement.....	71
3.2.5 The Occupy Movement: Framing according to newspaper.....	75
3.2.6 The Egyptian uprising: framing according to newspaper.....	84
3.2.7 Protest paradigm versus non protest paradigm according to social movement.....	92
3.2.8 Protest Paradigm and movement evolution.....	94
Chapter 4: Analysis and Discussion.....	100
4.1 Challenging the Status Quo.....	100
4.2 The Logistical Justification.....	106
4.3 The newspaper Political Orientation.....	110
4.4 The Evolution of the Coverage.....	111
4.5 Limitations and Recommendations for Further research.....	113
4.6 Conclusion and final Remarks.....	114
References.....	117
Appendixes.....	123

Tables and Figures

Tables

Table 1: Number and size of stories according to newspaper and social Movement.....	52
Table 2: The Egyptian Uprising: number of stories according to genre.....	54
Table 3: The Occupy Movement: number of stories according to genre.....	55
Table 4: Voice in stories according to social movement.....	63
Table 5: Voice in the Egyptian Uprising, by newspaper.....	67
Table 6: Voice in the Occupy Movement, By newspaper.....	69
Table 7: Frames used according to social movement.....	71
Table 8: The Occupy Movement: Framing according to newspaper.....	75
Table 9: The Egyptian Uprising: Frames according to newspaper.....	84
Table 10: Protest paradigm versus non-protest paradigm according to social movement....	92
Table 11: Occupy Movement: protest paradigm versus non-protest paradigm.....	93
Table 12: The Egyptian Uprising: protest paradigm versus non protest paradigm.....	94
Table 13: News Elements according to social movement.....	95

Figures

Figure 1: The Egyptian uprising: percent of stories according to date.....	57
Figure 2: The Occupy Movement: percent of coverage according to date.....	60

Chapter 1: Introduction: Mainstream Media & Protest Paradigms

1.1 Background & Context

“#OccupyWallStreet. Are you ready for a Tahrir moment? On Sept 17, flood into lower Manhattan, set up tents, kitchens, peaceful barricades and occupy Wall Street.” This advertisement appeared in the July 13, 2011 issue of the Vancouver-based magazine *Adbusters*. The magazine was asking its readers to protest economic injustice in North America. On October 13th, 2011, Canadian activists decided to protest in the streets of Toronto and other Canadian cities, including major protests in Ottawa/Gatineau, Montreal, and Vancouver. Canadian activists in Toronto decided to establish their own chapter of the Occupy Movement and live their Tahrir (liberation) moment, occupying Saint James Park in downtown Toronto for over 40 days. The North American activists were inspired by the protests that took place in late 2010 and early 2011 in Arab countries such as Tunisia, Egypt, Yemen and Libya. However, it appears that it was the events in Egypt that truly caught their attention and served as their inspiration, as can be deduced from the *Adbusters* advertisement, as well as from the websites of the various Occupy chapters, where it was mentioned that the Occupy Movement was inspired by the uprisings that took place in the Middle East, and specifically by the Egyptian Uprising.

The question raised in the Occupy advertisement in *Adbusters* magazine “Are you ready for a Tahrir moment?”, made reference to Tahrir Square, the main square in downtown Cairo that was occupied by millions of Egyptians from January 25th until February 11th, 2011. Over the 18 day Egyptian Uprising, the two main slogans heard in Tahrir Square were: *ash-shab yurid isqat an-nizam* which can be translated as “the people demand the downfall of the system,” and “Bread, Freedom and Social Justice”. The Egyptians rebelled against the Mubarak regime because of high unemployment rates and rampant political and economic corruption. This led to Egypt’s wealth being concentrated in the hands of very few, and to severe hardship for the Egyptian majority of Egyptians due to the high

cost of living and low incomes. Achcar (2013) suggests that these frustrating economic conditions, and the inability of Egyptians to achieve a standard of living enabling them to live with dignity were the main reasons for the rebellion. The Egyptian Uprising was originally inspired by the success of the Tunisian uprising that broke out on December 24th, 2010. The Tunisians decided to rebel against their ruling regime after the street merchant Mohamed Bouazi set himself on fire because a city employee slapped him on the face. He felt that he could not bare any more insult, and he decided to end his life. Although Bouazi was a university graduate with a degree in engineering, he could not find a job in that field and was working as a street merchant. He couldn't bear the police brutality that was added to his economic hardship.

The success of the Egyptian and Tunisian uprisings inspired people experiencing similar hardship all over the world, in both the Western and Eastern hemispheres. The North American activists established their collective identity with the phrase "We are the 99%." This statement raised public awareness to the fact that 1% of the wealthiest North Americans own assets equal to what the remaining 99% own. The main objective of the Occupy Movement was to protest against the concentration of wealth in the hands of the few, and the suffering of the majority. In this sense, 2011 was the year when people from all over the world expressed their frustrations over the distribution of wealth and the nature of the global economic system. All the protests that took place in 2011, whether in Egypt, in North America or elsewhere, were linked, whether on the basis of shared economic frustrations or on the basis of protestors sharing tactics including: occupying public places, developing communication strategies and using alternative media to communicate with stakeholders. Consequently, much of the relevant recent scholarly work has included discussions of the relationships between the Egyptian Uprising and the Occupy Movement, comparing both the objectives of the two

movements and the tactics used (c.f. Gitlin 2012, Castells 2012, Gerbaudo 2012 and Feigenbaum, Frenzel and McCurdy 2013)

I have been a political activist in Egypt against Mubarak's regime since 2004 and spent the 18 day Egyptian Uprising with the protesters in Tahrir square. I came to Ottawa, Canada on October 9th, 2011; a few days before the Canadian activists established their own chapter of the Occupy Movement in parks in various Canadian cities. I also spent some time in Confederation Park with the Ottawa chapter of Occupy. However, despite my passion and my strong belief in the important role of social movements, this thesis is primarily not about social movements or how these movements deliver their message to stakeholders in order to achieve their objectives. It does not examine the various power relations within the social movements and within society at large, or the impact of transnational social movements. Instead, this thesis is concerned with the mainstream media and its role in enabling society facilitate rational discussions about the obstacles that individuals face in building a functioning democratic society. This thesis investigates the position of mainstream media toward radical social change.

I decided to conduct this research because of discussions with members of Occupy Ottawa who were inspired by the protesters in Egypt. They were critical of the Canadian media's coverage of their movement. I was motivated to academically investigate how the Western Hemisphere saw the Egyptian Uprising through the lens of their mainstream media which media played a very important role in raising awareness of the events in Egypt. As the Internet and mobile phone services were blocked in Egypt for almost a week during the 18 days of the uprising. I am first and foremost curious to examine and understand how the mainstream media in Canada informed Canadians about the events in Egypt and about the people's struggle for social equality. I decided to use this thesis to compare the Canadian mainstream media coverage of Arab Spring with its coverage of the Occupy Movement in

Canada, in order to understand the real position of the mainstream media vis-à-vis social movements. This thesis asks if mainstream media in Canada apply the same professional standards in covering the events of radical social change at home and abroad, a question that is very hard to investigate in normal circumstances, but one which the global events of 2011 present a unique research terrain for investigating.

This thesis' main objective is to compare and contrast the frames constructed by the mainstream media in covering the events of the Egyptian Uprising and the Occupy Movement. Entman (1993) asserts that framing is all about "selection" and "salience". In other words, the mainstream media construct frames by selecting specific occurrences from the wide range of events taking place and placing emphasizing them, thereby giving them increased importance, while neglecting or underestimating the importance of other aspects and events. This study compares which aspects the mainstream media in Canada selected to make salient in their coverage from the wide spectrum of events and actions of both movements.

This thesis is divided into four chapters. The balance of this first chapter provides a critical review of the literature related to the role of social movements and the mainstream media in constructing a democratic society. It focuses on the evolution of this relationship in the literature. A detailed discussion about media framing theory in general and about the most common framing paradigm that is relevant to this topic (the protest paradigm) is also provided. This chapter ends with a critical discussion of the elements of the literature that contributed to this thesis problematic and with a formulation of the research questions and objectives of this thesis.

The second chapter discusses the methodology used in the research conducted for this thesis. The chapter not only explains how each step of the content analysis was applied, but also discusses the

rationale behind the choice of content analysis as the best research methodology for this thesis. The chapter also includes a detailed discussion about the steps taken to minimize the subjectivity of my analysis while maximizing the reliability and accountability of the research results. I was cautious of my personal bias as a political activist involved in both movements under study, in Chapter 2 I describe and reflect on how, as a result, I designed and implemented a study that I hope would provide for a structured and rigorous approach.

The third chapter presents the results of the empirical research. The protest paradigm, composed of quantitative and qualitative elements, is used to operationalize this research. Both types of elements were measured in the coverage of both social movements by three Canadian newspapers: *The Globe and Mail*, *The Toronto Star*, and *The Toronto Sun*. The results are presented and discussed here.

The last chapter is the research analysis and conclusions, including details used to form a critical analysis of the results of the empirical research presented in previous chapter. The analysis discusses the contribution of the thesis to the body of knowledge in the domain of social movements and the mainstream media. The chapter ends with a critical discussion of this thesis itself, including an account of the limitations of the thesis. The chapter concludes with suggestions for further research.

1.2 Literature Review: Public Sphere, Media Democracy, Social Movements & Media Frames

Much of the balance of this chapter is devoted to a critical review of existing knowledge in the area of media and protest. It begins by defining the notion of “public sphere” as developed by Habermas (1984), and then moves to discuss the role of the media and protests in constructing democratic society. One of the main focuses of this chapter is examination of the relationship between the media and protest, and analysis of the development of this relationship. Media framing theory is discussed in detail, as it is essential to conceptualize the relationship between protest movement and media. A critical discussion on the importance of news values in determining which events can be converted into news is presented as well. The second part of this chapter discusses the research problemization and the research objectives. The chapter ends with a statement of the questions that this research will address through a comparative analysis of the Canadian press coverage of Occupy Toronto and the Egyptian Uprising that took place in 2011.

*The Public Sphere*¹

In his work *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*, Jurgen Habermas (1989) introduces the concept of the public sphere. He describes this notion, one that would become a key tenant of various academic debates, as follows:

By ‘the public sphere’ we mean first of all a realm of our social life in which something approaching public opinion can be formed. Access is guaranteed to all citizens. A portion of the public sphere comes into being in every

¹ This research is fully aware that Information Communication Technologies play a vital role now in the construction of the public sphere. Some Scholars like Castells (2006) argues that the Internet has become a public sphere in itself. However, the review of literature of this thesis will not include a discussion on the role of ICTs as its main focus on the role of traditional media.

² Though, obviously this claim is contestable, for example, literatures from constructivist sociology (Entman 1993) of technology and media production studies (Duggam 2011, Gans 2004) present competing epistemological view in which the values embedded in communication during the production process are part of a complex, internal process that would

conversation in which private individuals assemble to form a public body.
(1989: 49)

The 17th & 18th century bourgeoisie who came together in coffeehouses and salons in order to discuss how to protect their interests first embodied Habermas' public sphere. A main characteristic of Habermas' public sphere is the engagement of private actors in rational critical discussions regarding public matters. However, in order for this deliberation to occur, the public needs access to information about matters of public concern as well as rights of political organization, speech and assembly (Gitlin, 1980, p. 179). Three major elements are identified in Habermas (1989) definition of the public sphere: universality, accessibility and rational/critical discourse.

The first of these elements is "universality", by which Habermas means equality. His theory presupposes "the equality of status" (36). by which the weight of a person's argument determines his or her value in the public sphere, rather than the person's economic and social status. Secondly, the element of "accessibility" means that everyone in a society should be able to have access to a discussion, and that a discussion should "never close itself off entirely" from any member of society (37). Thirdly, discussion should happen in a critical rational discourse. Consequently, individuals should have access to enough information to be able to develop arguments and establish a rational critical discussion.

Many scholars (like Fraser; 1990, Calhoun; 1992) criticised Habermas's ideal notion of the public sphere. Fraser (1992) asserts that women and non-Bourgeois are excluded from Habermas's public sphere. She also emphasizes that Habermas's theory does not serve the construction of a democratic society. Calhoun (1992) criticizes the absence of social movements in Habermas' conception of the public sphere. He argues that social movements are crucial because they "reorient the agenda of public discourse, bringing new issues to the fore" (1992, p. 37). Castells's (2008)

definition of the public sphere emphasizes the important role of social movements, and transnational social movements in particular. Castells (2008) defines the public sphere as “an essential component of socio-political organization because it is the space where people come together as citizens and articulate their autonomous views to influence the political institutions of society” (p. 78). In summary, social movements play an important role in helping the members of a society construct a democratic public sphere by providing them with interpretations of their current status that are different from the interpretations provided by those in power. The implications of bringing together literature on the public sphere and social movements should be clear: The mainstream media treatment of social movements represents a crucial but highly problematic contribution to a dynamic public sphere (universal, accessible and critical discussion can happen).

Mainstream Media and the public sphere

Although Habermas underlined the importance of sustaining an informed conversation across society, he was sceptical about the role of the press in serving democracy. As Lunt and Livingstone (2013) observe, “Habermas identified a now destructive role of the media—instead of being a source of creative disorganization that promoted public autonomy and public life, the press had become a vehicle for establishment power” (p. 89). Habermas wrote of a shift in the role of press, from that of contributing to the construction of healthy public sphere by providing rational information, to only offering sensationalistic news. Habermas asserted that the press became more motivated to achieve a profit than to play a critical role in society. Media commercialization is the main reason for this paradigm shift.

Many scholars (Donohue, Tichenor, and Olien;1995, Frazer; 1990) share Habermas’ critical position toward the media’s role in society. Donohue, Tichenor, and Olien (1995) criticize the role of

the mainstream media, believing that the mainstream media do not act as a neutral space that the public can use to develop their public sphere and bring about a more democratic society. They state that rather than acting as “watchdogs” that allow the public access to government performance, the media act as “guard dogs” protecting government interests. They argue that the media’s current role is to support the status quo for the existing power structure, and to protect it from external or internal threats. Consequently, Donohue, Tichenor, and Olien (1995) further differentiate between the “lapdog” and the “guard dog” media roles. The lapdog is passive and obedient. The guard dog, although it may attack the *individual* in power, will not attack the system or the existing power structure, and thereby legitimize that structure’s status. On the other hand, McLeod and Detenber, 1999 assert that the media are only likely to be critical of the status quo when the conflict is taking place among the elite itself. McChesney (2008) notes that “journalism, which, in theory, should inspire political involvement, tends to strip politics of meaning and promote broad depoliticization” (p. 34). Blumler and Gurevitch (2000), McChesney (2008), Dahlgren (2009), and Street (2011) collectively propose several reasons why mainstream media coverage of political events is in flux and unsupportive of democracy, which can be condensed into five major ones. Firstly, the upsurge of an 'infotainment' approach to political news coverage has negatively affected the quality of political information available in the public sphere. Secondly, the emergence of other forms of specialized journalism competes with political journalism for resources, space and appeal. This competition leads to the shrinking of column space and airtime for political news, which negatively impacts the presence of real political discussion in the public sphere. Thirdly, the increased exposure of many journalists’ employers to market logic subjects politics to the levelling impact of a profit and loss calculation (Blumber and Gurevitch, 2000, p.163). In this context, McChesney (2008) argues that the larger media organizations become, the more democracy suffers. According to McChesney, as media organizations become bigger, their relationship with existing power, whether this power is government or business, is

increasingly reflected in how media organizations form their messages. Fourthly, through media proliferation, including the increase in the number of channels and outlets, the size of the mass audience for political news is reduced, and a diversification of political news forms catering to more distinct audience sectors is facilitated. Fifthly and lastly, new players have entered the area of political communication, such as spin doctors, public relations experts, poll setters, etc. These professionals help political actors and the economic elites shape their communication strategies. As Dahlgren (2009) notes, “while the professionalization of political communication often help various power holders and special interest groups pursue their goals, it tends not to augment the position of citizens and the development of a strong participatory democracy” (p.49). Together, these factors have a negative impact on democracy and the evolution of a dynamic public sphere. In particular, as Schulz (1997) points out, given that the mass media have shifted from being considered as “one of several channels or agents through which interests and the will of the people are transformed or converted into political decisions” (p. 57) to being seen as the sphere in which the public lives. The end result is, as Habermas himself (1984) argues, that “industrialized commercial media have effectively eliminated the public sphere”, and that the media’s role has been transformed from a means of informing the public about political matters to a bridge between the audience and advertisers. In this new environment, consumers of the public sphere have replaced citizens of the public sphere. Owing to the current state of media, the ideal of the public sphere as the space where individuals can “discuss civic issues on their merits without distortion by pressures of state or market institutions” (Blumber and Gurevitch, 2000, p.167) is not seen by media and communication studies literature to be vibrant or even functional at present. The paradox of the public sphere is that this occurs in spite of the fact that the public is more dependent than ever on the media to stay politically aware.

Social Movements

There are various definitions and interpretations of the expression “social movements”. Many political scientists present theories about the collective nature of the social movements. Mario Diani (2001) defines social movements as “network[s] of informal relationships between a multiplicity of individuals and organizations, who share a distinctive collective identity, and mobilize resources on conflictual issues” (p. 118). Loader (2008) stresses that Diani’s definition is crucial, as it defines the complex interactive processes undertaken between a diversity of individual actors to shape a set of shared beliefs and a collective identity. Other attributes of contemporary social movements are expressed by a range of scholars. For instance, Cohen (1985) notes that new social movements, like the student movements and the new feminist movements, have flexible and dispersed forms of horizontal networks. Gerlarch (2001) defines social movements as “the diverse group of movement[s] ... [that] form an integrated network or reticulate structure through non-hierarchical social linkages among their participants. ... Networking enables movement participants to exchange information and ideas to coordinate participation in joint action” (in Juris, 2004, p. 348). In summary, the definitions of contemporary social movements collectively point to four main components. The first point is that they are non-hierarchical, horizontal networks of different individuals, social actors and organizations with shared beliefs and a collective identity. The remaining three traits attributed by various definitions to social movement are expressed in Tilly’s (2004) perspective that social movements emerge from an innovative, consequential synthesis of the following three elements:

- (1) A sustained, organized public effort making collective claims on target audiences;
- (2) employment of combinations from among the following forms of political action: creation of special-purpose associations and coalitions, public meetings, solemn processions, vigils, rallies, demonstrations, petition drives, statement to and in public media, and pamphleteering;
- and (3) participants’ concerted public representation of WUNC: Worthiness, unity, numbers and commitment on the part of themselves and/or their constituencies. (Tilly, 2004:4)

Applying the above-mentioned definitions and theories, both the Egyptian Uprising in 2011 and the Occupy Toronto demonstrations of 2011 can be considered social movements. All the characteristics Diani (2001) mentions in his definition of social movements are applicable both to the Egyptian Uprising and the Occupy Movement. Both movements were composed of networks of informal relationships between a multiplicity of individuals and organizations. Gitlin (2012), Gerbaudo (2012) and Castells (2012) discussed in detail the construction of both movements around different networks and active groups and institutions like bloggers, political and social activists and institutions like churches and labour unions. Secondly, both movements were made up of individuals who shared a distinct collective identity. Both movements were established mainly because of the economic injustice experienced by the people. The slogan that was the main theme of the different demonstrations reflected the common objective of the two movements: more economic justice. The Egyptians occupied Tahrir Square in Cairo, as well as major squares in various Egyptian governorates, demanding “Bread, freedom and social justice”. This reflects the fact that their main demands were related to economic inequality. The activists of the Occupy Movement also constructed their collective identity based on issues of economic injustice. The demonstrators who occupied Saint James Park for 41 days identified themselves as “the 99%” who are suffering from the concentration of wealth into the hands of one percent of the population in Canada. Consequently, both movements were seeking to insert their messages into the public sphere, pushing issues of economic and social injustice to the fore. However, this thesis is not concerned with comparison between the dissent strategies developed by the two movements on ground. The main concern of this thesis is to compare and contrast the representation of the two movements in the Canadian Press.

The relationship between Media and Social Movements

As the mainstream media and social movements are both key players in the interpretation of events, the process of constant negotiation between them is fundamental (Gamson and Wolfsfeld 1993). Consequently, it is important to understand their relationship. The literature shows that the relationship between mainstream media and social movements is a dynamic relationship that is subject to constant change.

Gamson and Wolfsfeld (1993) describe the relationship between the media and social movements as two interacting systems. They argue that the relationship between them is an “asymmetrical relationship” (p. 117), suggesting that the dialogue between the media and social movements is a “dialogue of the deaf” (p. 115). The mainstream media deal with social movements as simply “one of” the many sources of news along with other political, economic, cultural, and entertainment news, etc., while social movement activists and actors desire to be “headline news”. This affects the dialogue between them due to the obvious opposite goals. Gamson and Wolfsfeld (1993) use the theory of political dependency to conceptualize the relationship between the mainstream media and social movements. They argue that because the mainstream media are more powerful than the social movements, the media are not necessarily dependent on the social movements themselves when covering their activities and events, or for delivering the social movement’s interpretation of current events to a broad audience. At the same time, however, social movements expect the media to give them a wider space of representation. Consequently, Gamson and Wolfsfeld (1993) describe this dialogue as one that takes place between bilingual and monolingual persons.

Social movements “need the news media for three major purposes: mobilization, validation, and scope enlargement” (Gamson and Wolfsfeld, 1993:p. 116). Gamson and Wolfsfeld (1993) refer to a type of mobilization where protesters take part in actual protests and collect resources for protest activities. Social movements require public discourse in order to survive; they must therefore make use

of the mainstream media in order to reach a wider audience and be a part of the media sphere. Social movements cannot truly and effectually achieve their objectives by creating their own public discourse through the exercise of their own avenues, such as flyers, pamphlets, etc. (Gamson and Wolfsfeld, 1993). The second requirement of social movements is “validation”. Gamson and Wolfsfeld write:

The media spotlight validates the fact that the movement is an important player. Receiving standing in the media is often a necessary condition before targets of influence will grant movement recognition and deal with its claims and demands” (1993, p.116).

Coverage of the demands and grievances of the social movement in the mainstream media opens up debate and thereby increases the power of the social movement (Gamson and Wolfsfeld, 1993). For a social movement’s demands to gain validity within a given society, it needs to be more present in the public sphere, which in turn provides the movement an opportunity to “improve its relative power compared to that of its antagonist, and mass media coverage is a vehicle for that” (Gamson and Wolfsfeld, 1993, p116). Other researchers, including Fine (1995) and Gamson Modigliani (1989), also stress the validation factor and confirm the notion that the media’s representation of a social movement will determine subsequent contributions and support from different stakeholders, including public bystanders and conscious constituents. Thirdly, social movements need mainstream media for “scope enlargement”. The mainstream media can easily generate public sympathy for the demands of a social movement leading different parties or key players to lend their support, or even join the movement, affecting impact public perception of the movement’s demands.

However, the main role of mainstream media is to provide the members of the wider society with frames that summarize events taking place in different places and at different levels. In order for the three functions of mobilization, validation, and scope enlargement to be achieved effectively, social movements must be framed in a way that supports the validity of the social movement. It is therefore fundamental to examine the media framing process in order to understand if a social movement will be

able to achieve its objective. According to McCurdy (2012), “The importance of studying media frames is premised on the view that media both reflect and contribute to the creation of public discourse and understanding” (246).

Framing Theory

Framing theory is the model most frequently used to conceptualize the relationship between social movements and the media. Vliegthart (2012) defines framing in a very general sense as follows: “Framing in mass communication is about how [political] issues are presented” (p. 937). The study of framing draws from the work of Goffman (1974) in his book *Frame Analysis*.

From a communications perspective, framing is “a central organizing idea, suggesting what is at issue” (Gamson and Wolfsfeld, 1993, p 118), and that “frames are expressed over time as a story line” (1993, p 118). However, media frames have been defined by Gitlin (1980) as “... persistent patterns of cognition, interpretation, and presentation, of selection, emphasis, and exclusion, by which symbol-handlers routinely organize discourse, whether verbal or visual” (1980, p. 7). Entman (1993) explains that the importance of framing lies in the fact that it accomplishes two things: selection and salience. Journalists use frames to select certain stories as 'news', and omit others and to make particular events more salient than others. 'Salience' can be defined as “making a piece of information more noticeable, meaningful, or memorable to the audience” (Entman, 1993, p 53). In a more practical sense, framing theory helps researchers to understand the impact of using frames adopted on the audience in filling the following functions:

- 1) Defining problems: determining what a causal agent is doing,
- 2) Diagnosing causes: identifying the forces creating the problem,

- 3) Making moral judgments: evaluating causal agents, and
- 4) Suggesting remedies: offering and justifying solutions for the problems (Entman, 1993, p 52).

The importance of framing in creating a wide spectrum effect on the audience is noteworthy. Entman states, “the notion of framing thus implies that the frame has a common effect on large portions of the receiving audience, though it is not likely to have a universal effect on all” (Entman, 1993, p 54).

Framing Social Movements in the Public Sphere: The Protest Paradigm

The concept of the “protest paradigm” was first attributed to the work of Chan and Lee (1984), though others have contributed to its development. Though the protest paradigm is not an entity that can be recognized as a fact (reporters do not tell us that they intend to cover events through the protest paradigm lens), but the work of Chan and Lee presents various attributes which can be used as criteria to evaluate news coverage and the extent to which it can be interpreted as falling within the protest paradigm . The characteristics of the protest paradigm are: 1) the marginalization of protesters; and the trivializing of their demands; 2) the focus of coverage shifted to violent and sensationalized actions with emphasis placed on deviant behaviours including violence; and 3) using the language of “they” (protesters) and “us” (the journalist or reporter and the audience).

The biases against social movements caused by the protest paradigm can be divided into two categories: *selection bias* and *description bias* (McCluskey, Stein, Boyle, and McLeod, 2009). *Selection bias* refers to exactly which protest activities and events journalists will choose to cover from the wide spectrum of activities available to them, while *description bias* refers to how journalists will describe the events, including the language used. For example, even the words used to classify the

event, such as “social movement” or “protest” or “demonstration,” can evoke a different frame construct.

Various scholars have proposed detailed interpretations to each attribute (marginalization and trivialization, sensationalizing and they vs us) of the protest paradigm. Firstly, reporters may apply strategies to construct a frame that distracts reader attention away from a movement’s main issue, thereby marginalizing the protesters and trivializing their demands. Alternately, media outlets may choose simply not cover the protest at all (McCluskey, Stein, Boyle, and McLeod, 2009; Oliver and Maney, 2000). Another media strategy is to focus on the protesters’ physical appearances and demographics such as age, gender and occupation, or to describe the location of the protest rather than focusing on the protesters’ substantive demands (Murdock, 1973, Gitlin 1980). Boyle, McCluskey and McLeod (2005) described this particular strategy as *labeling*. According to Boyle et al., “Reporters use labeling as a means of marginalizing and accentuating the oddities of deviant groups” (2005, p. 639). Another strategy applied by reporters to marginalize protesters and trivialize their demands is to give more weight to the officials’ voice than to the protesters’ voice (McLeod and Hertog, 1998; Boyle, McClusky, Mclead and Stein, 2012). When using the protest paradigm, the media tend to interview and quote police and officials more than they quote protesters. Hertog and McLeod (1995) add that even when the reporters obtain quotes from protesters, they frequently present these statements in a light that shows them as irrational or lacking legitimacy. This method of narration consequently prevents those associated with social movements from having a voice in news coverage, leaving them with the challenge of finding alternative ways of spreading their ideas and generating dialogue in the public sphere. It also effectively decreases the scope of the conflict by affecting the perceptions of the protest held by those in the audience without direct personal knowledge of the circumstances.

Another attribute of the protest paradigm is that reporters tend to focus on covering violent action and highlighting the conflicts and confrontations between police and the protesters. Reporters distract reader attention from the substantive conflict between the protesters and the target of their protest, focusing attention on conflict and violence between the protesters and the police instead (McLeod, 1995; McLeod & Hertog, 1992, Gitlin, 1980). The focus on violent actions and sensationalistic coverage leads readers to perceive the protesters as violators of community law and norms (Hertog & McLeod, 1995). In the same context McCurdy (2012) states that work on in protest and mainstream media “has consistently demonstrated that the conventions and practices of journalism more often than not negatively affect the representation of social movements by amplifying both violence and sensationalism (McCurdy, 2012: 250). Gitlin (1980) points out other tactics used by the media to sensationalize a social movement, including “emphasis on violence in demonstrations, delegitimizing use of quotation around terms like ‘peace march’ and considerable attention to right wing opposition to the movement” (271). Hertog & McLeod (1999) assert that news stories are framed to emphasize violent actions and confrontations, even if the majority of the protesters have been peaceful.

Finally, the third attribute of Chan and Lee’s protest paradigm consists of the media’s tendency to create a divisive language of protest using the words “we” to refer to the media and the media consumer, and “they” to refer to the protesters. Barker (2008) states that reporters often write news stories in a way to differentiate between protesters and non-protesters using this tactic to give the readers the feeling that the protesters are not part of the community.

Reasons for the protest paradigm

Different scholars determine various reasons for the application of the protest paradigm while covering social movements. These factors include:

- 1) the fact that social movements challenge the status quo (McLeod & Detenber, 1999),
- 2) the standard routine for news production (Gans 2004; Entman 2003),
- 3) the strong ties that media organizations have formed with various levels of government and with businesses (Herman & Chomsky, 1988; Baylor, 1996; Lee, Junghi, Craig & Robert, 1992), and finally
- 4) the political orientation of the media organization (Chan and Lee, 1984; Gamson and Wolfsfeld, 1993).

Social movements arise to challenge the status quo (McLeod and Detenber, 1999), while the media are critiqued for their institutional support of the status quo and the existing power structures (Herman and Chomsky, 1988). Consequently, the relationship between media's application of the protest paradigm and the extent to which a social movement challenges the status quo is directly proportional (McLeod & Detenber, 1999). In other words, "The more protest groups threaten the status quo, the more harshly they will be treated by the media" (Boyle, McClusky, McLeod, and Stein, 2005 p. 639). However, Carroll & Ratner develop an advanced hypothesis about

the effectiveness of movement's influencing media coverage that refer to generic featn contrast to Gamson and Wolfsfeld, who pose their analysis at the level of whole movements, our interest here is in analyzing the strategic relations between movements and the media at the level of specific groups engaged in specific forms of struggle." (1993:3).

The results of their research show that the lesser the extent to which a movement challenges the status quo and the more the movement actors develop effective tools to deal with the media, the more positively the movement will be represented in the media. A good example would be the representation of social movements that call for better ecological living solutions like the Green Movement. According to Carroll & Ranter (1999), the green movement is represented positively because it does not harshly challenge the political and economic the status quo, and also because the actor involved in the movement have been able to communicate effectively with the media. This is an important point, as it shows that the mainstream media do develop specific strategies in covering the activities of the social movement based on the extent to which the movement challenges the political and economic status quo.

Secondly, the routine of news production, each newsroom has its own system by which reporters must meet strict deadlines. With the advent of the Internet, newspaper reporters have more work to do as they publish stories not only in the hard copy version of their paper, but on the website and social media versions as well. Consequently, they tend to cover stories from the officials' perspectives, as opposed to the movement's perspective, since reporters have much easier access to statements from government officials or spokespersons who use carefully-crafted, ready to run, news releases. This method of information gathering enables journalists to write more stories while at the same time meeting deadlines (Duggan 2011, Gans 2004 & Entman 2003). Therefore, Shoemaker and Reese (1996) assert that the media production is strongly influenced by the media's support of the status quo: this principle is embedded in media production process and journalists give the emphasis to the narrative that supports the status quo without their conscious awareness. The framework of this project

accepts the claims forwarded in the literature reviewed that media's production requirements re-enforce the status quo².

Thirdly, the strong relations and ties that media organizations have formed with various levels of government and various capitalist organizations in society. Social movements often exist to demand changes to the status quo in their home country, but because many owners and managers of the media conglomerates enjoy strong and well-maintained ties with the country's politicians and business elites, they are rarely inclined to publish stories demanding changes to the status quo (Herman & Chomsky 1988; Baylor 1996). Because of this situation, Baylor (1996) and Lee, Junghi, Craig & Robert (1992) argue that social networks and movements are marginalized in media coverage. News media commercialization generates revenues and profits for the news media by selling advertisement space, which affects the coverage of social movements, as most businesses and financial organizations who pay for the advertising would resist any demands for changes to the status quo.

Fourthly, the ideology and the political orientation of the media organization. The work of Chan and Lee (1984) shows how newspapers in their coverage of protests in Hong Kong aligned to the political right used the protest paradigm in their framing constructions to a much greater extent than newspapers aligned with the center-left. A second example of the same phenomenon is provided by Gamson and Wolfsfeld (1993), with their research contrasting framing by religious newspapers and versus secular newspapers in Israel, in their coverage a protest against driving automobiles on the

² Though, obviously this claim is contestable, for example, literatures from constructivist sociology (Entman 1993) of technology and media production studies (Duggam 2011, Gans 2004) present competing epistemological view in which the values embedded in communication during the production process are part of a complex, internal process that would undermine the idea that individual political agendas could be so dominant. It is however, beyond the scope of this thesis to weigh in on this theoretical complexity and necessary, in operationalizing this research question as an empirical design, to forward this claim about media and status quo unproblematic"

Sabbath. Therefore, the newspaper's political orientation plays an important role in determining the extent to which the protest paradigm will be applied to the narration of the news story.

The impact of the protest paradigm

Media usage of the protest paradigm in framing social movements not only negatively affects the evolution of social movements, but also challenges the evolution of social change. According to McLeod and Detenber (1999), "Under the protest paradigm, news content is seen as a force for social control. One can act to protect the power and authority of political institutions" (p. 12). To be more specific, narrating the story of social movements through the lens of the protest paradigm hinders real public discussion of a movement's objectives. The media's emphasis on violence, sensationalism and focusing of reader attention to conflicts between police and protesters lead to a significant negative impact on the movement itself, and drives public attention away from the real reason of the movement's existence (McLeod and Detenber 1999; Hertog and McLead 1995). This trend of negative coverage not only affects the progress of the construction of a democratic public sphere in society but also allows the police to practice questionable tactics against protesters (Donson, F., Chesters, G., Welsh, I., & Tickle, 2004).

News Values

News values are another important element in determining if a certain story is going to be published in mass media or not. News values are the "information that the journalist can use to make decisions about events" (Shoemaker, Lee, Han and Cohen, 2007: 237). Journalists use news values as criteria when making publishing decisions. Galtung and Ruge are the first scholars to establish specific criteria for news values. Galtung and Ruge tried to answer the question "how do 'events' become 'news'?" at a paper presented at the First Nordic Conference on Peace Research in January 1963. Many scholars criticized the work

done by Galtung and Ruge (1963) for several reasons. However, Galtung and Ruge (1963) were themselves aware of the limitations of their research and they assert that all the news values they suggest were just hypothetical. “No claim is made for completeness in the list of factors or deductions” (65). Galtung and Ruge (1963) assert that for any event to be news one or more of the following factors should be satisfied: *Frequency* (The duration of the event should be equal or smaller than the production of the news medium), *Threshold* (events have to pass a threshold before being recorded at all), *Unambiguity* (events should be clear, easy to understand, less ambiguous in order to have a greater chance to be covered the news), *Meaningfulness* (the cultural proximity of the event to the readers), *Consonance* (the news selector may predict), *Unexpectedness* (rare events which are culturally familiar and/or consonant will have big chance to be as news), *Continuity* (once an event has become headline news, most probably it will be dealt as news for some time), *Composition* (an event may be included as news less for its intrinsic news value than because it fits into the overall composition or balance of a newspaper or news broadcast), *Reference To Elite Nations* (an event or an action that took place will most likely be published as news), *Reference To Persons* (News has a tendency to present events as the actions of named people rather than a result of social forces), *Reference to something negative* (an event that has a negative impact on people will most likely to became news). Despite the fact that Galtung and Ruge’s study remains “the most influential explanation of news values” (McQuail, 1994, p.27) even after decades since it was published, it received a lot of criticism from different scholars. Harcup and O’Neil (2010) mentioned that the media and political landscape are completely different that it used to be when Galtung and Ruge developed their news values. The other limitation to Galtung and Ruge factors is that it is not well defined. Harcup and O’Neil mention that the definitions provide by Galtung and Ruge need to be clearer and more concise. The other limitation is that they dealt with news values as if they were neutral and routine practices with considering the economic and political environment where the news organization is functioning (McQuai, 1994; Hall, 1973). Curran and Seaton (1997) assert that one of the limitations to Galtung and Ruge’s is that they constructed their news values by studying the coverage of three international events. However, there is a lot of news that are not related to events. Tunstall (1971) assert that Galtung and Ruge study did not measure the impact of visuals on the construction of news. Consequently, many scholars (Hetherington, 1985; Herbert 2000, Shoemaker, Hunk

Lee, Han and Cohen, 2009) developed different factors for the news values in an attempt to overcome the limitation of Gatlung and Ruge's factors. I decided to use the factors developed by Shoemaker, Hunk Lee, Han and Cohen (2009) for three main reasons. Firstly, they were able to distinguish between the physical proximity and the psychological proximity for the events. Second, they were able to include an aspect for social change in the factors for news values they developed. Thirdly, not like Gatlung and Ruge, the factors for news values developed by Shoemaker, Hunk Lee, Han and Cohen (2009) are very well defined and be easily measured.

It is very important for this research to include a discussion about news elements and proximity. Proximity does not always lead to news coverage (Luttbeg, 1983); sometimes the demands and stakes associated with a social movement may sometimes be more important than geographic closeness (Kiernan 2003). It is very crucial to differentiate physical closeness from psychological closeness. Shoemaker, Lee, Han and Cohen (2007) define psychological closeness as “a cognitive assessment of how wide the implications of the event may be for the news medium's audience. Although the events take place in a specific location or locations, the impact or effects of the event can expand beyond the immediate locale of the event” (234). Conversely, physical closeness simply refers to the geographic proximity of an event to the media headquarters. Shoemaker, Lee, Han and Cohen (2007) associate psychological closeness with *scope* and physical closeness with *proximity*. Shoemaker, Lee, Han and Cohen assert that when the level of proximity is equal to the level of scope, or when the values are congruent with each other, journalists will consider the event to be worth publishing, and the event becomes news. On the other hand, if a journalist finds that the proximity and the scope are not equal, “other news values will be given more weight” (Shoemaker, Lee, Han and Cohen, 237).

Shoemaker (1996) asserts that deviance and social significance are the theoretical constructs for all the operational indicators of the news values. Shoemaker, Lee, Han and Cohen (2007) define

deviance as “a characteristic of people, ideas or events that sets them aside as different from others in their region, community, neighbourhood, family and so on” (237). Shoemaker (1996) suggests that there are three dimensions for deviance: normative deviance, social change deviance and statistical deviance. As for social significance, it is composed of four dimensions: political, economic, cultural and public. Both deviance and social significance are very important for journalists. Shoemaker, Lee, Han and Cohen (2007) developed their research objectives based on the argument, constructed by Shoemaker, Chang and Brendinger (1987), that “deviance and social significance underlie many of the indicators affecting newsworthiness. If an event cannot automatically be put in the “possibly news” category because proximity and scope are congruent then journalists must pay close attention to attributes such as deviance and social significance” (Shoemaker, Lee, Han and Cohen; 2007:238).

1.3 Research Problem and Objectives

There are three important factors in the literature on media and protest that contributed to the development of the main problem that this research is trying to investigate. The first factor involves the notion that media use of the protest paradigm depends on the degree to which a social movement is challenging the status quo. The second factor is the concept that, due to the decrease in the dependency of social movements on mainstream media to achieve mobilization, validation and scope enlargement, thanks to ICTs, activists are now able to communicate their message autonomously to a certain degree. The third factor is the notion that protests have become a widely accepted tool in many cultures, and especially in the western hemisphere, to create social change within society. However, before discussing in detail the impact of those three factors on the development of our research objectives, it is important to discuss how this research perceives the press and its role in the public sphere.

The main objective of this research is to compare the consistency of the framing strategies the Canadian press applied in covering social movements that take place within and outside the Canadian borders. This research uses the theory of communicative action attributed to Habermas (1989), as well as the media framing theory attributed to Gitlin (1980) and Entman (1993), to conceptualize the different framing strategies applied by the Canadian press in their coverage of the Occupy Movement in Toronto and the Egyptian Uprising in early 2011. To be more specific, the media` coverage used for this research was related to the coverage of the Toronto chapter of the Occupy Movement and their actions in Toronto`s Saint James Park between October 14th and November 24th, 2011, as well as the social movement that occupied Tahrir Square in Cairo, Egypt, between January 25th and February 18th, 2011. There are three reasons behind choosing Occupy Toronto in particular and not any other protest camp that took place in different Canadian cities. First, Toronto witnessed huge protests in late 2010 while the summit of G20 was taking place. Consequently, a lot of discussion about social justice in Canada was still taking place among different active groups. Secondly, According to Occupy Toronto website (<http://www.occupyto.org/>) that occupy Toronto was the biggest protest camp compared to the other protest camps that took place in the other Canadian cities. Thirdly, The protest Toronto camp was the first camp in Canada.

The literature shows important facts about the press and its role in the construction of a healthy public sphere as it provides members of a society with rational information, allowing them to take part in critical discussion. Hamaday & Gomaa (2012) emphasize this in their statement that “the exchange of information and ideas through a free press is a critical component of mass participation and a requirement for democratic responsiveness to public preference” (197). However, the literature asserts that there is wide scepticism toward the role played by the press in today`s society. This research perceives the press as a discursive space in itself. There are multiple reasons that contribute to the

construction the assumption that that the media in general, and newspapers in particular, contribute to public discourse. First, newspapers should be accessible to all actors, whether or not they are related to a social movement, including protesters, officials, bystanders and analysts. Secondly, the information included in the newspapers is generally supported by facts, resulting in a critical rational discussion. Habermas himself is sceptical about the role of the press, arguing that due to the commercialisation of the media, it is just reproducing the views of the dominant power in society (Lunt & Livingstone, 2013). Consequently, this research attempts to investigate the impact of the location of a social movement on the role of press, and to find a correlation between the framing of a social movement by the media and the relationship that the media has with business and government in the country where the social movement is taking place.

The location of the social movement is a very important element for this thesis. Older literature on the topic, such as the research conducted by Gamson and Wolfsfold (1993), states that that the mainstream media will deal harshly and negatively with social movements, regardless of the movement's objectives. However, some of the more recent writings (such as the work of Carroll and Ratner, 1999) challenge this notion, arguing that the degree of media harshness depends on the degree to which a social movement challenges the status quo. Both the Occupy Movement and the Egyptian Uprising were harshly challenging the status quo, and both movements were protesting against the economic and social injustice in their countries. While the Egyptian Uprising was not challenging the Canadian status quo, the Occupy Movement was challenging the status quo in Canada, where the headquarters of the newspapers examined in this study are located. Consequently, the impact of the location of the social movements is an important element to this study.

The other important element in developing the problem of this research is the fact that the new media ecology allows protesters to communicate with their supporters and with different political

groups in order to mobilize, validate their presence and enlarge the scope of the conflict independent of the mainstream media. This does not mean that the mainstream media has become obsolete as it discussed early in this chapter. Rather, this thesis will investigate the impact of this reduced protestor dependence on mainstream media to achieve their objectives. Has it led to an increase in media use of the protest paradigm in coverage of protest and dissent activities? Or did it result in an increase in space for protestors voices in media coverage? As protests have become an accepted tool of dissent among the masses in different western societies, Will acceptance of protest by the public result in a paradigm shift in the media? Will the press start covering protests in a more neutral light? This research is also concerned with the impact of the location of the protest on coverage. All of these themes represent gaps in the existing literature that has been reviewed that this study aims to contribute knowledge to bridging.

In summary, this research will contribute to the literature on media and protest by answering the following research questions:

1. What framing strategies do the Canadian press apply in covering protest movements at home and abroad?
 - a. What are the similarities and differences in the coverage of *the Globe and Mail*, *The Toronto Star* and *The Toronto Sun*?
 - b. What are the different themes the three newspapers developed while covering the events of Occupy Toronto and The Egyptian Uprising?
2. Does the location of a social movement have an impact on the quantity and type of the voices in the story and on the news values that the journalists use to evaluate the importance of the news?

Chapter 2: Methodology

Grounded in the media framing theory, my main research objective is to examine whether the Canadian press applied a consistent framing strategy, or whether they applied different strategies in their coverage of social movements located at home and abroad. At the operational level, I used elements of the “protest paradigm” as elaborated by Chan and Lee (1984) to examine the different coverage strategies of the Canadian press in the context of the Egyptian Uprising and the Canadian Occupy movement. As discussed in Chapter 1, the year 2011 was a good political context in which to test this question. The methodology applied in this thesis is deductive content analysis. In this chapter I will discuss the rationale behind my selection of this particular research methodology and elaborate how I applied the six steps of content analysis as developed by Hansen, Cotle, Negrine & Newbold (1998).

2.1 Developing a research methodology:

The main focus of this thesis is the Canadian press coverage for the Toronto chapter of Occupy Movement and Egyptian Uprising. To carry out the research, I use a deductive content analysis methodology for multiple reasons. Firstly, it is the only research methodology that allows a researcher to study media content (Hansen et al 1998). It provides the researcher with an objective and systematic mechanism to study media content. According to Hansen et al. (1998), “if you want to describe and analyze media content in a more comprehensive way, a way less prone to subjective selectiveness and idiosyncrasies, then you must employ a systematic method” (p. 91).

The second reason for using content analysis is that this research methodology is both a quantitative aspect and a qualitative aspect. There is a strong academic debate (Berslon, 1952; Holsti, 1969; Krippendorff, 2009; Altheide, 1998; Jackson, 2003) about whether this method is a quantitative

or qualitative method, or whether it combines the two aspects together (this debate will be discussed later in this chapter). I strongly take the position that this research methodology includes both quantitative and qualitative properties.

The third reason for using content analysis is that it is the only research methodology that will allow me to apply the theory in which I choose to ground my research. Content analysis is the only methodology that will enable me to examine the different framing strategies applied by the Canadian press while covering the Egyptian Uprising and the Canadian chapter of the Occupy Movement. On an operational level, I use it to define the units of measurement used in my research by appropriating the components of the protest paradigm. On balance, a feasible, compelling approach to operationalizing the protest paradigm is to analyze the content of the coverage of in both quantitatively and qualitatively content analyses..

2.2 Defining Content analysis:

After a long history of informal use³, the content analysis method gained recognition among academics in the discipline of mass communication when Bernard Berelson published his book *Content Analysis in Communication Research* in 1952.

Berelson centers his definition on the quantitative aspect of this method. He states, “content analysis is a research technique for the objective, systemic, and quantitative description of the manifest content of communication” (Berelson, 1952, p. 18). Kerlinger (2000) uses a similar definition, as he

³ According to Wimmer, and Dominick (2006), this method was used back in the early days of the Catholic Church to analyze religious hymns. More recently, the Allies intelligence units used content analysis during the World War Two to analyze the number and type of popular songs played on the radio on different stations in European countries (Wimmer, and Dominick, 2006). Content analysis was used for different purposes during the war, and in the post-war era, researchers started to use the methodology to study propaganda in the content of newspapers and radio programs (Wimmer, Dominick, 2006, Hansen, Cotle, Negrine, Newbold, 1998).

states, “content analysis is a method of studying and analyzing communication in a systemic, objective and quantitative manner for the purpose of measuring variables.” (56). Conversely Walizer and Wienir (1978) focus on the systematic aspect of content analysis. They define content analysis as “any systematic procedure devised to examine the content of recorded information” (54). Riffe (1998) adds another importance dimension to the discussion of the methodology, saying that content analysis is a means to compile statistics used by the researcher to “make broader inferences about the processes and politics of representation” (32). This clearly justifies the use of content analysis in this research, as the main objective of this thesis is to investigate the processes and politics of representation as regards the social movements functioning both at home and abroad.

On the one hand, there are some methodologists argue that content analysis is a methodology that is both quantitative and qualitative dimensions (Atheide, 1998; Berg, 2007; Jackson, 2003; Krippendrof, 2009, Van Dijk, 1985). They argue that researchers need to interpret the data in order to quantify it and make sense of it, which a requires a qualitative effort to understand it in the context of specific content elements. The analysis therefore “should involve consideration of the literal words in the text being analyzed, including the manner in which these words have been offered” (Krippendrof, 2009).

Bogdan and Biklan (2006) build their argument on two elements, the first of which they call “data interpretations”. content analysis involves developing ideas about the information and data that are embedded in different categories, patterns that emerge and meanings that seem to be conveyed. The second aspect involves the analysis of these ideas. According to Bogdan and Biklan, (2006),

the analysis should be related to the literature and to broader concerns and to the original research questions. In this manner, the analysis provides the researcher a means by which to learn about how subjects or the authors of textual materials view their social worlds and how these views fits into the larger frame of how the social sciences view these issues and interpretations (87).

This means researchers need to perform the qualitative task of reading the content carefully and critically analyze the text's content under study in order to understand its meaning while at the same being able to organize the text under different themes. Simultaneously, the researcher needs to quantify the themes in order to make sense of it. Content analysis can therefore be seen as a method that combines quantitative and qualitative approaches into one methodology.

The fact that content analysis combines quantitative and qualitative approaches leads some scholars to perceive content analysis as a less positivistic approach than the methodologists that focus on the quantitative aspect when they define content analysis. However, Vrease, (2005) adds that content analysis is not a reductionistic, positivistic approach, "rather it is a passport listening to the words of the text and understanding better the perspective(s) of the producer of these words" (62).

This thesis is based on the position that content analysis is a research methodology that is both quantitative and qualitative, and not just a positivist quantitative approach. The rationale behind this choice is based on using the protest paradigm to operationalize the media framing theory in my examination of the various representations of the Egyptian Uprising and the Toronto chapter of the Occupy Movement. There are some aspects of the protest paradigm that should be quantified and dealt with in a very positivist manner; such as the different voices represented in each story. On the one hand, there are some other aspects that require a qualitative effort in order to be well researched. A good example are the different embedded frames in the coverage, such as "contextual" or "delegitimizing". In order to be able to quantify those frames, the researcher must read and analyze the news story very carefully to classify each paragraph in the right category (the different aspects and the coding process will be discussed in details later in this chapter).

The researcher must apply one of two approaches when choosing content analysis as a research methodology: the deductive approach or the inductive approach. The inductive approach requires the researcher to read the material to be analyzed and develop the coding process and the different categories. The researcher simply derives the categories from the recorded material (Elo & Helvi, 2007). The deductive approach uses an opposite process from that of the inductive approach. In the deductive approach, “the structure of the analysis is operationalized on the basis of previous knowledge and the purpose of the study in testing theory” (Kyngas & Vanhanen 1999). Lauri & Kyngas (2005) recommended that the inductive approach in the case that there is a lack of knowledge about the phenomenon the researcher wants to study, or if the available knowledge is fragmented. Catanzaro (1988) adds that the deductive approach is more appropriate if the researcher want to retest existing data in a new context.

These arguments lead me to conclude that deductive content analysis approach is the most appropriate approach for this thesis for four reasons. Firstly, there is a great volume of knowledge in the literature about media and protest (a large portion of this knowledge was discussed in detail in the previous chapter) that this thesis will draw on. Secondly, one of the main objectives of this research is to examine existing information about media use of the protest paradigm in framing protest, but in the new context of the success of the Arab uprisings and the domino effect they had on different political and social activists in different countries all over the world . Thirdly, most of the research done on protest and the media applies the deductive approach, using the measurement framework of the protest paradigm. Forth, I am fully aware of my personal bias in this research, as I am originally from Egypt and I participated in the Egyptian Uprising in Tahrir Square for the entire 18 days, and I also spent some time in Confederation Park attending activities organized by the Occupy Movement in Ottawa. It was therefore one of my primary concerns that by applying inductive content analysis, the resultant

coding scheme could be biased. Consequently, I decided that for my results to be scientifically valid I would have to conduct a deductive content analysis, and take such steps as applying an inter-coder reliability test in order to confirm the reliability of the research.

Hansen, Cottle, Negrine and Newbold (1998) determine six key steps that researchers should follow when applying content analysis. The six steps include: definition of the research problem, selection of media and sample, definition of analytical categories, construction of a coding schedule, piloting the coding schedule and checking reliability, and finally, data preparation and analysis.

A meticulous plan was prepared to apply these six steps. A detailed description of each step is discussed below.

2.2.1. Definition of the research problem

The scholarly of literature argues that mainstream media frame social movements in a negative manner by applying the protest paradigm. The literature posits three reasons for newspapers to apply this protest paradigm frame when covering social movements. Firstly, the challenge to the status quo, the newspaper production logistics and the newspaper political orientation. Consequently, there are two problems that this thesis is trying to investigate. First, the location of the occurrence of the social movement and its impact on media narrative. Second the news element that will determine the importance of each activity and turn it into news to be published in the newspapers

In order the find answers to these questions, I had to design an analysis of Canadian newspapers to generate the empirical data that would fill this gap in the existing literature.

2.2.2 Selection of Media and Sample

The second step in conducting the content analysis, after defining the research problem, was selecting the media and sample. I chose to analyze the newspaper coverage of the Egyptian Uprising and the Occupy Movement and not the coverage from other forms of mainstream media for theoretical and operational reasons. The theoretical reasons are discussed in the pervious chapter. As for the operational aspect, it is a difficult and expensive process to collect archived news material from media sources other than newspapers. Consequently, I chose the newspapers as the media format to be analyzed, and I decided to work on the Toronto edition of *The Globe and Mail*, *The Toronto Star*, and *The Toronto Sun*. There are two essential reasons for selecting those newspapers in particular. Fristly, Each newspaper is presenting different type of newspapers. *The Globe and Mail* is a national newspaper, The Toronto Star is a local newspaper and The Toronto Sun is a tabloid newspaper. Secondly, the breadth of distribution of the papers is another important factor. According to the Audit Bureau of Circulations, each of the chosen newspapers has a circulation of almost three million copies daily.

Another important step in this phase is determining the sample. Berger (1996) mentions that determining appropriate sampling is a difficulty that researchers face when conducting Content Analysis. In order to overcome this difficulty, I have decided to use the census strategy. Wimmer and Dominick (2006) define “census” as “testing all the members in the population.” To analyze the newspaper content on the Egyptian uprising, all of the published issues of all three newspapers from January 24th 2011 (one day before the outbreak of the uprising), until February 12th, 2011 (one day after former President Mubarak resigned from the office) were considered. For the Toronto chapter of the Occupy Movement, all of the issues published by all three newspapers from October 15th, 2011 (one day before the Canadian protesters decided to occupy the public parks located in various

Canadian cities), until November 25th, 2011 (one day after the police evicted all the occupiers from all of the parks) were collected to be analyzed using the quantitative component of the protest paradigm. For the qualitative components of the protest paradigm, the sample was the first week and the last three days of the coverage for each of the movements. The quantitative components of the protest paradigm quantify the number of published stories covering each case, as well as the number of words and the number of different genres for each case. The qualitative components include the number of voices and the frames embedded in each story, as well as an investigation of the news elements in each story. Voices in the story are considered as qualitative because each voice need to be read and evaluated individually in order to be able to differentiate if the belong to protester, official, analyst or bystander. Hansen et al (1998) write that “while content analysis focuses on the coverage of a specific event, clearly delimited by start and end dates, it may still be useful to sample coverage from both before and after the dates of the specific event” (102). I found an effective means of applying this principle by including one day before and one day after the protests in both cases. This allowed me to determine if the press played a role in the mobilization process and the psychological preparation for the protests.

I debated myself on which method I should apply in order to retrieve the stories from the newspapers. The first method was to retrieve the stories from electronic databases, while the second involved scanning all editions of the three newspapers that were published between the aforementioned dates. Both of these methods have pros and cons. Retrieving the stories form the electronic database would save a huge amount of time, money and effort, but it would not guarantee the trust worthiness of the data as it would be easy to question the keywords system that developed to retrieve the stories. Despite the fact that methodologists such as Deacon, Pickering, Golding and Murdock (2007) developed a strategy researchers can apply to guarantee the retrieval of the right stories, I was leery of following this strategy because of the possibility that words like *Egypt, uprising*

and *occupy* could easily generate unrelated stories. As a result, I decided to apply the pre-digital methodology of retrieving news stories, which entails scanning a complete microfilm version of all the editions of the newspapers. While this method may consume more time, money and effort, it is more dependable, ensuring that I didn't miss any stories published on either the Occupy Movement or the Egyptian Uprising. While I collected news stories from the microfilms of the three newspapers, I defined the analytical categories. The main disadvantage of retrieving data with this technique is that I could not analyze the visuals that accompanied the news stories, as they were not clear in the microfilms, making it impossible to retrieve and analyze them.

2.2.3 Defining the analytical categories

“Embedded frames” and “news elements” are the two main analytical categories for this thesis. The work of Harlow and Johnson (2011) was the main inspiration for the first category, while the work of Hyuk Lee, Han and Cohen (2007) was the main inspiration for the second category. The definition developed by Harlow and Johnson (2011) was used in this thesis to examine the embedded frames. The same strategy was applied for the examination of the news elements

The rationale behind following the category definition process developed by Harlow and Johnson (2011) is that they were able to provide an answer to the question: “What is the counter paradigm for the protest paradigm?” Many scholars analyze the media's use of the protest paradigm in covering protests. This type of analysis can be challenged by saying that using the protest paradigm is the only way for the media to cover protests. Proponents of the paradigm argue that it is used, not because media personnel use it knowingly while covering protests, but because the protesters themselves follow strategies that generate drama and violence, giving the press no choice but to apply the protest paradigm frame. Consequently, I choose to operationalize Harlow and Johnson's (2011) definitions.

Using of Harlow and Johnson's (2011) definitions for the protest paradigm enabled me to investigate the application of protest paradigm frames and non-protest paradigm frame at the same time. The protest paradigm features are *spectacle* and *de-legitimizing*, while the non-protest paradigm are *injustice*, *sympathy*, *legitimizing*, *accountability* and *contextual*. Each of these frames are utilized in the content analysis conducted for this thesis.

Regarding the second analytical category, the rationale behind using same analytical categories and coding schedule developed by Shoemaker, Hyuk Lee, Han and Cohen (2007) is that they were able to differentiate between psychological proximity and physical proximity and include them with other news elements. Most research papers that have analyzed news elements deal with the physical aspect of proximity, while Shoemaker, Hyuk Lee, Han and Cohen (2007) were able to create a new analytical category, which they called "scope". They defined scope as representing the psychological aspect of proximity. This scope element was important for coding and analyzing the stories about the Egyptian Uprising, because there these stories had physical proximity elements in the stories.

Subsequently, I developed five analytical categories that include general information, content information, voice in the story, employed frames and news values. Each of these analytical categories are thoroughly defined in the coding schedule.

2.2.4 Constructing a coding schedule

Each analytical category was defined and divided into sub categories (see appendix). The general information category was divided into three sub categories:

1. Newspapers: *The Toronto Star*, *The Globe and Mail*, *The Toronto Sun*.
2. Case: The Toronto chapter of the Occupy Movement, The Egyptian Uprising.

3. Date.

The second general category, content information, was divided into two subcategories:

1. Headline.
2. Section.

The third analytical category is voice in the story; this category was divided into four sub-categories:

1. Officials: Police, Government officials, Public servants, Mayors
2. Analysts: political analysts, economic analysts, university professors
3. Protesters: protesters on site, members of opposition parties, members
4. Bystanders: Street pedestrians near by protest camps

The fourth category, employed frames, was divided into seven sub-categories. The definitions developed by Shoemaker, Lee, Han and Cohen (2007) are applied on this empirical study

1. Injustices: “Empathizing moral outrage, the significance of a problem, and injustices being done.”
2. Sympathy: “Provoking support, compassion, or sympathy for the protesters as underdogs”
3. Legitimizing: “Recognition or support of protesters claims, fostering the public’s support for the protesters, or portraying the protesters as having real, legitimate reason to protest”

4. De-legitimizing: “Marginalizing or discrediting the protesters claims and actions.”
5. Accountability: “suggesting there is a consensus that an issue is wrong and in need of changes or oversight/ monitoring.”
6. Spectacle: “Emphasizing the number of protesters, the violence, emotion, drama, and deviance of protests and protesters”
7. Contextual: “ in depth history and background”

The last category, News values, was divided into 11 sub categories. The definitions developed by Shoemaker, Lee, Han and Cohen (2007) are applied on this empirical study:

1. Proximity

- a. Geographic Proximity: “the physical distance between and event and a media organization offices”
- b. Localization (Psychological proximity): “is the extend to which an event has a meaning for the community in which a news organization exists”

3. Deviance.

- a. Normative deviance: “Which refers to the breaking of norms and laws”.
- b. Social change deviance: “which identifies ideas, people or events that challenge the status quo of the social system”
- c. Statistical deviance: “which judges an idea, person or event to be very different from the average being odd, usual or move”

4. Social significance.

- a. Political significance: “The extent to which events has potential or actual impact on the exchange of goods and services, including the monetary system, business, tariffs, labour, transportation, job markets, resources and infrastructure.”
- b. Economic significance: “refers to the event’s potential or actual impact on the exchange of goods and services, including the monetary system, business, tariffs, labour, transportation, job markets, recourses and infrastructure.
- c. Cultural significance: “compares the event to a social systems’ traditions, institutions, and norms, such as religion, ethnicity, or the arts.”
- d. Public significance: “The enhancements or threats an event has the public’s well being.”

After dividing the general categories into sub-categories, the next was to develop the coding manual and the coding schedule. The coding manual contained the definitions and selection criteria (see appendix). The coding manual was divided into two parts: 1. selection criteria, 2. definition of variables. The coding schedule was divided six parts (see appendix): general information, content information, voice in the story, employed frames, news values and notes. To confirm the validity and reliability of the definitions, a pilot study and inter-coder reliability test were conducted.

2.2.5 Piloting the coding schedule and checking reliability:

Reliability and validity are two important considerations in any content analysis research. Reliability refers to the ability to generalize the results of the research and the consistency of the analytical process. Validity is defined as “the degree to which an instrument actually measures what it

sets out to measure” (Wimmer and Dominick, 2006, p.170). There are many factors that affect the reliability and validity of any research; notably, include sample size and category definition. In order to guarantee the reliability and validity of the sample, all the issues of the three newspapers were examined. This was time-consuming, but it was also the most dependable strategy to ensure the validity of the results. The second important factor in guaranteeing the reliability and validity of the research is the definition of the categories. Many strategies exist to ensure the validity and reliability of the research from this perspective. Firstly, this thesis used the same definitions developed by previous researchers who were able to produce reliable results published in various peer reviewed publications. In order to confirm that the definitions would provide reliable information to answer the research questions of this thesis, a pilot study was conducted.

Many methodologists stress the importance of conducting a pilot study in order to confirm the adequacy of category definitions (Wimmer and Domminick, 2006; Decacon, Pickering, Golding and Murdock 2010; Hansen, Cotle, Negrine and Newbold, 1998). The sample used for the pilot study was the first week of coverage from of *The Globe and Mail* for both the Egyptian Uprising and Occupy Toronto. The main objective of this pilot study was to ensure that the developed coding manual and coding schedule and the definitions employed for the categories were appropriate for the objectives of this research project. The results of the pilot study (see appendix) showed that that the developed coding manual and coding schedule would be able to answer the research questions of this thesis if applied to the entire research sample. One change that had to be made in view of the results of the pilot study show was the addition of a new code for the voices of bystanders in the category of voices. The original coding schedule had only three sub-categories in that category, those of protesters, officials and analysts. The pilot study showed the importance of having a new code for the voices of the bystander.

I gained insight from conducting content analysis on the pilot study, in that it provided me with a model for writing the results and analysis for the entire sample. Another amendment that I made as a result of the pilot study is that I decided to add a check box in the coding schedule section of employed frames to analyze if the total number of frames was in favour of the protest paradigm, in favour of the non-protest paradigm, or balanced. In other words, after I ascertained the frames of a story as each story might have different stories embedded in it, I totalled the numbers of the frames in each category to determine which sub-section was most prominent, the protest paradigm or the non-protest paradigm. I subsequently checked the box of the category with the most frames, as the dominant category in the story. If the frames attributed to the protest paradigm equalled those attributed to the non-protest paradigm, I checked the balanced category to signal that the story has a balanced number of frames on each side.

To ensure that the results of this research are valid and reliable, I applied a Cohen's Kappa inter-coder reliability test. Two graduate students and myself analyzed the same 10 Stories from the three newspapers for 107 stories, so the reliability test consisted of almost 10% of the entire sample. The results of the three coders were uploaded on SPSS, and subjected to a Cohen's Kappa test. The result of the test was 0.8, which means that inter-coder reliability was strong.

The analysis of the pilot and the changes subsequently made to the analytical process ensure that the results produced by this research are valid and reliable.

2.2.6 Data preparation and analysis

Upon completion of the pilot study, the rest of the sample was coded and analyzed. The results are organized in this sections that follow so as to present them in a logical way: firstly, the results of the quantitative analysis are presented, representing the amounts of stories published about

each social movement in each of the three newspapers. Secondly, the results related to the analysis of the voices in the stories, employed frames and news values are presented. Capitalizing on these results a critical analysis is undertaken in light of the literature review, in an attempt to link this literature to the results of the empirical data analysis and show how this research contributes to the body of existing knowledge.

2.3 Advantages and limitations of content analysis:

Methodologists observe various advantages and limitations of content analysis as a data collection technique and research methodology in general. Wimmer and Dominick (2006) in particular name several limitations for content analysis. Firstly, the exclusive use of content analysis in the research process will not allow the researcher to develop statements on the effect of the content on the audience. However, this limitation will not have any impact on this thesis, as its ultimate objective is to investigate the media production policies, rather than the effects of these policies. This research is not primarily about social movements themselves, but rather about how media production. Secondly, they state that “the findings of a particular analysis are limited to the framework of the categories and the definitions used in that analysis” (Wimmer and Dominick, 2006,p 154). This can be perceived as either a limitation or an advantage for this thesis. It can be considered an advantage, as one of the main objectives of this thesis is to focus on the categories defined within the protest paradigm. Consequently, content analysis will be able to answer the conceptually grounded research questions of this thesis. Conversely, the methodology is limiting here in that the research will only analyze whether or not the protest paradigm was employed in the coverage of both cases; the analysis will not be able to answer the question of whether the newspapers employed different frames that are not defined by the protest paradigm. The third factor enumerated by Wimmer and Dominick (2006) as a limitation is the potential lack of relevant messages in the research. This factor will by no means be a limitation in

the context of this thesis, as its purpose to investigate two recent and important events extensively covered by the press. Finally, the last limitation is that content analysis is frequently time-consuming and expensive. The only challenge I faced in collecting the material was the difficulty in finding microfilms for the *Toronto Sun*. The Toronto reference library is the only institution that has microfilms for the *Toronto Sun*. As a result, the only way to collect stories from the *Toronto Sun* is to travel to Toronto to scan the microfilms, as they cannot be borrowed via interlibrary loans services. Unlike the use of questionnaires, content analysis is an unobtrusive method that allows researchers to avoid influencing their subjects and thus potentially tainting their findings (Berger, 1998). This advantage allowed me to fully control the research project and timing without fearing the influence of external factors

Chapter 3: Results

The next two chapters will present the results and analysis of the empirical research conducted on the three newspapers. The results chapter will be divided into two parts, with the first part focusing on the quantitative content analysis of the basic elements of the coverage (the number of stories published for each case, and the number of stories published in each genre etc.). The second part of the results chapter gets to the crux of the matter, and presents results generated by applying quantitative and qualitative techniques in order to measure to usage of the protest paradigm in the coverage of both protests.

For the Occupy Movement, newspaper coverage published from October 14th until November 24th, 2011, is analyzed. The rationale behind including a day prior the protest camp in Saint James Park was set up to examine if the newspapers tried to contribute to the establishment of the movement in a positive or a negative way. The rationale behind analyzing stories published a day after the police evicted the protesters from Saint James is that newspapers always publish stories one day after an event, unlike television news and internet news sites, which are able to present live news coverage. Consequently, it was very important to include the newspapers' coverage the day after the eviction, as an eviction event in any protest is considered to be one of the most important days in the protest's cycle of events. The eviction events in most protests include drama and violence between the police and protesters, and are thus a key part of the news coverage.

The same strategy was applied, for news coverage of the Egyptian Uprising,: one day before the protest broke out, as well as one day after Mubarak's resignation were included. This was done for the reasons stated above, with the and to take into account of the time difference between Egypt and Canada. There are seven hours difference between Tahrir Square and the headquarters of the Canadian

press companies. It was important to take this into consideration by including the day after Mubarak resigned in order to test how the Canadian media covered impact and the consequences of the uprising on the Egyptian political and social arenas.

3.1 Quantative Results:

The first part of this chapter will present six different aspects the quantitative difference between coverage of the three newspapers for both protests. These aspects include the number of stories, the size of the stories, the number of each journalistic genre, the coverage's trend (if the number of published stories remains constant, increases or decreases).

For the Occupy Movement, all of the stories published in the three newspapers from October 14th until November 24th, 2011 were included. The main criteria for the story to be included in the research was that 50% of the total number of paragraphs had make reference to the Toronto chapter of the Occupy Movement. All the different journalistic genres are included: news, opinion, letter to the editor, analysis, etc. Both stories produced by news agencies and those produced by in-house journalists were considered.

For the Egyptian Uprising, all of the different stories that were published in the three newspapers from January 24th until February 12th, 2011 were included. In order for the story to be included, at least 50% of the total number of paragraphs had to make reference to the Egyptian Uprising, and those referring to political uprisings in other countries in the Middle East or the Arab uprising in general would not be included.

Table 1: Number and size of stories according to newspaper and social movement

Newspaper	The Egyptian Uprising		The Occupy Movement	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
<i>The Globe and Mail</i>	89	37.70%	30	15.9
<i>The Toronto Star</i>	97	41.10%	78	41.3
<i>The Toronto Sun</i>	50	21.20%	81	42.9
Total	236	100%	189	100. %

Overall, the newspapers published 47 more stories about the Egyptian Uprising than published about the Occupy Movement (236- 189, see Table 1). *The Globe and Mail* and *The Toronto Star* published more stories on the Egyptian Uprising than they published on the Occupy Movement, while, *The Toronto Sun* published more stories for the Occupy Movement than the Egyptian Uprising.

The electronic databases available in the university of Ottawa, Ottawa public library and Archives Canada were used to determine the number of words in each story. After retrieving the stories from microfilm, the online databases were checked for the number of words for each story. The main problem in this area was that the only available data for the *Toronto Sun* begins in July 2011. Consequently, I was not able to retrieve the number of words of the *Toronto Sun* for the Egyptian

Uprising. Another important limitation was that the electronic databases do not include stories produced by news agencies. Consequently, the data related to the number of words in each story was only available for the in-house produced stories.

The Globe and Mail and *The Toronto Star* followed different strategies regarding the size of stories. *The Globe and Mail* published bigger stories for the Egyptian Uprising, and shorter ones about the Occupy Movement. In contrast, *The Toronto Star* published longer stories about the Occupy Movement and shorter stories about the Egyptian Uprising. The average number of words of the stories published in *The Globe and Mail* was 804 words for stories about the Egyptian Uprising, and 503 words for stories on the Occupy Movement. As for *The Toronto Star*, the average number of words was 697 for stories on the Egyptian Uprising, and 716 words for stories on the Occupy Movement. In *The Toronto Sun*, the average length of stories on the Occupy Movement was 505 words.

3.1.1 The Different Journalistic genres:

News was the major journalistic genre in the coverage of both events. For the coverage of the Egyptian Uprising, it represents 76.7% of the stories (181 stories out of 236), while for the Occupy Movement coverage, it represents 73.5% of the stories (139 stories out of 189). For the Egyptian Uprising, 16.9% of the coverage was composed of opinion stories (40 stories out of 236), while in the Occupy Movement this genre makes up 22.8% of the stories (43 stories out 189). Business news stories represented 3.8 % (9 stories out 236) of the Egyptian Uprising coverage and 1.6% (3 stories out of 189) of the Occupy Movement coverage. Business stories that were published on the Egyptian Uprising focused on three main domains. Firstly, the ousted Egyptian president Hosni Mubarak shut down all methods of communication (cell phones, internet, bbm service, etc) for almost a week during the uprising. This action had a huge negative impact not only on the Egyptian economy but also on the

global economy, as many multinational companies with branches in Egypt couldn't communicate with their Egyptian counterparts, leading to significant financial losses of a lot of money. Secondly, all three papers were concerned of the impact of the revolution and Mubarak's resignation on navigation through the Suez Canal. The third area covered in business news was the stock market, as the uprising in Egypt affected not only the Egyptian stock market but also various international markets, including Toronto's Bay Street. Letters to the editor accounted for 2.1% for both protests (5 stories out of 236 for the Egyptian Uprising, and 4 stories out of 189 for the Occupy Movement). As for interview; only one interview was published in *The Globe and Mail*, with the President of York University who is an Egyptian Canadian. He was interviewed on his perception of the uprising in Egypt.

Table 2: The Egyptian Uprising: number of stories according to genre

Genre	<i>The Globe and Mail</i>		<i>The Toronto Star</i>		<i>The Toronto Sun</i>	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
News	64	71.90%	74	76.30%	43	86.00%
Opinion	15	16.90%	18	18.60%	7	14.00%
Business	5	5.60%	4	4.10%	0	0.00%
Letter to editor	4	4.50%	1	1.00%	0	0.00%
Interview	1	1.10%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%
Total	89	100.00%	97	100.00%	50	100.00%

Table 3: The Occupy Movement: number of stories according to genre

	The Glole and Mail		The Toronto Star		The Toronto Sun	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
News	16	53.30%	62	79.50%	61	75.30%
Opinion	10	33.00%	14	17.90%	19	23.5%
Business	2	6.70%	1	1.30%	0	0%
Letter to editor	2	6.70%	1	1.30%	1	1.2%
Interview	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0%
Total	30	100.00%	78	100.00%	81	100%

News was the main genre of coverage for both social movements in all three newspapers. It is obvious that each newspaper applied a different strategy in covering the Occupy Movement. *The Globe and Mail* focused on providing its readership with opinions about the Occupy Movement. Consequently, news stories account for 53.30% of that paper’s coverage, while opinion pieces represent 33% of the coverage. On the other hand, *The Toronto Star* and *The Toronto Sun* were more focused on providing readers with news than opinions and editorial. *The Toronto Stars* news stories represent 79.90% of its total published stories, while, opinion pieces account for 17.90% of the coverage. News stories in *The Toronto Sun* represent 75.30% of its total stories, while opinion pieces represent 23.5%. The business section contained a very small number of stories about the Occupy

Movement, all of which were published during the last three days of the occupation of Saint James

Park. The stories were covering an invitation by the activists of the Occupy Movement to occupy shopping centers during the Christmas season. Although the main objective of the Occupy Movement was to call for economic reform in North America and to protest against financial greed, there were very few stories published about it in the business section. The papers published fewer of letters to the editor about the Occupy Movement than about the Egyptian Uprising. In the coverage of *The Globe and Mail*, 6.7% of the total coverage was composed of letters to the editor, in *The Toronto Star* this percentage was 1.6%, while in the *Toronto Sun* the same statistic was measured at 1.3%. However, it is important to mention that the newspapers used their online platforms to allow readers to get involved in the discussion about the Occupy Movement. For example, *The Toronto Sun* asked their readers to choose between “thumb up” and “thumb down” on their website, and published the results of this survey in their print edition.

3.1.2 Trends in coverage:

One of the most important aspects of the analysis of the press coverage of the two social movements was measuring the coverage evolution. Gitlin (1980) posits that the coverage of a protest increases in volume and becomes favorable to the protest to the extent that the number of protesters increases and the number of protest activities increase. I tried to apply Gitlin’s claim in my research by examining both the change in coverage volume and ascertain whether or not it became more in favor of the protests. The results of this examination are divided into parts. The first part presented below, involves examining the relationship between the volume of the coverage and the number of protesters. The other aspect of Gitlin’s claim, measuring the extent to which the press is in favor of the social movements, is presented at the end of part 2.

Figure 1: The Egyptian Uprising: percent of stories according to date

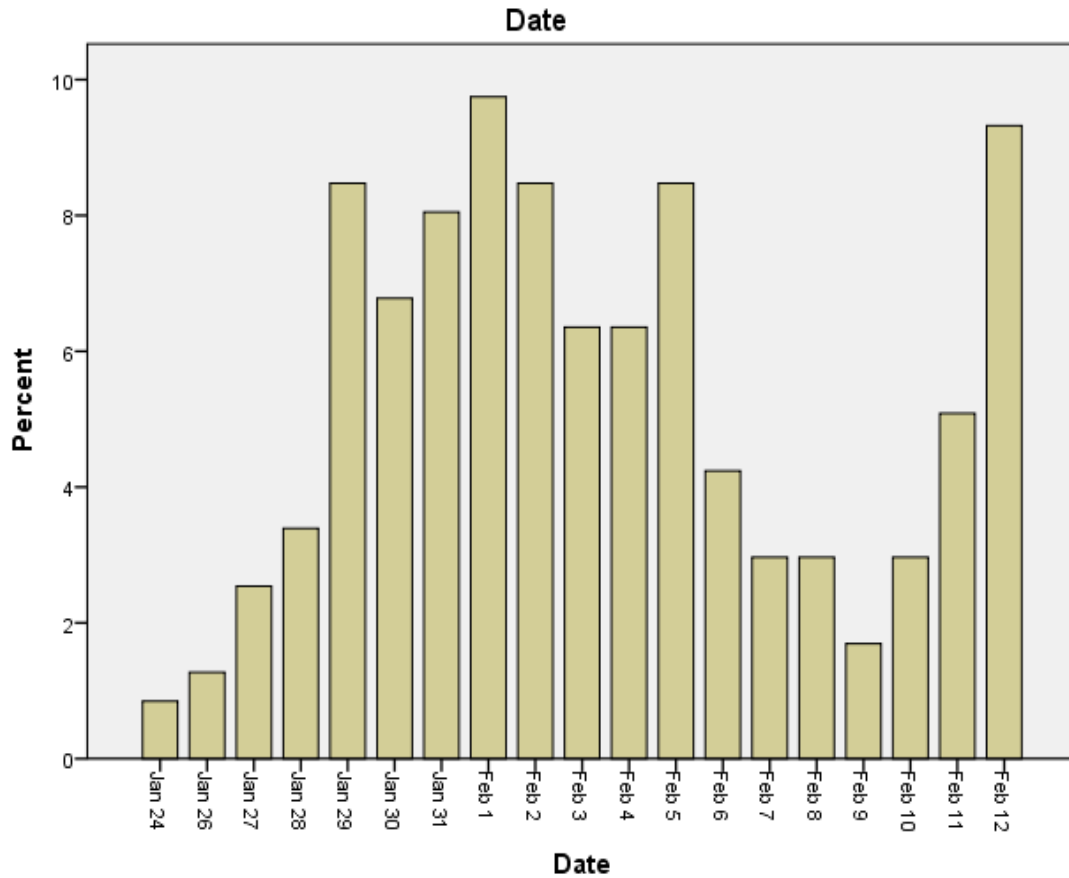


Figure 1

Figure 1 shows the evolution of the amount of coverage for the three newspapers during the Egyptian Uprising. One main factor in the increase in stories on the Egyptian Uprising was the occurrence of dramatic and violent events. The coverage of the Egyptian Uprising started on the January 24th, with a small number of news stories. These stories were about one activist’s Facebook post calling people to rise up and protest on January 25th against police corruption, as January 25th is National Police Day in Egypt. On January 25th, there was no coverage of the Egyptian Uprising in any of the three newspapers. On January 27th and 28th the number of stories started to increase as a result of the protests that started on January 25th. On January 25th, one hundred thousands started their protest against the

Mubarak regime and a conflict happened among the protesters and the police. On Friday, January 28th, the Egyptian people began to protest throughout the country. The day was called the “Day of Rage,” and it was the first big protest that occurred in the Egyptian Uprising.. The day on which the largest amount of coverage was dedicated to the Egyptian Uprising was February 1st, as a result of various factors. Firstly, on this day, the protesters organized the first Million March in Tahrir Square. On the same day the then President Hosni Mubarak gave an emotional speech stating that he wanted to live out his life in Egypt, and that he would not leave the country. Most importantly, he said that he would not run in the next presidential election, to be held in September 2011. At the same time, US President Barak Obama gave a speech asking Mubarak to listen to the demands of the protesters. The leaders of various Western countries echoed these sentiments. Consequently, this was a very important day for the media, as many official authorities from both Egypt and North America were responding to the situation, while at the same time, the protesters were increasing in numbers. The volume of coverage stayed high from February 2nd until February 5th because of the response from official voices and because of increasing participation in the movement. For example, on February 2nd, Mubarak asked the new cabinet, which was appointed on January 29, to increase governmental subsidies on various food products, and also to increase the salaries of public servants. On Friday, February 4th, the protesters organized what they called “The Friday of Departure,” insinuating that Mubarak should step down from the presidency. On February 5th, the second day of this huge protest, Mubarak changed ruling party’s board members and assigned a position to a politically active university professor who was more accepted among the Egyptian populace than himself. . During the period from February 6 until February 10th, the three papers published a relatively low volume of coverage. This was marked by two contrasting actions: first, on the activists’ side, the number of protesters increased and the encampment area in downtown Cairo expanded to include more turf, occupying additional streets, including the streets adjacent to the cabinet building and the parliament. The number of protesters increased in the

other large Egyptian governorates as well, notably those of Alexandria and Suze and Mansoura. On February 9th, several labour unions and non-governmental organizations decided to join the protesters in various large Egyptian cities. The labour unions in many critical areas decided to go on strike until Mubarak resigned. Secondly, on the side of the official authorities, the volume of statements from officials decreased, both from Egyptian and from international officials. The lack of official response to the events taking place in Cairo had a clear impact on the volume of coverage. The volume of coverage started to increase again on February 11th, while on February 12th, there was a huge increase in the volume of the coverage. The reason behind this was that on February 10th, the army spokesperson read the army's first official statement (called "Degree number 1") since the outbreak of the uprising on January 25th. The statement was explicit in its declaration that the army would support the people's movement, and that they would help the Egyptian people to achieve its demands for "Bread, Freedom and Social Justice." The army's statement came after Mubarak gave a speech earlier on the same day confirming that he would not step down. The coverage increased on February 11th because of the two speeches given on the previous day. On February 11th, the then-vice president of Egypt, Omar Soliman, announced Mubarak's resignation from office. The coverage of the next day, February 12th, witnessed a rapid increase in stories about the Egyptian Uprising in all three papers.

On some days, the newspapers didn't publish any stories on the events in Egypt. *The Toronto Star* started publishing stories about the uprising on January 26th, and published stories on a daily basis throughout the rest of the protest period. The only two days that the *Toronto Star* didn't publish stories about the Egyptian uprising were January 24th and January 25th. The mean number of published stories in *The Toronto Star* is 5 stories daily. *The Globe and Mail* did not publish any stories on the Egyptian uprising for three days. *The Globe and Mail* started publishing stories on the Egyptian Uprising on January 24th, but did not include any coverage of the events in Egypt on January 30th, February 6th and

February 10th. The mean of the published stories in *The Globe and Mail* is five stories per day. *The Toronto Sun* started publishing stories about the Egyptian Uprising starting from January 26th. They didn't publish any stories related to the uprising on February 3rd, February 9th and February 11th. The mean of the number of stories published in *The Toronto Sun* about the protests was three stories per day.

The Occupy Movement: percent of coverage according to date

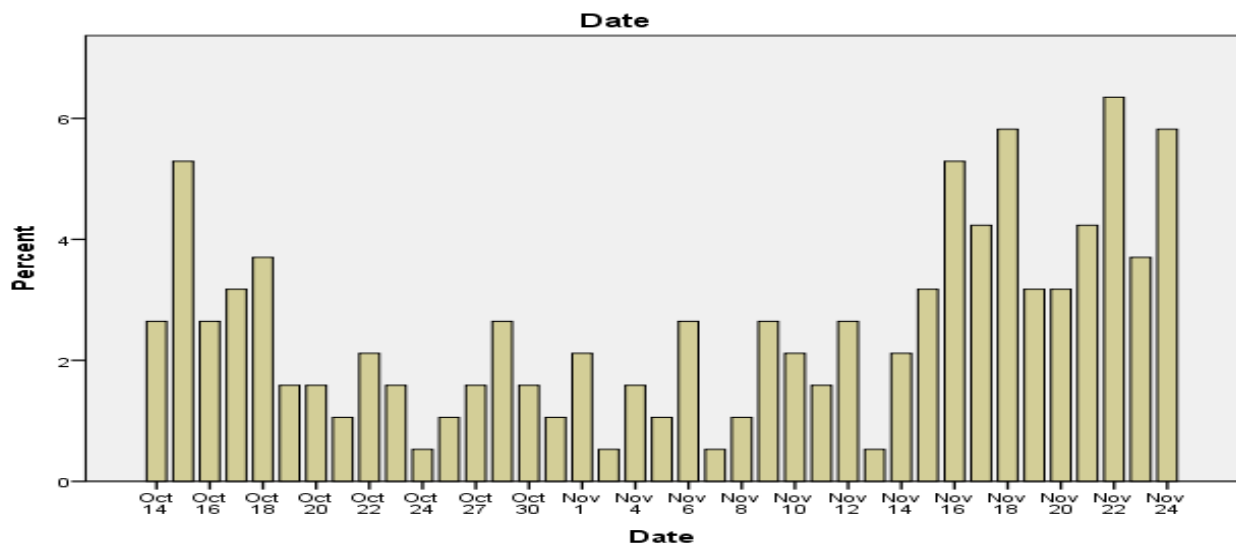


Figure 2

The three newspapers applied a similar pattern of coverage to Occupy Toronto as they applied to their coverage of the Egyptian Uprising. The days during which Canadian officials released a high volume of statements and responses to the protest also witnessed a high volume of coverage. In case of the Occupy Movement, the research shows that the responses of officials were given more importance than the actions and evolution of the movement. The results show that the volume of coverage was high during two particular periods of the movement: the first period from October 14th until October 18th, and the second period from November 15th to November 24th. The main reason for this higher

volume was that many official statements were released during those two periods. On October 13, the protesters in Toronto started their occupation of Saint James Park. On October 14, the protesters organize a protest in Toronto's downtown area. At the same time Toronto Mayor Rob Ford issued a statement indicating that he was not against the protesters, and that he wished the protests to remain peaceful. On that day, *The Globe and Mail* published a news report on an interview that the Governor of the Bank of Canada Mark Carney did with the CBC on October 13th. Carney dedicated large portion of his interview to the Occupy Movement. Carney said in the interview that demonstrations like the Occupy Wall Street protests, which will hit Canadian cities this weekend, are a "democratic expression of views" and "entirely constructive." On October 15th, the protesters started to build encampments in Saint James Park. On the same day, Bob Rae interim leader of the federal Liberals, visited the camp and confirmed that the protesters' statements about economic equality should be heard. Some members of the city council also announced their support for the movement during the first three days of the encampments, while other councillors made their opposition to the encampments clear. On October 19th, two councillors submitted a motion to endorse the "peaceful protests" of Occupy Toronto. Starting on October 19th, coverage of the Occupy Movement decreased, echoing a decrease in official statements about the movement. The activities of the Occupy Movement, however, continued to increase and different community bodies, including churches and labour unions, announced their support for the movement. However, the volume of coverage did not increase until November 14th, when Mayor Rob Ford said in to the reporters in the city hall the city is going to ask the protesters to evict the park soon. Starting that day the volume of the coverage witnessed a significant increase. . On November 15th city officials went to the park to serve protesters with trespass notices. On the same day Mayor Rob Ford and city manager Joe Pennachetti received a letter, signed by 14 city councillors, demanding a full debate at city council before the eviction of Occupy Toronto was to go ahead. The protesters then went to court to appeal the mayor's decision. The court allowed the protesters to stay in

the park until the judge issued the final verdict. Various officials were issuing statements during this early phase of the movement. On November 21st, the court decided that the protesters should be evicted from the park immediately. From November 21st until November 25th, the main focus of the coverage was on how the police responded to the court verdict. The stories started to focus on police statements regarding the eviction process, on the protesters' response to this action, and on the debate between the protesters about whether they would willingly leave the park, as a group of protesters were stating they would not leave.

In summary, the volume of the coverage of the Occupy Movement was determined by the response from government officials to a greater extent than by the actions and evolution of the movement. Contrary to the coverage of the Egyptian Uprising, the three newspapers did not publish any stories on the Occupy Movement for several days at a time. *The Globe and Mail* did not cover the Toronto chapter of the Occupy Movement from October 23rd until November 4th. It published only a single story from November 13 until November 15th. *The Toronto Star* did not

publish any stories on the Occupy Movement for discrete days, and not for larger periods such as the other two newspapers. *The Toronto Star* did not cover the movement only on October 24th, October 25th, November 1st and November 3rd. *The Toronto Sun* did not publish any coverage about the movement from October 19th to October 23rd and on October 29th. It also did not publish any story from November 2nd until November 5th and on November 8th and 9th.

3.2: Qualitative Results:

In the second part of the results chapter, I will present the qualitative results of the research as they pertain to the protest paradigm. Three main variables were examined: voice in the story, embedded frames and news element. All the news stories published in the three papers during the first week of the movement and the last three days were examined for both protests. Only news stories that were written by the papers' journalists were considered. Other journalistic genres, such as editorials and letters to the editor, were excluded from this analysis, as well as news stories by news agencies. Each story was read carefully and repeatedly in the analytical process. For the Egyptian uprising, 58 stories were analyzed in total, including 21 stories from *The Toronto Star*, 30 stories from *The Globe and Mail* and 7 stories from *The Toronto Sun*. 49 stories about the Occupy Movement were also analyzed, consisting of 7 stories from *The Globe and Mail*, 23 stories from *The Toronto Star* and 19 stories from *The Toronto Sun*.

3.2.1 Voice in the stories according to social movement

	The Occupy Movement		The Egyptian Uprising	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Officials	65	36%	54	29%
Analysts	11	6%	40	22%
Protesters	89	50%	81	44%
Bystander	14	8%	7	4%
Total 65	179	100	182	100%

Table 4: Voice in the stories according to social movement

The newspapers applied the same pattern of story selection based on voice for both social movements. The voice of the protesters represents the largest portion of coverage of both protests. It is the main voice in 50% of the stories on the Occupy Movement and 44% of the stories on the Egyptian Uprising. It is notable that the papers seemed to be aware that the protesters were able to use social media and technology to communicate their message to a wide audience, and that they were suspicious of mainstream media coverage of protest movements. On October 20th, *The Toronto Star* published a description of the protest camp in Saint James Park. The paper dedicated two paragraphs of the story to talking about the media tent and its role in delivering information from the protesters' perspective. They also quoted the activist responsible for the media tent as having stated that mainstream media disseminate inaccurate information about protest movements most of the time.

The voice of officials was the second most commonly used voice for both protests. In the case of the Egyptian Uprising, the statements from official authorities both from Egypt and on an international level were used. The three papers were keen to employ statements from important Egyptian officials such as the president, vice president and the prime minister. The second big portion of official voices in the coverage of the Egyptian Uprising came from statements of international leaders about the events unfolding in Egypt. Finally, the last group of official voices came from small local Egyptian officials like members of the police and army personnel.

For the Occupy Movement, the majority of published statements from official authorities came from government officials at the municipal and provincial levels. The second largest portion of official voices used in covering the Occupy Movement came from Toronto police officers and from the administrative personnel of Saint James Park. Few voices came from officials at the federal level.

For the Egyptian Uprising, the voice of the analysts was the third most-used voice, at 22% of the total voices. The three newspapers were keen to provide a space for analysts in their coverage of the Egyptian Uprising. The voice of the analysts was crucial to the coverage, as it allowed the readers, who are located in Canada, to understand the significance of the events taking place in Egypt, and the political and economic impact on the Middle East and on various global issues. The analysts of *The Globe and Mail* and *The Toronto Star* focused their analysis on the following issues:

1. The impact of the uprising on security in the region, and especially the security of the state of Israel.
2. The threat of political Islam if Mubarak stepped down from power.
3. The relationship between the Egyptian army and the various political civil groups in Cairo, and the army's relationship with the American administration.
4. The negative impact of shutting down of all Internet and cell phone connections on international business and the security of non-Egyptians living in Egypt.
5. The threat to the international trade movement if the Suez Canal was closed.
6. The different positions taken by western countries regarding the uprising in Egypt, with a focus on the American and Canadian positions.

For the Occupy Movement, the voice of the bystander was the third most-used voice in the press coverage of the protest. *The Toronto Star* and *The Toronto Sun* were keen to disseminate the voice of the general public, and published stories that included opinions of bystanders in the streets close to the protest camp, or working close to Saint James Park. The number of stories that used the voice of the bystander increased in the two papers towards the eviction of the occupiers from the park.

The two papers also chose to publish stories including the voice of park visitors on the day after the eviction.

The least used voices in the coverage of the Egyptian Uprising were that of bystanders, with 4% of the total voices. There are many reasons behind the low percentage of bystander voices in the coverage of the Egyptian Uprising. First of all, there was a curfew on most days of the protest during a majority of the daylight hours, so streets were almost empty most of the time. Secondly, Tahrir Square covers a wide area, and is completely open, not surrounded by fences like Saint James Park, the location of the Occupy Movement in Toronto. Consequently, all of the people who were present in Tahrir Square were considered to be protesters. The voices of bystanders in the coverage of the Egyptian Uprising were mostly published during the first three days and the last day of the protests. During the first three days the protesters, had not yet occupied the square, they were only protesting in the square or beside it. Consequently, it was easy for foreign reporters to find voices from bystanders who were in the streets. The last day of coverage included the voices of the bystanders who went to Tahrir Square to celebrate Mubarak's resignation.

For the coverage of the Occupy Movement, the least-used voice belonged to the analysts, at 6% of the total coverage. The analysts' voices can be divided into categories. First, there were the analysts who were trying to explain the movement's demands and commenting on the slogan "We are the 99%". These analysts were mostly trying to refute this claim, arguing for the soundness of Canadian social programs and claiming that the demands of the protesters were not valid. The second type of analysts were attempting to explain the reasoning behind the movement itself as part of an international protest movement inspired by the uprisings in the Middle East. However, analysts were keen to focus on the huge difference between the Arab Spring and the Occupy Movement and that there is a huge difference between Egypt and Canada.

3.2.2 Voice in the Egyptian Uprising, by newspaper

Table 5: Voice in the Egyptian Uprising, by newspaper

	<i>The Globe and Mail</i>		<i>The Toronto Star</i>		<i>The Toronto Sun</i>	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Officials	28	35%	23	27%	3	17%
Analysts	29	36%	11	13%	0	0%
Protesters	20	25%	47	56%	14	77%
Bystanders	3	4%	3	4%	1	6%
Total	80	100%	84	100%	18	100%

Each newspaper followed a different strategy in their coverage of the Egyptian Uprising. The *Globe and Mail* was very conservative, focusing their analysis on what was happening in Egypt. Therefore, the highest percentage of voices was from the analysts. The paper was keen to publish the voices of Egyptian, Canadian and American political analysts, as well as economic analysts and analysts from the technology industry during the internet blackout. The second most-used voice belonged to officials, at 35% of the total coverage. *The Globe and Mail* published significantly more stories using voices of officials than those using voices of protesters, particularly the voices of the American officials on what was happening in Egypt. The paper was also keen to compare the voices of American officials and those of Canadian officials. The voices of the protesters were present in 25% of the total coverage, while the voice of bystander was presents in 4% of the coverage.

The Toronto Star coverage for the Egyptian Uprising reflects its more liberal leaning. The voice of the protesters represented 56% of the total coverage of the events. It should be mentioned that there is a marked difference between the type of protesters interviewed in *the Toronto Star* coverage and those present in the *Globe and Mail* coverage. *The Globe and Mail* focused on publishing the voices of Egyptian celebrities who joined the protesters, for example, the voices of notable Egyptian journalists, whereas *The Toronto Star* was keen to publish the voices of young, unknown protesters. The voices of officials ranked second in the coverage, with 27% of the total voices. *The Toronto Star* was keen to publish the voices of Egyptian officials in high levels of the Egyptian government, including the president, the prime minister and the vice president, in addition to the voices of lower management officials such as police and army officers. The paper also published the voices of Western leaders, including that of American and Canadian government officials. *The Toronto Star* was not concerned with publishing the voices of analysts in their coverage; analysts' voices account for only 13% of the total coverage. The main issue the paper focused on in its analysis was the relationship between the different political actors in Egypt and the relationship between the army and the presidency. The voice of bystanders was the least used, with only 4% of the total voice.

The Toronto Sun focused on the voice of the protesters in its coverage, as 77% of their coverage included the protesters' voice. *The Toronto Sun* mainly published the voices of unknown protesters, rather than celebrities who joined the protesters. The second most-used voice in the coverage of *the Toronto Sun* is the officials' voices, with 17% of the total coverage. The paper was keen to present the voices of western officials, especially American officials. The least-used voice in *the Toronto Sun* coverage was the voice of the general public, at 6% of the total coverage. *The Toronto Sun* did not invite any analysts to comment on the events taking place in Egypt.

3.2.3 Voice in the Occupy Movement, by newspaper

Table 6: Voice in the Occupy Movement, By newspaper

	<i>The Globe and Mail</i>		<i>The Toronto Star</i>		<i>The Toronto Sun</i>	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Officials	11	35%	40	35%	14	44%
Analysts	1	3%	9	7.5%	1	3%
Protesters	20	62%	55	48%	14	44%
bystander	0	0%	11	9.5%	3	9%
Total	32	100%	115	100%	32	100%

The *Globe and Mail* applied a different strategy when covering the Occupy Movement. Unlike their coverage of the Egyptian uprising, the protesters' voice was the dominant voice in their coverage, representing 62% of the total voices. The voice of officials was the second most-used in the *Globe and Mail*. The paper invited the voices of the federal officials during its coverage in the early days of the occupation. Then, in the final days, they focused on the voices of local and provincial officials. The paper was not keen on presenting analysis to the readers, with only one analyst's voice being included : that of a university professor who commented on Canada's economic system and the validity of the protesters' economic demands. The analyst's voice represented 3% of the total. The paper did not use the voices of bystanders to comment on the events.

The Toronto Star's coverage reflects that the paper wished to represent all voices in its coverage. The paper applied the same strategy they used when covering the Egyptian uprising. The

voice of protesters was the highest among the voices published in stories, at 48% of the total. *The Toronto Star* published many stories using protesters' voices at the beginning of the events, to give protesters a chance to explain their perspective. The second most-used voice was that of officials, representing 35% of the coverage. The voices of the officials were mainly from local and provincial officials like that of the Ontario Premier. The voice of bystander ranked third, with a percentage of 9.5%. The paper was keen to create a dialogue about the movement on its pages. On October 20th, the *Toronto Star* published a story called "Activist, Banker and Bystander," composed of quotes from activists, bankers and bystanders commenting on the movement. The paper was also keen to get the voices of bystanders after the eviction to comment on the movement. The least-used voice was that of analysts, at of 7.5%. The paper had a wide variety of voices explaining and analyzing different aspects of the movement, like their economic slogan, "We are the 99%." Some analysts talked about the remaining 1%, while others explained the relationship between the Toronto chapter of the movement to the rest of the Occupy Movement.

The *Toronto Sun* applied a strategy covering the Occupy Movement that was different from the one it had used for the Egyptian Uprising. The paper was trying to balance the voices of the officials and the voices of protesters. The voice of both parties represents 44% of the total voices. Toronto police voices were dominant among the officials' voices. The other prominent voice found in the coverage was that of Toronto municipal officials, including city councillors and the mayor. The *Toronto Sun* did not provide much analysis in their coverage; only one story analyzed the social movement. The main message from the analyst was about the invalidity of the protesters demands and their lack of legitimacy of the protests. The paper did not publish the voices of the bystanders in their coverage. The voice of bystander and bystander together represent only 9% of the total voices.

3.2.4 Frames used according to social movement

Table 7: Frames used according to social movement

	The Occupy Movement		The Egyptian Uprising	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Injustice ¹	1	0.20%	3	0.4%
Sympathy ¹	19	3.8%	47	7%
Legitimizing ¹	29	6%	70	10%
De-legitimizing ²	49	9.8%	14	2%
Accountability ¹	38	7.6%	67	9.6%
Spectacle ²	283	57%	222	32%
Contextual ¹	78	15.6%	270	39 %
Total	497	100%	693	100%

¹ Components of the non-protest paradigm

² Components of the protest paradigm

The data in the table above shows that the papers used components of the non-protest paradigm in framing the Egyptian Uprising more often than they used the components of the protest paradigm. On the other hand, the components of the protest paradigm were used more than the components of the non-protest paradigm in framing the Occupy Movement. In the case of the Egyptian Uprising, the

difference between the contextual frame and the spectacle frame is only 7%, while the total percentage difference between the protest paradigm components and non-protest paradigm components is vast.

The papers were keen to explain to their readers what was happening in Egypt by putting the events in different contexts. The contexts included:

1. The Egyptian people's frustration about the dictatorship of the Mubarak regime.
2. The various political groups participating in the uprising, with a special focus on the participation of groups linked to political Islam, such as the Muslim Brotherhood.
3. The debate connected with the leadership of the uprising.
4. The political implications of each demonstration organized by the protesters.
5. The effect of the uprising on the local and the international economy.
6. The impact on the peace treaty with Israel, if that Mubarak were to step down.
7. Expectations within the Egyptian political arena after Mubarak's resignation.
8. The importance of Egypt as a strong ally to the U.S.

The second most commonly used frame in the papers' coverage of the Egyptian Uprising was spectacle, with 32% of the total coverage. The papers published stories focused on describing the protesters' physical appearance and the violence that took place between protesters and police. The papers published highly sensational coverage of the chaos that followed the protest on the first Friday of the occupation of Tahrir Square on January 28th.

The third most-used frame was legitimizing, which represented 10% of the total coverage. The papers stressed the fact that the protesters' demands were legitimate. The papers supported this frame

by publishing various voices from Egyptian Canadians living in Toronto, who explained why the demonstration was legitimate. Many other stories from Egypt also spoke of the legitimacy of the protesters' demands for Freedom, Bread and Social Justice.

The fourth most-used frame was accountability, in 9.6% of the stories, which is almost equal to legitimizing. The papers showed that all of the movement's demands are accountable, that the majority of Egyptians supported the movement, and that there was consensus about the presence of the movement.

The next most common frame was sympathy, in 7% of the coverage. The paper published many stories that were presented in a way to made readers sympathize with to the protesters' demands, and to the conditions Egyptian citizens are living in under the Mubarak regime.

Finally, the de-legitimizing frame was used in 2% of the stories, and the injustice frame in 0.4%. In a few news reports, the papers used a de-legitimizing frame to report on the chaotic aftermath of some of the protests.

The papers' coverage of the Occupy Movement followed a markedly different pattern with regards to framing. Spectacle was the dominant frame, used in 57% of the total coverage. Using this frame, the papers focused on the protesters' physical appearance, the violence between protesters and police on the first day of the encampment and during the eviction. The papers were keen to point out that the violence that occurred during the park eviction was instigated by the protesters and not the police. The papers described the protest camp in detail, and published stories about how the protesters left Saint James Park dirty and unkempt after the eviction.

Contextual frames were the second most common frames, used in 15% of the stories. The papers gave readers background information on the violence that occurred between protesters and

police months before the establishment of the Occupy Movement during the G20 summit protests. They also spoke of the Occupy protest in the context of violent radical protest movements like the Black Bloc. They provided background information on the Occupy Movement itself, whose origins inspired were by the protests in Tahrir Square. However, the papers provided little background information on Canada's economic status, focusing instead on proclaiming the Canadian economic system as one of the best in the world.

The third most common frame was de-legitimizing, which was used in 9.8% of the total coverage. Stories were published stating that while the movement was peaceful, the protesters did not have clear demands, making their presence in the park is pointless. The papers focused on the idea that occupying a public park is not a legitimate method of expressing an opinion. Stories that focused on the protestors refusal to leave the park even after the city gave an eviction notice are one example of the papers' delegitimizing framing strategy.

The fourth most-used frame was accountability, at 7.6% of the stories. The papers reported as of community consent of the movement by unions and churches. The churches near Saint James Park were supporting the movement by preparing hot food. Some unions also supported the movement by supplying tents and other required materials. These different kinds of support showed that there is a certain type of accountability regarding the movement.

Legitimizing was the next most common framing strategy, with 6% of the coverage. The papers used this frame during the first two days in their early coverage of the movement, during the first two days when officials including the mayor and the Governor of the Bank of Canada were making positive statements on the movement. The two least-used frames were sympathy, at 3.8%, and injustice, at 0.2%. The papers framed some of their stories in a way that made the readers feel

sympathetic with protesters, principally when covering the first days of the protest when the officials were expressing positive comments on the movement.

3.2.5 The Occupy Movement: framing according to newspaper

Table 8: The Occupy Movement: framing according to newspaper

	The Globe and Mail		The Toronto Star		The Toronto Sun	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Percentage	
Injustice	1	1.2%	0	0%	0	0%
Sympathy	0	0%	18	7.4%	1	0.5%
Legitimizing	3	4%	16	6.52%	10	5%
De-legitimizing	5	6.4%	19	7.88%	25	14%
Accountability	4	5%	20	8.2%	14	7.5%
Spectacle	49	64%	118	49%	119	66%
Contextual	15	19.4%	50	20.74%	13	7%
Total	77	100%	241	100%	182	100%

The Toronto Star:

The Toronto Star followed a totally different framing strategy than the other two newspapers. The analysis of their coverage shows that they published stories on important issues that were not covered by the other two newspapers, including the Canadian origins of the Occupy Movement,

physical descriptions of the general assemblies, the protesters' decision-making process during general assemblies and a general overview of the economic crisis in North America. *The Toronto Star* was the only newspaper that provided the reader with a clear analysis on the strengths and weaknesses of the movement. *The Toronto Star* coverage was not only keen to provide the readers with an analysis that could contribute to the readers' rational discussion but has also hosted a rational discussion on its pages. The paper dedicated a full page to quotes from protesters, businessmen and bystanders about their perspective of the movement. The only main limitation is that the paper did not host any official voice to be published among the other voices. However, the *Toronto Star* was the only paper that was keen to construct a public sphere on its pages giving equal coverage to different opposing groups on its pages.

The spectacle frame represented 49% of the embedded frames for *the Toronto Star*, the percentage of the spectacle frame in the other newspapers being significantly higher. In addition, each time the paper used this frame, it balanced the perspective with a positively framed item. For example, the day before the encampment began, the paper published two stories on the movement. Although Both stories included a lengthy description of the protesters' physical appearance., *the Toronto Star* also used positive frames in both stories. For example, the first story the paper published on the movement under the title "Let's Call Occupy America: Anti Wall Street movement began with small protest; it has now gripped the nation". The lead of the story read, "It doesn't exactly have a message, except to say that something is deeply wrong with life in America." The paper was keen to provide a detailed background of the movement, and elaborated that the movement was established by a call from a Canadian magazine for activists and protesters to occupy Wall Street. The paper also provided the readers with context about the economic injustice taking place in North America, and in the US in particular. The other story that was published on that day bore the title "G20 memories loom on eve of

Occupy Toronto Protests”. Therefore, the excessive use of the spectacle frame was accompanied by 20.74% of the coverage that was presented through the contextual frame. For example, *the Toronto Star* was keen to provide the readers with a description of the movement’s general assembly. However, the paper also opted to show that the protesters were able to facilitate a democratic discussion among them. The paper constructed its contextualizing stories in a fair, objective and analytical format. For example, on October 18th, the paper published a story entitled “Occupy is peaceful, and puzzling”. In the story, the writer stated that the movement was confused, that the protesters’ objectives were not clear and that their general assembly focused on procedures more than making decisions. “The general meetings are frequently bogged down by procedural discussions, not issues” (*Toronto Star*, October 18th, 2011).

Another important area of coverage that showed the paper’s inclination to mix contextualizing and spectacle was the coverage of the protest camps. The coverage of *the Toronto Star* not only provided a physical description of the camp but went the extra mile of providing readers with an explanation of the role of each tent in the encampment. For example, on October 20, 2011, the paper published a story entitled, “Occupy Toronto: an inside look at the logistics”. whose main objective was to describe the protest camp. The *Toronto Star* did not stop at describing the camp’s physical appearance as for the other two newspapers. It went a step further, showing the positive aspects of each tent and giving context if needed. For example, when talking of the food tent, the paper stressed the fact that the protesters had implemented a hygienic food preparation and dishwashing system. Another important example was their coverage of the media tent. The paper mentioned that the protesters were trying to fight against the mainstream media bias by employing alternative communications strategies. The paper wrote that the protesters “maintain a strong social media

presence, posting pictures and videos to Twitter and Facebook. This makes sure the message is heard and gets past the bias of mainstream coverage”.

Newspapers often use the spectacle frame at the moment of eviction from a protest, but the *Toronto Star* was keen to construct a combination of spectacle and contextual frames in its coverage of the eviction of the movement. *The Toronto Star* was the only newspaper that presented to its readers the perspective to its readers that the movement’s eviction was not a total loss, because the movement was able to have their grievances heard by officials in Canada. The paper published a story on November 24th, the day after the police evicted the protesters, with the headline, “Camp lost case was made”. which mainly consisted of a balanced critical analysis of the movement’s strengths and weaknesses. The reporter wrote, “on the other hand, the movement’s failure to articulate a position, its insistence on gather-round the campfire democracy, drastically limited its effectiveness. Instinctively, most agreed with the Occupiers, but remained dubious that such a ragtag group could change the world” (The Toronto Star, November 24th). The paper created a rational discussion on the movement’s achievements and its future, instead of simply focusing on the drama and violence of the eviction.

Accountability framing represents 8.2% of the total coverage, making it the third most common frame after spectacle and contextual. There are three important in the coverage that showed how the paper constructed the accountability frame. Firstly, like the other two newspapers, the *Toronto Star* showed that there was consensus within the movement and that many organizations such as churches, unions, and charities were in solidarity with it and agreed with its demands. Secondly, the paper dedicated a full story on the validity and legitimacy of the movement demands’, however, the main problem with the protesters that they encampment in the wrong place. A large section of this story was dedicated to trying to provide the protesters with suggestions for other places to protest in. This story was published on October 21st, 2011, with the headline “It’s not what you protest that matters, but

where”. Thirdly, the *Toronto Star* was the only newspaper with coverage that supported the movement’s accountability during the eviction period. For example, on November 22nd, it published a story with the headline “Camp must go by Wednesday maybe longer if progress made”. The story was mainly dedicated to the reaction of Toronto Mayor Rob Ford and city manager Joe Pennachetti towards the verdict of eviction from the park. However, the story lead was about the different institutions that still supported the movement even after this verdict.

The de-legitimizing frame accounts for 7.8% of the embedded frames of the *Toronto Star* coverage. The paper developed this frame by covering three important events. The first even involved the protesters blocking streets in one of their marches; this action was framed as de-legitimizing to the movement. The other events included the court issuing its first eviction notice to the protesters, and the few protesters who refused to evict the park after the city delivered this notice.

The sympathy frame was used almost equal to the de-legitimizing frame, with 7.4% of the coverage. The paper framed some of the economic analysis in a way that made the reader sympathize with the protesters and their grievances.

The legitimizing frame was least common frame, used in 6.52% of the stories. The paper used this frame when covering some of the movement’s demands and also when the protesters appealed the court verdict, resulting in a stay of the eviction notice until the court processed their appeal.

The Globe and Mail:

The main embedded frame in the coverage of the *Globe and Mail* was that of spectacle. This frame represented 64% of the paper’s coverage. The paper focused its coverage on the physical description and demographics of the protesters, rather than focusing on their demands and ideas. A good example is the story published on October 17th, 2011 under the headline, “Toronto’s Occupiers

speak”. The story is composed of interviews with protesters speaking of the reasons that led them to establish Occupy Toronto. Three short paragraphs were dedicated to each of the three protesters interviewed. Two paragraphs out of the three were used to describe the protester’s physical appearance and demographics, and one short paragraph was given over to a quote one of the protesters. The paper was especially eager to give a physical description of the protest camp, but they only focused on appearance of the camp rather than the camp’s organization. The paper focused on the drama and violence that occurred between police and the protesters, and even when there was no violence, they reminded readers of the violence of the G20 protests that took place in 2010. Another important example that shows how the *Globe and Mail* focused on the protester’s physical appearance was the story published on November 23rd, 2011. The headline of the story was, “Occupy protesters barely hanging on amid legal trouble, cold weather”. The story went on to state that “In Victoria, Calgary and Quebec City, encampments were virtually cleared out.” and that “protesters in Vancouver and Toronto struggled to maintain their sites”. This was purportedly a story on the protesters’ reactions to the court’s eviction order decision. However, the narration of the story was more focused on describing the protesters’ physical appearance and did not try to establish a discussion on the development and evolution of the movement.

The second most-used framing strategy by *the Globe and Mail* was contextual frames, representing 19.4% of the total coverage. The paper developed two main contexts for the movement. The first context was that the Occupy Movement taking place in Toronto and in other cities in Canada was part of a larger movement that was rising up across the United States of America. The paper was trying to establish that the main objective for this movement was the expression of solidarity with the protesters in the U.S. and that the Canadian chapters were protesting against the corporate greed happening in North America in general. In view of this, the paper didn’t generate any discussion on the

validity of the protesters' demands and their grievances concerning the economic situation in Canada. The second context put forward by the *Globe and Mail* was the evolution of the police strategy in the face of the protests. The paper made sure to highlight how the police dealt with the Occupy protesters very peacefully, unlike the police strategies used to deal with protesters at the G20. The paper was always trying to show how peaceful the police was in dealing with the protesters, and how the protesters were always trying to take violent action against the police.

The de-legitimizing frame represents 6.4% of the total stories. The *Globe and Mail* was keen to present the movement in a de-legitimized light, but at the same time wanted to ensure that the movement remained peaceful. The paper consistently tried to frame the movement as de-legitimate stating it did not have a clear platform, demands or objectives. The paper also used this frame extensively when the court issued a verdict that the occupiers should leave the park.

On the other hand, accountability framing was used in 5% of the total coverage. The paper used this frame when they were reporting about the support the movement got from different groups and organizations in the society, including churches and unions. The paper also used this frame to show that there was a sort of consensus from the government of Canada, especially when the paper republished the CBC interview with the Governor of Bank of Canada about the validity of the protesters' arguments about economic grievances.

The legitimizing frame represents 4% of the embedded frames. This frame was used mainly in the early days of the encampments when many Canadian officials at the provincial and federal levels expressed their approval of the movement, but only if it remained a peaceful protest.

Finally, the least used frame was the Injustice frame, at 1.2% of the total *Globe and Mail* coverage. This frame was used in the early days of the protests as well, when officials were agreeing

about certain amendments need to be done on the Canadian economic system so the residence of Canada can feel that there is a strong system of social justice applied in Canada.

The Toronto Sun:

The coverage of *the Toronto Sun* focused on the spectacle frame, which accounts for 66% of the total frames used. The paper focused on the protesters' physical appearance, demographics and protest strategies such as blocking streets. However, the *Toronto Sun* was keen to highlight the drama and to sensationalize their coverage. Even when no drama was taking place and no violent actions were occurring, the paper reminded the readers of the violent actions that took place during the G20 protests in 2010. For example, on October 15th, 2011, the paper published a story entitled, "Block the Bloc: if the Occupy Toronto movement is infiltrated by thugs, the cops vow action". The paper also took the opportunity to make fun of the movement, as illustrated by the October 16th, 2011 story, "Pointless, but Peaceful: Some day, maybe some good will come of it". The story was trying to convey that the movement was pointless and that protesters did not have any valid demands or objectives. The reporter was making fun of the number of Occupy protesters by comparing the number of protesters to the number of COSTCO customers or patrons of Eaton Center's food court. *The Toronto Sun* was not only keen to cover the movement from a sensationalized perspective, but they also reminded the readers of old violent action, used the pronouns "We" and "They" for designating the readers and the protesters respectively as well as used the propaganda technique of name calling. The technique of using "We" and "They," as discussed in detail in the previous chapter, is a spectacle coverage technique used when the paper is trying to convey the idea that there are two camps in society: the readers and the media on the one side and the protesters on the other side. *The Toronto Sun* was keen use this technique implicitly and explicitly as well. For example, on October 18th, the paper published a story entitled, "They Camp for Free, but you still get parking tickets". This headline was blatantly trying to make the

readers feel that the protesters on the one side were other side of an unbridgeable gap, on the other side of society. Secondly, the protesters were called Marxists and communists who want to destroy Canadian society. In some instances, the reporters wondered what economic model the protesters wanted to apply, if they were so opposed to the Canadian economic system. The reporters then implied that the protesters wanted Canada to be like Cuba and other poor countries under communist rule.

De-legitimizing was the second most-used frame, at 14% of the total stories. The paper was keen to frame the movement as lacking legitimacy, and to highlight the government's efforts and contributions to the well-being of Canadians instead of discussing the protesters' frustrations concerning corporate greed. In addition, the paper was keen to present the encampment as de-legitimate, repeatedly stating that the protesters did not have permission to use the park. The paper not only focused on the de-legitimizing aspect of the movement, but also called on the government to deal harshly with the protesters. The police reaction was portrayed in a positive light, with the paper emphasizing the peaceful strategies used by police, in contrast with the sometimes violent actions used by the protesters. For example, on October 16th, the paper published a story with the headline "Protesters Park it: Occupy T.O. demonstrators settle in grass beside downtown church". The paper was keen to mention the positive role of the police in guarding the protesters. "A small presence of Toronto police officers kept their distance while ensuring the protesters' safety" (Toronto Sun, October 16th, 2011). The paper applied the same strategy when it covered the eviction. The paper focused on the peaceful tactics of the police while highlighting the protesters' attacks on policemen and city workers.

Accountability framing represents 7.5% from the embedded frames in the *Toronto Sun*. There were a lot of organizations that supported the movement, including churches and unions. However, the *Toronto Sun* was the only newspaper to mention that the movement received support from local

businesses. The paper also used the frame in the early days of the movement when local officials such as Toronto Mayor Rob Ford stated that he didn't mind the Occupy Movement's protest as long as it remained peaceful. The paper also showed that few city councillors supported the movement by making efforts to postpone the moment of eviction.

The contextual frame represents 7% of the *Toronto Sun's* total coverage. The main context developed by the paper was the movement's belonging to an international movement that began on Wall Street in New York City. The paper was keen to bring its readers' attention to notion that the movement was inspired by the "Arab Spring," and the uprising in Egypt in particular. Consequently, the paper was determined to contextualize the protest by describing the difference between countries in the third world where people have valid reasons to protest and Canada, as a developed country with a strong economic system, where protesting is not a valid means of expressing opinions.

The legitimizing framing was present in 5% of the total stories. This frame was used for two main occasions during the occupation of Saint James Park. The first occasion was during the early stages of the movement, when officials stated that they weren't against protest. The second occasion was when the court approved the movement's appeal against the eviction verdict and allowed the protesters to stay in the park until a new verdict was handed over. The least used framing strategy was sympathy, which was used in 0.5% of the *Toronto Sun's* coverage.

3.2.6 The Egyptian Uprising: frames according to newspaper

	<i>The Globe and Mail</i>		<i>The Toronto Star</i>		<i>The Toronto Sun</i>	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Injustice	2	0.5%	1	0.50%	0	0%
Sympathy	33	8.5%	10	3.90%	4	10 %
Legitimizing	41	10%	29	11.20%	0	0%
De-legitimizing	12	3%	2	1.00%	0	0%
Accountability	34	9%	28	10.90%	5	12%
Spectacle	108	27%	95	37%	19	45%
Contextual	165	42%	91	35.50%	14	33%
Total	395	100%	256	100%	42	100%

Table 9

The Globe and Mail:

One main attribute of the coverage of the three newspapers for the Egyptian uprising was the extensive use of the contextual frame. *The Globe and Mail* was keen to develop this frame in its coverage for the Egyptian Uprising, representing 42% of the total embedded frames. It spoke of Egypt's economic suffering under the Mubarak regime. The paper was keen to put the protest slogans and chants into historical context, to stress the Egyptians' economic and political hardship during the past 30 years under Mubarak's regime, and to denounce the regime's severe human rights violations.

On the day after Mubarak's resignation, the paper provided a balanced assessment of Mubarak's ruling

years, bringing up both positive and negative aspects of the administration. The paper was also keen to put the history of the Egyptians' struggle against Mubarak into context. The history of activism by various political and social movements was important in constructing the contextual frame. The paper provided its readers with an excellent discussion on the positive and negative consequences of the fact that the protesters in Egypt were leaderless and using anarchic hierarchical systems.

The *Globe and Mail* was also the only newspaper that developed the role of the social media, and Facebook in particular, in the outbreak of the uprising. The paper contextualized the protests by speaking of the important role played by the Facebook group "We are Khaled Saeed" in calling for and organizing the mass protests that took place on January 25th, as well as the effective role social network websites played in Egypt's struggle for democracy. In addition, like the other two newspapers, *the Globe and Mail* was keen to put the position of the Islamic movements such as the Muslim Brotherhood into context. However, there are a few aspects that stand out about the *Globe and Mail's* context on this issue. Firstly, the *Globe and Mail* developed this context early in its coverage, while the other papers developed it later on in their coverage. Secondly, the *Globe and Mail* was keen to point that the uprising in Egypt was a secular uprising, and should not be labeled as Islamist. Consequently, the *Globe and Mail* gave lots of significant the active participation of the Copts (the Egyptian Christians) in the uprising. The other important context that The *Globe and Mail* developed was Mubarak himself, both as a president and as a person. The paper provided historical context on the man, including his health status and his relationship with his younger son, who was also in a leadership position in the ruling party as well.

Another context that the paper was keen to develop was, who would take over for Mubarak? The paper if he stepped down not only focused on the military or Islamist options like the other two papers, it also expanded the discussion to include Nobel prize winner Mohamed El Baradei and former

chief of intelligence Omar Soliman. On January 28, the *Globe and Mail* published a story with the headline “Despite his reputation for peace, El Baradei is far from Egypt’s savior”. It focused on the return of Mohamed El Baradei to Cairo and his participation in the protest, providing background information on El Baradei and how different political groups perceived him. Another important context developed by the paper was the American and Canadian administrations’ positions toward the uprising in Egypt. The paper provided historical background about the relationship between U.S. not Egypt as well as all the other states in the Middle East. On January 28th, the paper published a news story with the headline, “Obama’s gentle shift of US policy on Egypt comes with big risks”. The story went on to state “the US either abandon old allies or fail to back potential future friends- both moves lead to strained relationships at best”. This story provides historical context to the relationships between the U.S. and the dictatorships in the Middle East, and raised concerns about the consequences of losing those allies. In addition, the *Globe and Mail* was keen to show that Canada’s position on the protest was different than that of the United States. The papers contextualized this aspect by stating that exceptionally, Canada did not follow U.S. foreign policy. The paper showed that Canada’s position changed over the course of the uprising. In the first days of the uprising, the Canadian government stood behind the protesters. However, the official position of the Canadian government changed after Mubarak changed his cabinet, and after Islamist groups started to play a role in the uprising, Canada changed its position and supported Mubarak as president because of security issues in Israel. Another contextual frame presented by the *Globe and Mail* was the information it gave its readers on the Egyptian army. From January 28th until Mubarak’s resignation, the Egyptian army was in control of Egypt. Consequently, the paper was keen to develop an independent context for the army, so that the readers could understand its role, its history, its relationship with Mubarak, and perhaps most importantly, the financial support it receives from the U.S. annually. And finally, the paper constructed

a context around the negative impact of the uprising on the Egyptian economy and the Egyptian and international stock markets, including the Canadian stock market.

The spectacle frame accounted for 27% of the total coverage. Using this frame, the paper published a highly dramatized story on the worries and concerns of Canadians who have family or friends in Egypt. They questioned the effectiveness of the evacuation methods the Canadian government used to bring Canadian passport holders home from Egypt. The paper also included physical descriptions and demographic information on the protesters. The conflict and confrontations between protesters and police was an important factor in dramatizing the coverage. In addition, the Egyptian government's decision to cut off all Internet connections was dramatized in the coverage. On January 29th, the paper published a story entitled, "In a span of minutes, a country goes off-line," with a leader stating, "Government orders Internet service providers to shut down all connections, isolating 80 million and revolt's leaders". It is notable that the *Globe and Mail* changed the label of the page to make it more spectacle on the day after Mubarak's resignation. The story included the labels "Social Movement", "Uprising", and "Protest". However, on the day before Mubarak's resignation, the label used was "Crises in Egypt".

Legitimizing framing was used in 10% of the embedded frames. The paper was keen to frame protesting against Mubarak as a legitimate action for many reasons, including the corruption of the Mubarak regime, and the American administration's support to the protesters, especially Obama's speech in which he stated that Mubarak should leave.

The accountability frame was used only slightly less than the legitimizing frame, at 9% of the total coverage. The paper constructed this frame by putting forward two types of accountability for the Egyptian Uprising: firstly, the local accountability and support the Egyptians received from various

local groups such as unions, syndicates, political parties and religious organizations, and secondly, the support the protesters received from the international community. In addition to the international community, the Egyptian diaspora in Canada organized many demonstrations in cities across Canada to proclaim their solidarity with their fellow Egyptians. On January 29th, the paper published the story, “Diaspora: In Ottawa, expatriate Egyptians add their voices to the call for democracy at home Peaceful and hopeful, demonstrations are convinced this regime will go out”.

Sympathy represents 8.5% of the total embedded frames. The paper was keen to frame the socioeconomic status of the Egyptians, which made the readers sympathize with the Egyptian protesters. The paper was keen to frame Mubarak’s autocratic regime and his economic failure in a perspective that led readers to sympathize with the protesters in their demands for economic and political reform.

The de-legitimizing frame represents 3% of the total coverage. This frame was used on a very limited basis, when Mubarak changed his cabinet and promised to make political and economic reforms. On January 29th, the paper published the story, “Mubarak dissolves government as protest mounts, promising a major concession, the Egyptian president seeks to quell unrest while warning of the consequences of “ Chaos”. The lead of this story was a quote from Mubarak’s speech in which he spoke about his understanding of the people’s demands for more freedoms. He asked the protesters to be aware of the thin line between freedom and chaos. Injustice was the least embedded frame, at 0.5% of all the stories.

The Toronto Star

The main two embedded frames in the coverage of the *Toronto Star* were spectacle and contextual. They represent 37% and 35.5% of the coverage respectively. The paper was keen to give

detailed information about the protesters 'physical appearance and demographics. The protest camp in Tahrir Square was described in detail; however, the paper did not apply the same strategy they followed while covering the Occupy movement is different working groups by providing readers with a context on the function of each working group. The paper also put the events in different contexts and provided readers with different background information. There were two main contexts provided by the paper: the local context and the international context. The local context consisted of the history of the political social movement established in 2005 against president Mubarak, and background information on the economic and political oppression in Egypt for the 30 years preceding the uprising. Another main focus of local Egyptian contextualization was the history of the Egyptian military and its relationship with various political groups in Egypt as well as its relationship with the U.S. and other foreign countries. The paper presented the role of Islamist groups in the uprising, in particular the Muslim Brotherhood. And finally, the paper contextualized Mubarak's resignation, saying that Mubarak was not the main problem in Egypt, but rather the corruption within the police force and the ruling party. On February 12, 2011, the paper published a story entitled, "Face of regime is gone. Not so the police state". The story focused on the idea that Mubarak did not actually control the regime, but that members of the National Democratic Party (Mubarak's Party) were the ones truly ruling Egypt. The international context focused on the evolution of the U.S. position on the uprising in Egypt. which evolved throughout the evolution of the uprising. It was increasingly in favour of the protesters until Obama's clear statement, days before Mubarak's resignation, that Mubarak should step down. Obama subsequently expressed his approval when Mubarak resigned. On February 12, 2011, the *Toronto Star* published a story that focused on the happiness of the American administration with Mubarak's resignation with the title: "Obama: "Egypt inspired us"". The paper was trying to compare the position of the American government to that of the Canadian government. The paper showed that the Canadian government was cautious about supporting Mubarak's departure because the Government of Canada's

concern about the security of Israel. The coverage showed that the position of the Canadian government toward the uprising remained consistent: It was against the dissolution of Mubarak's regime. On January 29th, the paper published a story entitled "Rights activists urge Ottawa to stand up for principles". A large portion of the story was dedicated to demonstrating that the Government of Canada developed its policy toward Mubarak's regime, without listening to Egyptian advocates in their call for democracy and freedom. In the same story, the reporter stated that the security of Israel was the up most factor in the Government of Canada's stance against Mubarak's resignation. However, on February 12, 2011, the paper published the story, "Cairo Coup is welcomed (sort of) by the west". This story showed that the main reason why the American administration approved of Mubarak's departure and the Government of Canada was now less concerned over Israel's security was because the army was under Field Marshal Mohamed Tantaway. He was set to rule Egypt after Mubarak's departure, leading the western administrations to conclude that Egypt would continue to follow Mubarak's foreign policy. The story ended with an important statement explaining the stance of western governments towards promoting democracy in the Middle East, "Traditionally, Western government have valued stability over democracy in Egypt".

The third and fourth most-used frames are legitimizing and accountability, at 11.20% and 10.90% respectively of the total coverage. The paper was keen to frame the demands of the protesters in Egypt as legitimate and accountable, and to confirm the local and international consensus on the protesters demands. The paper published a statement by Liberal party leader Michael Ignatief, who was trying to pressure the Government of Canada to stand behind the demands of the Egyptian protesters. The paper also showed that the Egyptian political parties, non- governmental organizations and unions supported the protesters' demands.

The least embedded frames were sympathy, de-legitimizing and injustice. Unlike *the Globe and Mail* and the *Toronto Sun*, the *Toronto Star* didn't use the sympathy framing strategy very often, as it accounts for only 3.9% of all the stories. The *Toronto Star* depicted the protesters as heroes fighting against Mubarak, and not just as people are living in generally miserable conditions. The paper showed how Egyptians were suffering economically under Mubarak's regime, and the poor living conditions they live in. The delegitimizing frame was used in 1% of the coverage, and only after Mubarak changed his cabinet on January 28th. The paper portrayed the protest as lacking legitimacy when Mubarak had acted on some of the protesters demands, without the protesters did not breaking down. The least used frame was injustice, which was present in 0.5% of the stories.

The Toronto Sun:

Unlike the *Globe and Mail* and the *Toronto Star*, the *Toronto Sun* used only four frames: sympathy, accountability, spectacle and contextual. The spectacle frame was the most common frame in the coverage, at 45% of all the stories. The coverage focused mainly on giving a full description of the protesters' physical appearance and demographics. it also focused on dramatizing the concerns of Canadian citizens who had relatives or friends in Egypt.

The second most-used frame embedded by the paper was the contextual frame at 33%. The paper focused on providing readers with three contexts: two local contexts and one international context. The first local context was the corruption and oppression of Egyptians under during Mubarak's regime. For example, on January 30th, 2011, the paper published a story with the title, "All eyes on the Nile", providing readers with background information on corruption in the Mubarak regime. The second local context was role of Islamist movements in the uprising, in particular the role of the Muslim Brotherhood. The paper was keen to provide readers with an analysis of what would

happen if protesters succeeded in toppling Mubarak and Islamic groups took over the Egyptian government. The international context presented by the *Toronto Sun* was the threat the uprising placed on the peace treaty between Egypt and Israel, including the threat to Israeli security if Mubarak stepped down.

The other two commonly used frames were Sympathy and Accountability, at 12% and 10% of the total coverage respectively. The paper was keen to show the national and international consensus on the protesters demands. The voices of Egyptian Canadians was a major element used to construct the accountability frame showing the members of the Egyptian diaspora as supporting the position of the Egyptian protesters, and the consensus among Egyptians that Mubarak should listen to the protesters' demands. They also spoke of the response from various Egyptian political groups to the protesters' demands. As for sympathy framing, the paper showed the low quality of life in Egypt, awakening the readers' sympathy to the demands of the protesters.

3.2.7 Protest Paradigm versus non-protest paradigm according to social movement

	The Occupy Movement		The Egyptian Uprising	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Protest Paradigm	34	69.4%	13	22.4%
Non-Protest Paradigm	14	28.6%	43	74.1%
Neutral	1	2%	2	3.4%
Total	49	100%	58	100%

Table 10

Overall, the main difference between the framing strategies used by the three papers is that while they depended mainly on using the protest paradigm while covering the Occupy movement, they mostly used frames associated with the non-protest paradigm in covering the Egyptian Uprising. The protest paradigm here refers to the embed of those two frames collectively negative frames: De-legitimizing frame and Spectacle frame. While non-protest means The protest paradigm here refers to the embed of the following frames collectively: Injustice, Sympathy, legitimizing, and contextual. The protest paradigm represents 69.4% of the coverage for the Occupy Movement, but only 22.4% of the coverage for the Egyptian Uprising. The non-protest paradigm was used by 28.6% of the Occupy Movement coverage, and in 74.1% of the Egyptian Uprising coverage. We categorized as neutral any story in which there was equilibrium between components of the protest paradigm and non-protest paradigm. For both movements, we recorded very low numbers of stories in this category: 2% for the Occupy Movement and 3.4% for the Egyptian Uprising

3.2.8 Protest Paradigm and movement evolution

Table 11: Occupy Movement: Protest Paradigm versus non protest paradigm

What is the dominant paradigm?		what is the date of the protest ?											Total
		Oct 14	Oct 15	Oct 16	Oct 17	Oct 18	Oct 19	Oct 20	Oct 21	Nov 22	Nov 23	Nov 24	
Protest paradigm	Count	1	6	2	4	1	2	1	0	8	3	6	34
	% within what is the date of the protest ?	33.3%	85.7%	50.0%	57.1%	50.0%	66.7%	100.0%	0.0%	88.9%	100.0%	66.7%	69.4%
Non protest paradigm	Count	1	1	2	3	1	1	0	1	1	0	3	14
	% within what is the date of the protest ?	33.3%	14.3%	50.0%	42.9%	50.0%	33.3%	0.0%	100.0%	11.1	0.0%	33.3%	28.6%
Neutral	Count	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
	% within what is the date of the protest ?	33.3%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	2.0%
Total	Count	3	7	4	7	2	3	1	1	9	3	9	49
	% within what is the date of the protest ?	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	10%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

This cross tabulation test shows the evolution of the papers' coverage of the Occupy Movement. The positive perspective Canadian officials showed in the early days of the movement had an impact on the coverage, with the papers using a balance between the protest paradigm and the non-protest paradigm

strategies. Consequently, it can be observed that both narrative paradigms were used equally or almost equally, on October 14th, October 16th, October 17th and October 18th. The results show that, as time moved forward, the protest paradigm became the dominant paradigm. The closer the publication date was to the eviction day, the more dominant the protest paradigm became. However, on the last day of coverage there was a small increase in non-protest paradigm stories, with 33.3% of the coverage. This increased usage of non-protest paradigm frames in the coverage can be the result of two factors. Firstly, the majority of the protesters decided to evict the park peacefully in response to the municipal order. even if , some protesters refused to leave the park and resisted police. Secondly, some of the officials made positive statements about the movement after the eviction. A good example of this is a paragraph published in the *Toronto Star* on November 23rd, 2011,

“At Queens Park, Premier Dalton McGuinty said that the Global Occupy Movement “has been more successful than some folks might be prepared to recognize. There has been an awakening among the general population and among leaders that we need to do more to build a better world” he said emphasizing, however, that laws must be obeyed while balancing the rights of protesters.”(GT2,2011).

The Egyptian Uprising

Table 12: The Egyptian uprising: Protest Paradigm versus non protest paradigm

What is the dominant paradigm?		what is the date of the protest ?									Total
		Jan 26	Jan 27	Jan 28	Jan 29	Jan 30	Jan 31	Feb 10	Feb 11	Feb 12	
Protest paradigm	Count	1	0	0	2	3	4	1	1	1	13
	% within what is the date of the protest ?	100.0%	0.0%	0.0%	18.2%	42.9%	33.3%	100.0%	11.1%	9.1%	22.4%
Non protest paradigm	Count	0	2	4	9	3	7	0	8	10	43
	% within what is the date of the protest ?	0.0%	100.0%	100.0%	81.8%	42.9%	58.3%	0.0%	89.8%	90.9%	74.1%
Neutral	Count	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	2
	% within what is the date of the protest ?	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	14.3%	8.3%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	3.4%
Total	Count	1	2	4	11	7	12	1	9	11	58
	% within what is the date of the protest ?	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100%		100.0%

The non-protest paradigm is the dominant paradigm used in the framing of the Egyptian Uprising. The first day of coverage was dominated by the protest paradigm, as it was too early to anticipate the size of the protests and the local and international reaction toward it. The narrative subsequently evolved to include components of the non-protest paradigm. On some days, the protest paradigm was used to an equal extent as the non-protest paradigm. Exceptionally, on February 10th, the narrative was 100% dominated by the protest paradigm. But the coverage turned again to the narrative of non-protest paradigm on the following days.

News Elements according to social movement

Table 13: News Elements according to social movement

	The Occupy Movement		The Egyptian Uprising	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Geographic Proximity	41	36%	15	16%
Localization	8	7%	10	11%
Social Change	30	26%	19	21%
Statistical	4	3.5%	7	8%
Economic	8	7%	7	8%
Political	12	10.5%	21	23%
Culture	0	0%	1	2%
Public	11	9.5%	10	11%
Total	114	100%	90	100%

The Egyptian Uprising:

The political news element was the highest news element in the coverage of the Egyptian Uprising, representing 23% of all the coverage. The political impact of the Egyptian Uprising on the Middle East, particularly on the security of the state of Israel and on navigation in the Suez Canal played an important role in increasing use of the political element for the event. Other factors also gave

the political news element more weight, such as the impact of the uprising on American influence in the Middle East, and the disconnection of communication channels by Mubarak's administration.

Social change was the second most-used new element, representing 21% of the coverage. The events in Egypt and the solidarity events in Canada had the goal of challenging the status quo in Egypt. The main objective for the events that took place in Egypt was to create real social change in Egypt and throughout the Middle East.

The geographic news element accounts for 16% of the coverage. Both the Canadian and American governments were concerned with the events taking place in Egypt and keeping a close watch on them. Both countries' administrations issued statements commenting and explaining their position on these events in Egypt.

Localization and public were equally used at 11% of the coverage. The events in Egypt were important to the Canadian community and many people and businesses were highly concerned for their family, friends and business in Egypt. Consequently, localization was an important factor in the editors' choices of which stories to publish. Public was also an important news value, as the events in Egypt had the possibility of both enhancing or undermining public well being.

Numbers from both a statistical and economic perspective also played an important role in the coverage, resulting in 8% of all stories focusing on statistical information. The number of the protesters, the financial aid the Egyptian military receives from the US, and the losses in the Egyptian and international stock markets because of the uprising were all important statistics that contributed to this news value. The economic news value also represented 8% of the total coverage. The uprising had a strong economic impact both locally and internationally. The uprising in Egypt affected trade in

Egypt and in neighbouring countries. The communications shut down also had a important negative impact on the economy.

The least-used news element was culture, at 2% of the total coverage. The Egyptian protesters developed creative artistic tools to express their demands such as songs, graffiti and other cultural tools that were included in the stories categorized under the culture news element.

The Occupy Movement:

The geographic proximity news element was the highest element used by the papers for the Occupy Movement, representing 36% of the total coverage. The location of the encampments in downtown Toronto was an important factor to promote the papers' focus attention to the story. Social change was the second most common news element at 26% of all the stories as the movement was established to call for social change and social justice in Canadian society.

The political news element represented 10.5% of the total coverage. The Occupy Movement took to the streets to protest against economic injustice. The movement sent a wide range of political messages to the government. Also, many Canadian many politicians reacted to the movement in one way or another, giving it an important political impact.

The public news element accounted for 9.5% of the total coverage. The movement had a large impact on the public, enhancing the public sphere by establishing a real discussion about social injustice and economic inequality in Canada. However, the movement also was considered to be threat to the public, when it blocked some of the streets in downtown Toronto,. In addition, Toronto downtown restaurants workers complained that business was slow because of the movement, which was a threat to their economic stability.

Localization and economic news element each represented 7% each of the total coverage. Stories on the Occupy Movement were published because of its effect on the movement within the local community. The economic aspect of the movement and discussions on corporate greed were important news elements for stories on the Occupy Movement.

The statistics news element was the least common news element, at 3.5% of the coverage. It was used when referring to the number of protesters, as well as discussing statistics on Canada's economic development. It is notable that the movement's cultural activities were not discussed to the extent where they would be considered a news element. Most stories were free from any mention of the movement's cultural products such as graffiti, chants or signs.

Chapter 4 Analysis and Discussion

This chapter will analyze the results of the empirical data presented in the previous chapter. These results at times confirm and at other times challenge or refute the concepts and notions that were discussed in the review of literature, but in either case, they add to the general body of knowledge. The main objective of the analysis is to understand the impact of a social movement's location on media use of the protest paradigm, and to examine the reasons behind this phenomenon. This analysis will also use the empirical results of the research to understand the impact of the movement's location to the evolution of coverage in terms of volume and tone.

4.1 Challenging the Status Quo:

The results show that newspapers focused more on the coverage of the Egyptian Uprising than on the Occupy Movement. There was a greater volume of collective coverage of the Egyptian Uprising than of the Occupy Movement. However, there are two important elements that should be mentioned in relation to this. Firstly, the three papers did not apply the same pattern regarding the volume of the coverage. *The Globe and Mail* gave a large amount of attention to the Egyptian Uprising, publishing 89 stories about the uprising versus only 30 stories on the Occupy Movement. *The Globe and Mail* sent their Middle East correspondent to Cairo on January 27th, followed by another reporter from Canada on January 29th. *The Toronto Star* took similar steps to ensure coverage, sending two reporters from Canada on January 30th. While *The Toronto Sun* did not send any reporters to Egypt, they hired a freelance reporter during the second week of the uprising to provide them with exclusive coverage. This reflects that papers are interested in covering protest movements, even when they are taking place overseas. And yet, the fact that the number of stories for the Egyptian Uprising is greater than the coverage of the Occupy Toronto is surprising. The huge difference in the volume of coverage between the two movements in *the Globe and Mail* is an indication of different applied policies. *The Toronto*

Star applied a different strategy: they published more stories for the Egyptian Uprising, but the stories of the Occupy Movement were longer than the stories of the Egyptian Uprising. *The Toronto Sun* was expected to publish more stories about the Occupy Movement, as it is a newspaper with an extremely local focus. However, the difference in volume between the two cases is not great, which means that the *Toronto Sun* gave an appropriate amount attention to the protests of the Egyptian Uprising.

The above mentioned findings on the differences in volume between the coverage of two movements raise an important question on the notion of the news values that determine what stories get published. As it mention in the review of literature that physical proximity is often assumed to be the most important news value when considering what events make it into a newspaper. It is often assumed that news happening in the location close to the newspaper's headquarters will be published before international news. Applying those assumption on this research would be legitimate, as protests in Toronto will have more impact that protests in Cairo on the Canadian society. However, Shoemaker, Hunk Lee, Han and Cohen (2009) posit that physical proximity does not always lead to news coverage. Kirernan (2003) explains that the event's purpose may be more important than geographic closeness. Consequently, Shoemaker et al (2009) presents the positions of other scholars, including Berkowitz and Beach (1993) and Martin (1988) who argue that "newspapers are more responsive to news that most affects and interests their local readers, even when they choose international news" (Shoemaker et al, 2009: 233). I focused on measuring the proximity and scope (psychological proximity) in the news elements in the coverage for the two social movements. The analysis of the results reveals some important facts about the news coverage for social movements that occurred home and abroad. Firstly, the Egyptian Uprising was covered in the three papers in a way that shows that all the news values (Proximity and Scope on one side and values for the Deviance and Social significance) are very important to it. In addition, the Egyptian Uprising was not challenging the

status quo in the area where the papers are produced. Therefore, news elements such as social change and economic and political interests were obvious in the coverage. Physical proximity played an important factor in the coverage of the Egyptian Uprising. Many events related to the Egyptian Uprising took place in Canada and United States of America, including solidarity protests held by Egyptians living in various Canadian cities, as well as official statements issued by the Canadian and American governments. Newspapers reacted in a manner predicted by Cohen, Adoni and Bantz (1990), broadening the scope of their story when covering events occurring in a “remote zone of relevance to the readers”. Shoemaker et al (2009) stated that “psychological closeness is a cognitive assessment of how wide the implications of the event may be for the news medium’s audience. Although the events take place in a specific location or locations, the impact or effects of the event can expand beyond the immediate locale of the event” (236). The journalists expanded their coverage to include psychological closeness to the events taking place in Cairo, incorporating such aspects as meetings with Egyptian Canadians who are worried about their relatives and friends in Egypt. In addition, the news angle of the impact of Mubarak’s resignation on the future of peace in the whole region and especially on the security in the state of Israel was presented in the coverage as a very important issue to the current government of Canada. The news Deviance and Social Deviance also played an important role in guaranteeing a certain level of coverage in the three newspapers.

However, the Occupy Movement also included deviance and social significance as two principal news elements, as well as the element of proximity, given that the events were taking place right where the newspapers are published, and given that the story had more implications for local readers than the Egyptian Uprising because it the occupy movement is criticising the Canadian regime. Scope was the other important factor in the media coverage of the Occupy Movement. However, The empirical results show that physical proximity is the principal news element in determining the

importance of a story, and not the news elements of deviance and social significance. Therefore, of challenging the status quo seems to play a major role in choosing the news values that determine which stories get published.

Another important factor in determining the effect of the location of the social movement on the coverage is the framing of the stories. The results show that there is a major difference between the framing strategies used in each case. The Occupy Movement was framed in a negative way, and the protest paradigm, which is itself a negative framing tool, was used extensively. Coverage of the Occupy Movement focused on the spectacle provided by the events, the newspapers focusing their coverage on sensationalism and violence. The framing strategies applied to the Occupy Movement illustrated McCurdy's (2011) claims that "media coverage of protest tends to simplify the coverage of the event while amplifying the sensational aspects along with the threat of "violence," often to the detriment of the social cause or movement" (245). The three papers were keen to focus on complex issues while covering the events of the Egyptian uprising and provide readers with rational contexts to allow them to construct a dynamic critical discussion and be able to have a real understanding of the complexity of the issues in order to take the existence protesters seriously.

This means therefore that the papers applied different framing strategies in their coverage of social movements at home and abroad. this leads us to conclude that the media covers social movements taking place outside the borders of the country in which they are published in a positive light without using components of the protest paradigm to the same degree, while framing social movements within its borders negatively, using components of the protest paradigm.

Going deeper, The analyzed stories shows that Western governments—especially the American Administration—were supportive of the protests in Egypt, which means that the current administration

did not consider the Egyptian Uprising was not effectively not a real challenge to the status quo in the West. However, there are two elements in the coverage of the Egyptian Uprising that played an important role in changing the focus of the entire coverage. Firstly, the day of after Mubarak's resignation, *The Globe and Mail* changed its title for the pages covering the Egyptian Uprising from "Protest and Uprising" to "Crisis in Egypt". Secondly, the results shows that the volume of coverage for the Egyptian Uprising started to decrease radically during the second week of the uprising, when the international reaction toward the protests in Cairo decreased. The collective results for the three newspapers show that the coverage on February 11th was 100% negative and that the protest paradigm was the dominant frame used. *The Globe and Mail* cover page on that day was a full-sized picture of Mubarak, with a headline reading "The Pharaohs remains." Then, on February 12th, the front-page headline read "Crisis in Egypt". In addition, not one single story in the three newspapers during the coverage of the protests supported Mubarak.

In an even deeper level of analysis or what I would call second level of analysis, I would like to examine the extent to which media coverage can be connected to the perceived threat of the events to the country in which the media is published. it is also important to take into account some of the exiting research on the subject. Entman (1993) posits that the role of frames is to "construct a message through selection, exclusion, emphasis, and elaboration. Frames identify problems, establish their causes, offer moral judgments and recommend solutions". On the same subject, Resse (2007) says that the media tell the audience *what* to think about, while the media framing tells the audience *how* to think about those topics. I would argue that the three newspapers simplified the events to the extent that the Canadian readers did not provide both movements with enough support. However, the media in general and the press in particular tend to simplify any news and to present it in the form of "soft news" as much as they can. But the *Globe and Mail* and *The Toronto Sun* did not simplify the events of

the Egyptian uprising like they over simplified the events of the occupy movements. Consequently, this means that simplification is not a general journalistic trend but it is a selection process. I would argue that the discussion of the coverage simplification must be connected to the discussion of challenging the status quo. The results show that there is a relationship between the degree to which the status quo is challenged and the coverage is simplified.

For the Egyptian Uprising, the newspapers simplified the protest as a fight against Mubarak, rather than framing it as a fight for economic development, food security and social justice as the protesters were demanding in the streets of the different Egyptian cities. For the Occupy Movement in Toronto, the newspapers characterized the event as a failure of the protesters to have clear demands. The protesters were portrayed as spoiled/ pampered young adults inspired by the events of in the Arab Spring. Another important factor is the reaction of western governments, especially the position taken by the American administration. The 2011 uprising in Egypt was accepted and welcomed by the western governments, a fact that had a great impact on the volume of coverage and positive framing of the Egyptian Uprising by the Canadian press. However, I would argue that if western governments had not been not in favour of the events in Egypt, the press coverage would likely have framed the events in a more negative light. Consequently, I would recommend that a content analysis be done on the coverage of the uprising that took place in Egypt on June 30, 2013, against President Mohamed Morsi in order to conduct a comparative study between the coverage of the uprising of January 25th, 2011 uprising versus June 30th, 2103 uprising. As Western governments unfavourable to the June 30th, meaning that an analysis of this press coverage may illustrate the extent to which the media's position toward the protest movements in the Middle East has changed since the Arab Spring and can thus be seen to be influenced by approval and support of these movements of Western Governments.

In conclusion, the change of tone in the Occupy Movement coverage from somewhat positive to decidedly negative because of the changing positions of government officials, as well as the positive coverage of the Egyptian Uprising, which was supported by western governments, lead to the confirmation of two important statements in the literature. For one, it confirms Habermas' (1996) position toward the role of the media, and of newspapers in particular. Habermas (1996) posits that the press reproduces the ideology of power the dominant power in society, rather than helping society members construct a rational discussion by providing them with balanced information that would contribute to the development of a viable public sphere. The second important contribution of the research results to the field of knowledge is the conclusion that newspapers will frame a protest movement negatively if it challenges the status quo where the newspaper is produced. According to Boyle and al (2005) "...the more protest paradigm groups threaten the status quo, the more harshly they will be treated by the media"(639). One of the main contributions of this thesis to the literature is that it takes the location of the social movement into account when analyzing the results. Both the Occupy Movement and the Egyptian Uprising were established to challenge the status quo. The newspapers did not cover the Egyptian uprising harshly, but it did so for the Occupy Movement. Consequently, the location of a movement is an important factor in determining whether the media will frame the social movement harshly or not. In other words, the degree to which the movement challenges the local status quo, the more harshly and negatively it is going to be framed.

4.2. The Logistical justification:

The lack of protesters' voices and the dominance of official voices in the story is one of the other main attributes of the protest paradigm. Many scholars argue that production routine is the main reason for the absence of the protesters voice. "Critical approach scholars have long argued that by focusing on elites, the mass media tend to reinforce the dominant ideology. Journalists do not

necessarily cause this by conscious intent, but largely by the execution of routine journalistic practices, such as relying on a regular pool of official news sources for expedient media reporting and objectivity” (Berkowitz and Beach, 1993:11). In other words, the scholars argue that for journalists, it is easier to get a statement from a government spokesperson or information from a government press release, as there is an established relationship between reporter and government officials. Scholars argue that reporters find it inefficient to get quotes from protesters, as they are not an organized body with an identified spokesperson and nor do they have an office that issues press releases. According to Carroll and Ratner (1999) the more a movement uses professional tools of public relations, such as establishing a spokesperson and issuing press releases, the more the protesters will have their voices heard. Carroll and Ratner state that the green movement is a good example of using public relations tools effectively, which is why they are adequately represented in the press.

The research results show that the voices of protesters were the most embedded voices in the coverage of both events by the three newspapers (except for the coverage Egyptian Uprising by *The Globe and Mail*). Previous researches assert that reports do not provide good space for protesters in stories. The review of literature shows that reporters tend to either neglect the voices of protesters completely or provide a very small space for the protesters. Previous research asserts that the rationale behind this manner of coverage is that protesters are not able to effectively communicate with the media. However, the results of the empirical data show that 50% of the voices are the voice of the protesters. Consequently, this means that results came to contradict previous researches. However, I am aware that there are two limitations in this portion of the analysis. The first limitation is the lack of quantifiable measurement for the increase in the protesters voice. In other words, there is no benchmark that can help to determine the increase in the volume of the protesters’ voices. The second limitation is that the 50% of vices are not examined from a qualitative aspect. Consequently, it is may positive thing that protesters

were granted good space but may be that newspapers chose low quality of voices. However, the results of this thesis show that there is a new trend in covering voices during protest regarding the voices.

Two important factors can contribute to our understanding of this new trend in covering social movements that sees newspapers giving more space to protesters' voices than officials' voices. Firstly, the newspapers' coverage of the Occupy Movement in Toronto shows that protesters were aware of the importance of communicating with the masses, using effective alternative communication channels such as social media tools and striking professional deals with media outlets. The *Toronto Star* published a story quoting a protester stating that the main role of the media tent was to eliminating the bias of the mainstream medias bias of supporting the status quo when covering social movements. Secondly, it is important to refer to the works of Feigenbaum, Fenzel and McCurdy (2013) to understand the media strategies adopted by protesters involved in the Egyptian Uprising and the Occupy Movement. Feigenbaum, Fenzel and McCurdy (2013) utilized the "Quadruple A" theoretical framework developed by Rucht (2004). Rucht defines the protesters's media strategies into four categories. These categories are Alternatives (refers to alternative media established by the protesters to be able to communicate with masses and eliminate the media bias toward the movement), Attack (refers to protesters explicit critique and some times adopting violent actions towards media organizations and media workers), Abstention (refers to the protesters withdrawal from any media activity based on negative experiences), Adaptation (refers to the protesters developing adequate strategies that satisfy the needs of the mainstream media). Feiganbaum, Fenzel and McCurdy posited that the protesters involved in the Egyptian Uprising and in the Occupy Movement adopted two of these strategies, namely, developing alternatives and adaptation to existing media.

Feigenbaum, Fenzel and McCurdy (2013) found that the protesters in Egypt and in Canada were communicating with the public by effectively utilizing social media tools such as Facebook and Twitter. In parallel, they adopted various strategies that aimed to satisfy the needs of the mainstream media. For example, as mentioned in Feigenbaum, Fenzel and McCurdy (2013), the Egyptian protesters

gave pictures and videos from their own cell phones and digital cameras to reporters working for local and international media agencies. Similar examples can be found in Occupy Toronto and other Occupy camps.

These results shows that a paradigm shift is currently occurring in protesters' attitudes toward mainstream media and vice versa. They also show that protesters have greater awarenessmore aware of the media's needs in terms of the availability of sources for news stories, whether those sources are spokespersons, press releases, or pictures and videos. At the same time, the results show that the media are aware of the protesters' ability to communicate with the masses using Information Communication Technologies (ICTs). Another important aspect that should be included in this discussion is the paradigm shift in public perception of protest as a legitimate tool of expression. According to Cotle (2008), protests have become a legitimate and accepted tool of expression among the masses. I would argue that these two factors have driven the media to alter their practices in favour of including more protesters voices in their coverage.

Another important component related to the discussion of voice in news coverage is the question of which voices are heard during times of conflict times and times of stability. Berowitz and Beach (1993) analyze the voices included in the stories published in a time of conflict. The results of their research contradicted their hypothesis that the press would try to balance the voices of officials and those of non-officials when producing coverage of conflict. In fact , they showed a completely different trend.

The increase in high-status affiliated sources for conflict news situations seems surprising because it was opposite of the hypothesized direction. After some thought, though, this outcome appears logical. From an organization's perspective, management would want only its most trusted representative speaking about conflict stories news where the organization has more at risk. Further, an organization might attempt to bolster credibility of its arguments by calling on experts, such as scientists and lawyers. From a journalist's perspective, the ideals of objectivity might lead toward an acceptance of these official views, as reporters

attempt to fairly present the “objective facts” offered by the experts of each side. (Berowitz and Beach, 1993:11)

The results of my research bring to light two aspects that are linked to Berowitz and Beach’s discussion. First, the protesters voice was the dominant voice in the coverage of both stories—except in the case of *the Globe and Mail* is coverage of the Egyptian Uprising, in which the voice of the analysts was the most dominant voice, and that of *the Toronto Sun*’s coverage of the Occupy Movement, in which the volume of the embedded voices for the protesters was equal to that of the officials. As mentioned above, newspapers now seem to be more interested in presenting protesters’ voices in greater volume than those of the officials or analysts, which means that newspapers are trying not to be are acting as a megaphone for the status quo.

Secondly, more space was given to the voices of analysts in the coverage of the Egyptian Uprising than in that of the Occupy Movement. This was true of both the *Globe and Mail* and the *Toronto Star*. The *Toronto Sun* did not seem to find it important to provide its readers with analysis in either case. This is another indication that the newspapers desired to create a rational discussion while covering the Egyptian Uprising to a greater extent than during their coverage of the Occupy Movement. Analysts play a vital role in helping readers understand the complexity of an event and the different positions of each party. For the readers to be able to become engaged in a rational discussion of the occupy movement they need to be provided with analysis of Canada’s economic status quo and to understand to what extent the protesters claims are valid. All those explanations should be delivered from economic and political analysts.

However, it should be mentioned that the coverage of the *Toronto Star* and the *Toronto Sun* embedded more voices of bystanders in their coverage of the Occupy Movement than they did in their coverage of the Egyptian Uprising.

The newspaper type:

The main reason for choosing those three newspapers is that each paper represents a different type: The Globe and Mail as a national newspaper, The Toronto Star as a local newspaper and The Toronto Sun as tabloid newspaper. The results show that although *the Globe and Mail* adopted a tabloid agenda while covering the Occupy Movement, they applied more professional rules while covering the Egyptian uprising. Bourdieu (1998) explains that the tabloid agenda is to focus on covering “things which are apt to arouse curiosity but require no analysis”. This is exactly what the Globe and Mail did while covering the events of the Occupy Movement as they did focused on covering things that are sensational and raise curiosity and did not provide enough analysis on the events. Unlike the coverage to the Egyptian uprising, the Globe and Mail was so keen to cover hard news and provide analysis for the events happening in Egypt. On the other hand, the Toronto Sun, which is a tabloid newspaper, applied the same strategy as the *Globe and Mail*. The Toronto Sun emphasized on sensational and provide the reader with coverage free of any analysis to enable readers to understand why groups of people were occupying different public places in different Canadian cities. The *Toronto Sun* did not apply the tabloid agenda while covering the Egyptian uprising. The paper was keen to provide readers with serious news with enough analysis to enable readers to understand the complexity of the issues in the right manner. The Toronto Star was keen to cover both events in a serious way by focusing on hard news and providing analysis for both events. Consequently, this means that newspapers can randomly apply the tabloid agenda in covering some events.

4.4 Evolution of The coverage

Another important observation that can be made from the research results is the differences in the evolution of the coverage of both movements. Gitlin (1980) found that as the Students for a Democratic Society movement gained momentum and popularity, press coverage became more extensive and favorable. However, the results of my research show that there are two variables that influence a newspaper's coverage toward more extensive coverage and a more favourable framing strategy. Firstly, news coverage is influenced by whether or not the social movement is challenging the status quo; and secondly, it is influenced by the reactions of officials to the movement. For both the Egyptian Uprising and the Occupy Movement in all three papers, on the days in which officials released a reaction, the coverage increased extensively. However, the results also show that the impact of an official reaction on coverage volume for the Occupy Movement was greater than its impact on the coverage of the Egyptian Uprising. The other important factor that was observed in the research concerning the evolution of the coverage volume is that the longer a movement existed, the less coverage it received. The volume of coverage for the Egyptian Uprising decreased by almost half during the second week of the uprising, before starting to increase again in the period from February 10th to February 12th because of the Egyptian army's announcement that they would support the people's demands, which led to Mubarak's resignation. It is worth noting that during the second week of the protests in Egypt, many events occurred that increased the momentum of the movement, including a nationwide labour strike in solidarity with the protesters in Tahrir Square. Despite these events, the newspapers did not increase the volume of the coverage, or even maintain a steady volume of coverage in keeping with the first week of the uprising.

The same pattern regarding the evolution of the coverage was applied to the coverage of the Occupy Movement. The movement received a high volume of coverage when it began, but the

coverage decreased every day as time went on, to the extent that the papers didn't publish any news about the movement for days at a time. The coverage increased again when the court released the verdict requiring the protesters to evacuate the park. The volume of coverage increased intensively when a government body took a conflict position against the movement. The newspapers also gave more attention to the movement in the wake of sensational events, such as the eviction. On the other hand, the coverage of the papers changed from being positive—or at least objective—in the early days of the movement to negative for the rest of the studied period of coverage.

In conclusion, the two important factors that determine the volume of the coverage and its positive or negative framing are the reactions of officials to the protest and the degree to which the social movement challenges the status quo in the country where the paper is produced. The movement's momentum and popularity play a vital role in determining the volume of coverage trend; however, whether or not a social movement challenges the status quo is the variable that determines the extent to which a movement's momentum and popularity will have an impact on the coverage.

4.5 Limitations and Recommended further research:

There are a few limitations to this research project. Firstly, this thesis does not include the perspective of the journalists and reporters for any of the three papers on either of the social movements. It is limited in scope, as it only focuses on analyzing the content of the printed media, and does not include in-depth interviews with reporters to obtain insight of the reporters' perspective on the motivation behind the different strategies used to cover the Egyptian Uprising and the Occupy Movement. The second limitation is that it did not measure the effect of the coverage on the protesters, or on society as a whole. Consequently, I would recommend the further research in the domain of media and protest. Firstly, a qualitative study could be conducted to investigate why

journalists and reporters develop different framing strategies for social movements that occur at home and abroad. Secondly, additional research could measure the different framing strategies developed by newspapers or other media providers covering social movements taking place outside Canadian borders, comparing their framing strategies to the position taken toward these movements by the government of Canada. For example, a comparative study could be conducted comparing the framing strategies applied by the Canadian press covering the January 2011 protests in Cairo versus those used for the June 2013 protests in Cairo against President Mohamed Morsi, the first Egyptian president elected after the resignation of Mubarak. This idea is important because the government of Canada reacted to these two movements differently, supporting the first protest against Mubarak, while opposing the second protest against Morsi. It would be interesting to investigate if a position change in the Canadian government has any impact on the coverage of the struggle for democracy in Egypt. Similarly, research should be conducted to measure if the geographical location of a social movement and the political implications of the movement in Canada have different impacts on the applied framing strategies. Finally, the last idea for future research is to analyze the Egyptian media coverage for the 2011 Egyptian uprising and the Occupy Movement that took place in North America.

4.6 Conclusion and final remarks:

The results of this thesis have contributed to the general body of knowledge in the field by confirming, adding to and refuting various discussions in the current literature on media and protest. It measured the impact of the location of social movements on the framing strategies applied by media providers. The lens used to analyze the data was media use of the protest paradigm in covering social movements. The results posit that the location where a protest occurs is a very important factor in media framing. The main issue influencing a media provider's choice of framing strategy is not just whether or not a social movement challenges the status quo, but rather which status quo is it

challenging, and does that challenge pose a threat to social order in the media sphere? Existing literature on the subject states that the more a protest movement challenges the status quo, the more the press will cover the social movement negatively and harshly. However, this thesis explored that question further, ascertaining whether this condition is valid when the social movement challenges the status quo where the paper is published, rather than challenging the status quo in general. Another issue explored by the research was whether the support of the government of the country where a newspaper is published is a determining factor in that paper's framing strategies.

The results suggest that a newspaper's production logistics is no longer a legitimate justification for the newspaper to apply the protest paradigm when covering social movements. Social movements now function in a new reality that benefits the protesters, rather than benefitting the media in general and newspapers in particular. Protesters are now able to broadcast their voice bystander at any time and anywhere. My research results show that the media is trying to adopt a new strategy related to their coverage of social movements. The dependence of social movements on the mainstream media to convey their message has decreased, because protesters can deliver their messages through Information Communication Technologies. Secondly, the Internet now is a strong competitor to the traditional tools of mass media. Consequently, media providers have shown that they are aware of the importance of including the Internet in their coverage of social movements and are asking readers to get involved in various online services developed by the media provider to construct a discussion on social movements. However, the official reaction of the government to a protest remains the main factor in increasing the volume of coverage of a protest movement, especially for protests that strongly challenge the status quo of the country where the newspapers are published. An increase in the voice of the protesters in media stories means a change towards more positive coverage of social movements. Media providers often choose whether or not to apply the protest paradigm based

on their political orientation, which explains why the research results show that each newspaper applied a different framing strategy. The *Toronto Star* in particular made efforts to cover the Occupy Movement in a favourable light, stressing the movement's positive points. Consequently, this thesis demonstrates two important facts about the literature of the media and protest. First, the reasons behind the perceived dominance of the protest paradigm in media coverage of social movements should be revisited. And second, the discussion on the role of the media in constructing a democratic public sphere and about the relationships between mainstream media and protests movements need to be revisited as well.

The results of this thesis demonstrate newspapers can contribute to the construction of a democratic public sphere by promoting discussion on an issue, rather than simply reproducing the ideology of the dominant power in society when covering an issue. Coverage of the Egyptian Uprising shows that the newspapers were keen to provide readers with contextual information and analytical voices, so they could construct a rational discussion about the political, social and economic situation in Egypt. On the other hand, the newspapers did not follow the same strategy while covering the Occupy Movement. Their Occupy coverage depended on sensationalized narratives, and was completely lacking in analytical voice. as a result, readers were not be able to develop a rational discussion about the reasons why the Occupy Movement exists. Therefore, the coverage shows the role of newspapers toward the construction of healthy public sphere vis-à-vis reproducing the existing power.

Gamson and Wolfsfeld (1993) describe the relationship between mainstream media and social movements as an asymmetrical and complex relationship. I would argue that these two terms need to be redefined based on the new environment of communication in which social movement are now functioning. The notion of an asymmetrical relationship needs to be revisited. Social movements are

more powerful nowadays because of their ability to deliver messages to bystander without the help of the mainstream media. However, the traditional media and the press in particular still have a certain amount of power, as they legitimize the presence of a movement and enlarge the debate by giving voice to various individuals and groups regarding a movement's demands. Gamson and Wolfsfeld's claim of the complexity of the relationship also needs to be revisited. In any case, the relationship between the media and social movements is changing, due to the presence of new variables in the relationship (i.e. protester use of ICTs, the fact that protesting has become an acceptable method of expression in public). More scholarly work is needed to redefine and reanalyze that relationship.

Not only is the relationship between mainstream media and social movements complex, but studying this relationship has become more complex than ever before. One example of the complexity of the task is the measurement system developed in my research to assess the role of print media in constructing a rational public discussion about a movement's demands. One of the main criteria was the variety of voices published in the each story. The *Toronto Star* manifested the greatest ability to develop a democratic public sphere in relation to the demands of the Occupy Movement, as the paper made efforts to use the voices of protesters, officials, analysts and bystanders. On the other hand, the *Toronto Sun* dedicated very little of its coverage of the Occupy Movement to the voices of bystanders. Based on this thesis measurement, the *Toronto Sun* was less interested in constructing a healthy public sphere. This analysis can be easily contradicted by claims that the *Toronto Sun* developed online tools for its readers to interact with reporters and among one another on issues related to the movement's demands. The online tools developed by each newspaper therefore should be studied in order to draw viable conclusions on the impact of any particular media provider on society while covering social movements. In summary, technological developments and the development of protest into a legitimate tool of expression and dissent increase the complexity of the relationship between the media and a

social movement, and also increase the complexity media and protest theory from a scholarly perspective.

Finally, the results of this thesis can be considered as a critique of the Canadian press in terms of their role in contributing to the construction of a democratic society. The press is able to construct a more dynamic public sphere (where universal, accessible and critical discussion can happen) in cases where protest does not negatively affect the status quo of their own society (as was the case of Egyptian uprising); constructs a public sphere that can only serve the elite and maintain the status quo at home (as was the case of Occupy Movement). Consequently, the results of this thesis raises an alarm for Journalists, citizens and protesters to be more cautious of the real role the press play in the society and in the function of constructing a democratic society.

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Appendix A

Pilot Study

Introduction:

This report is divided into two parts. Part one compares the coverage by the *Globe and Mail* of two major demonstrations: The Egyptian Uprising and the Occupy Movement. For the Egyptian Uprising, the coverage published from January 24th till January 31st, 2011 was coded. For the Occupy Movement in Toronto, the coverage from October 14th till October 22nd, 2011 was coded.

The second part of the report is an analysis and discussion of the results in an attempt to find answers to the research questions.

a. Quantity of Stories:

Stories	Day 1	Day 2	Day 3	Day 4	Day 5	Day 6	Day 7	Total	
Egyptian Uprising									
Published		2	0	1	4	5	13	10	35
coded		0	0	1	2	3	5	9	20
The Occupy Movement									
Published		2	3	4	1	1	1	3	15
coded		0	1	3	0	0	0	0	4

The Egyptian Uprising:

The *Globe and Mail* published a total number of 35 stories about the Egyptian Uprising during its first week. The coverage included news stories, editorials, opinion pieces and letters to the editor. The paper published two stories from the wires the day before the outbreak of the Uprising. On the second day, which was January 25th, the paper did not publish any news about Egypt. Starting from the third day of the Uprising, the paper sent a reporter from Canada to Egypt along with their Middle East correspondent—located in Israel—to cover the Uprising. Each subsequent day, the number of stories

about the Egyptian Uprising increased except for on the last day, when the number of stories slightly decreased, with three stories less than the preceding day. This report takes into account only 20 of the 35 stories, as only 20 stories met the coding criteria.

The Occupy Movement:

The *Globe and Mail* published a total of 15 stories about the movement, including news stories, editorials, opinion pieces and letters to the editor. The paper published two stories about the Movement the day before the protesters in Toronto established their encampments. There was a slight increase in coverage between the first day of coding (the day before the protest camp was established in St. James Park) to the third day (the second day of the encampment); the coverage subsequently decreased to one story per day until the seventh day of the coding the paper published. This report takes into account only 4 of the 15 stories, as only 4 stories met the coding criteria.

b. Embedded frames:

case/frame	Injustice	Sympathy	Legitimizing	De-legitimizing	Accountability	Spectacle	Contextual
Egyptian Uprising	1.60%	9.20%	21.60%	10.74%	15.30%	17.00%	24.56%
The Occupy Movement	0	0	0	16.30%	16.7	50.3	16.70%

Protest Paradigm:

Delegitimizing:

The Egyptian Uprising:

According to our research, 10.74% of all frames used were delegitimizing. The coverage started to use this angle after Mubarak changed the Egyptian prime minister and appointed a new vice president. The paper subsequently began to discredit the protesters’ claims and to question if there would be any

benefit to the protesters if Mubarak complied with part of their demands by changing his cabinet and appointing a new president. The coverage also started to marginalize the protesters and focus more on covering the news of the new cabinet reaction to the protest, giving more space to Mubarak's attempts at reform than to the protesters' demands.

The Occupy Movement:

According to our research, 16.3% of all frames used on the coverage of the Occupy Movement were delegitimizing: the stories published seemed to put forward the notion that such a movement could not be legitimate in Canada. The news and opinion pieces stressed that Canada is a stable country with a strong economic system that guarantees a good standard of living for all its citizens. The coverage also claimed that the Occupy Movement is a danger to Canadian society. Several of the news reports and opinion pieces explicitly stated that the Occupiers should be aware that there is a difference between Western societies and the Middle Eastern societies that had so recently been in the news and that, unlike the young adults in these Arabic countries, the young adults in the West do not have legitimate reasons to establish similar protests

Spectacle:

The Egyptian Uprising:

The third frame used in the coverage of the Egyptian Uprising is the spectacle frame. 17% of the stories were found to be focused on spectacle. The paper concentrated to a large extent on the protesters' physical appearance and demographics. The paper also focused on the violence between the protesters and the police.

As a good example of spectacle-based coverage, the paper published a story about one famous Egyptian journalist who participated in the protests. A large part of the story was simply a description of his physical appearance and the clothes he wore when he participated in the protests. The paper did not mention his ideological background or his ideas, choosing to focus on his physical appearance instead. The same applies to the rest of the coverage of the protests: the paper focused on protesters' physical appearance, not their ideas and beliefs.

The Occupy Movement:

The spectacle frame represents 50% of the paper's coverage. The paper was keen to focus on the protesters' physical appearance and demographics, rather than their demands and ideas. The coverage also placed emphasis on their actions, such as blocking streets and establishing encampments, as well as on the conflict between the protesters and police. There were several stories comparing Occupy to the G20 summit and reiterating the violence between the police and protesters during the G20. Some stories were overt attempts to link the two protests, and to predict whether or not violence would occur at the Occupy protests. However, the paper did not seem to be interested in discussing the differences between the two protests.

Non-Protest paradigm

Injustice:

The Egyptian Uprising:

The injustice frame was the least used frame, present in 1.6% of the stories. The *Globe and Mail* coverage was not overly concerned about describing or conveying injustice, as it didn't place much

emphasis on the protesters' moral outrage or on the impact of the violations of Mubarak and his regime.

The Occupy Movement:

The *Globe and Mail* did not use injustice as an angle in their coverage of the Occupy Movement at all. The coverage didn't address the protesters' moral outrage or examine the fact that the protestors may have been raising awareness for a significant problem that deserves the readers' attention. The coverage was keen to support the status quo in Canada and not to recognize any problems that may have led to a sense of injustice that would legitimize the protest.

Sympathy:

The Egyptian Uprising:

The sympathy frame was present in 9.2% of the stories. The coverage included a fair amount of information that demonstrated sympathy and support to the protesters in Egypt. Few of the stories, however, focused on the sympathy and support expressed by the Egyptian Diaspora in Canada. There was little mention of the protests organized by Egyptians living in different Canadian cities to express their sympathy and solidarity with the protests happening in Egypt.

The Occupy Movement:

The *Globe and Mail* coverage lacked any sympathy frame. There was no coverage that would allow the readers to feel sympathetic toward the Occupiers' demands and objectives, nor did the coverage provide any reason that may lead readers to support the Movement. Instead, the coverage was keen to provide readers with reasons to be unsympathetic to the demonstrations.

Legitimizing

The Egyptian Uprising:

The paper focused on providing a legitimate frame to what was happening in the streets. The paper published several stories that included reasons and information that supported the protesters' position and viewed their protests as legitimate. The paper supported the protesters by giving information on the economic and political frustrations Egyptians were facing, which in return legitimized their demonstration. There are several examples of how the paper was trying to legitimize the protesters; one example is that the paper published stories about people participating in the protests because they could not buy proper food for their kids. Another example was a story giving information about the political monopoly enjoyed by the Hosni Mubarak regime.

The Occupy Movement:

The coverage did not include a legitimizing frame. The paper was not interested in legitimizing the presence of the protesters or providing readers with any reason or information would give them the impression that the protests were legitimate. On the other hand, the paper published some stories about events and incidents that gave the readers the impression that the protests were not legitimate.

Accountability:

The Egyptian Uprising:

The accountability frame was used in 15.30% of the stories of the Egyptian Uprising. The *Globe and Mail* coverage shows that there was consensus among Egyptians on the revolution and the protests against Mubarak. There are two important things that should be mentioned about this frame. Firstly, the paper showed that there was consensus among Egyptians in terms of reasons for the revolution, but

that there was a lack of consensus about protest leadership. Consequently, the coverage gave the impression that the protesters were accountable in terms of demands and objectives but not in terms of leadership. The second important fact was that the entire coverage lacked any voice for Mubarak supporters.

The Occupy Movement:

The accountability frame was present in 16.7% of the stories published in the *Globe and Mail* coverage of the Occupy Movement. The coverage showed consensus among the protesters on the economic cause of their dissent. Some coverage also mentioned that there was a global consensus on the causes of the Occupy Movement. However, the coverage only started using the accountability angle after the President of the central Bank of Canada made the statement that Canada needed to make some economic reforms.

Contextual:

The Egyptian Uprising:

In the case of the Egyptian Uprising, the contextual frame was the most used frame, present in 24.56% of the stories. The paper was keen to put the protests occurring throughout Egypt into context, providing various contexts for the protests that would create a positive impact on the readers. Each story mentioned a different aspect of the context such as the economic context and the frustrations that the Egyptian people face. The paper was always keen to put the Egyptian people's frustrations into economic and political context. The paper was also determined to present the issue in a larger context, specifically that of the Arab awakening. Stories in the *Globe and Mail* mentioned that the protests are part of a larger movement rising in the Arab countries, especially after the success of the Tunisian revolution. The *Globe and Mail* was also interested in the context of Middle Eastern international

relations and the impact of the revolution on peace in the Middle East. In the majority of the stories published, the paper was keen to discuss the role of Hosni Mubarak in terms of any impact on the peace treaty between Egypt and Israel and how toppling Mubarak might represent a threat to the peace treaty.

The Occupy Movement:

The contextual frame represents 16.7% of the total frames. The *Globe and Mail* was keen to set part of the coverage in a contextual frame. The paper tried to contextualize the movement as part of an international movement arising in different places in the western hemisphere and inspired by the phenomenon of the Arab Spring. The other contextualization the paper tried to use in its coverage was an explanation of the economic recession in the US, which was seen as a root cause of the Occupy Movement.

c. Voices in the story:

Voices	Officials	Analyst	Publics	Protesters
Egyptian Uprising	34.30%	34.30%	4.40%	27.00%
The Occupy Movement	33.00%	0	0	67.00%

The Egyptian Uprising:

In their coverage of the Egyptian uprising, the *Globe and Mail* was eager to let all possible voices be heard in their coverage. 34.3% of the voices were those of official members of various institutions. The

paper published quotes from the Egyptian police and members of the Egyptian government, as well as from the American and Canadian officials on their reaction to events in Egypt.

Another third of the coverage was given over to voices of political analysts employed by the paper who wrote about the events in Egypt. The analysts came from various backgrounds, including North America, Europe and the Middle East.

27% of the voices published in the coverage were those of protesters. The paper tried to represent a wide range of protesters in terms of age, gender and socio-economic status. Only 4% of the voices published by the paper belonged to the general public.

The Occupy Movement:

The voices in the coverage of the Occupy Movement were divided into two major categories: officials and protesters. The officials represent 33% of the voices published in the *Globe and Mail* stories. These officials include the police, government officials and members of the ruling party. On the other hand, the protesters represent 67% of the voices. The voice of the protesters included that of the opposition parties.

d. News elements:

News Element	Geographic Proximity	Localization	Normative Deviance	Social change Deviance	Statistical Deviance	Political significance	public significance
Egyptian Uprising	20.00%	6.00%	4.40%	30.00%	6.60%	20.00%	10.00%
The Occupy Movement	7.00%	30.51%	12.48%	37.51%	12.48%	0.00%	0

The Egyptian Uprising:

The coverage of the Egyptian Uprising was a cocktail of news elements. Social change was a major reason for covering the Egyptian Uprising, accounting for 30% of the stories. Geographic proximity

and political significance were also important elements, representing 20% each. Political significance included stories on the reaction of American and Canadian officials to the events in Egypt. The paper also published stories—factored into the geographic proximity element—covering the protests organized by the Egyptian Diaspora that took place in Ottawa, Toronto and Montreal in solidarity with protesters in Egypt.

The news element of political deviance also represented 20%. The protests in Egypt affected the situation in the Middle East and stirred up anxiety in the US about the future of the peace treaty between Egypt and Israel. In addition, there were concerns that the protests might have a negative impact on traffic in the Suez Canal.

10% of the coverage mentioned the public significance of the uprising, stating that the protests and events that occurred because of a lack of security in Egypt have a threat not only on Egyptian citizens but also on Canadian citizens that were in Egypt at the time.

The news element of statistical deviance represents 6.60% of the news elements. Much of the statistical information was about the number of protesters and the amount of money Egypt lost when Mubarak shut down the Internet providers.

The news element of Localization (Psychological Proximity) represents 6% of the coverage. This element refers to the stories about residents of Canada with families and friends who held Canadian citizenship but were unable to leave Egypt for any reason.

Finally, the last news element was Normative Deviance, representing 4.40% of the coverage.

The Occupy Movement

The social change deviance was the most influential news element in the *Globe and Mail* coverage of the Occupy Movement. This element presents 37.51% of the news element. The fact that the protesters were calling for social change and for economic reform in North America was reason enough to get published in the news. The second most important news element in the Occupy coverage was localization (psychological proximity), representing 30.51% of the news elements. This was related to the fact that the Occupy Movement had an impact on people, as well as an attempt to interpret the economic situation in Canada. Normative deviance and statistical deviance represented 12.48% each in the coverage. Normative deviance came into play when the police demanded that a demonstration be cancelled but the protesters went through with it anyway, and also when protesters decided to establish encampments in some parks even after the police asked them not to. Statistical deviance was used to show the sheer numbers of protesters involved. Geographic proximity represents 7%, as the paper did not focus on the fact that the protests were happening in St. James Park. The data shows that political significance and public significance were not significant news elements to the paper's coverage.

Discussion:

The main objective for this research is to answer those two research questions:

1. How does the media frame protests in an era where a large percentage of the population considers protest to be a legitimate form of political expression?
2. What are the different framing strategies followed by the Canadian press when covering social change at home and abroad?

In this discussion section, I will try to answer those questions and to link the empirical data to the review of literature discussed earlier.

Public Sphere:

The literature review mentioned that both social movements and mass media are in the business of interpreting meanings. Social movements try to provide society and citizens with alternate interpretations to the dominant ones. Social movements try to make people think that there is something wrong with society. They attempt to change the power equation in society and to reproduce the power relations by providing society with different viewpoints. The literature proves that social movements cannot implement this function without the support of the mass media. The main function of the mass media is to interpret meanings and give people different options of how to think about various issues. Habermas believes that the mass media—and especially the press—replicates power in the society. He is suspicious of the role of the press in establishing a real rational public sphere that guarantees an equal opportunity for everyone to participate in rational discussion. Herman & Chomsky (1988) stated that the mass media supports the status quo for many reasons, not least of which is their relationships with financial institution. In the same context, the literature of media and protest made the point that the media presents the activists of social movements in a negative light, using the protest paradigm to cover the demonstrations. In terms of framing and objectivity (Berkowitz & Beach, 1993) says that when conflict arises, the press tries to present both sides of the conflict in order to show that they are objective, whereas in cases where the story is not conflict-based the press tend to publish the voices of officials and governmental authorities more.

The empirical results of this research show that the geographic location of the social movement affects the application of the concepts of the protest paradigm and objectivity. Volume of coverage is a very

important factor in maintaining the status of the public sphere. As citizens need to read information and analysis about an event in order to develop a rational perception, only then can we participate in the debate. The data came to show that the *Globe and Mail* was more likely to publish stories covering the Egyptian uprising than stories that cover the Occupy Movement taking place in Toronto. The *Globe and Mail* sent two Canadian reporters to Egypt; however, it did send reporters rarely to cover the events occurring in downtown Toronto. Another element is the amount of coverage and the number of stories written by their own reporters versus the stories used from the wire. The volume of the coverage is also an important factor, not only in the establishment of a healthy public sphere but also in the protest paradigm. (Chun and Lee, 1987) say that that part of the protest paradigm is not necessarily covering the protests negatively, but also simply not covering them at all.

Another important factor in terms of protest press coverage is the voice in the story. The results show that the *Globe and Mail* was keen to enrich the discussion about the Egyptian Uprising and provide analysis from different perspectives and views. The coverage of the Egyptian Uprising included the voices of protesters, officials and analysts, as well as those of the general public. Although there were almost 8% more incidences of official voices being published than protester voices, the *Globe and Mail* gave space to analysts from Egypt and North America to provide readers with different interpretations. The paper also was keen to expand the conflict by publishing some voices of the general public. The paper is thereby providing the readers with various interpretations and analyses that will help them create their own rational discourse, allowing them to construct a public sphere. In the case of the Occupy Movement, the *Globe and Mail* published only the voices of the protesters and the officials. The paper provided double the space to protesters as they gave to official voices. This in particular refutes the protest paradigm idea that the media provides more space for officials than protesters. At the same time, this bias supported different scholars idea that during times of conflict,

news providers must try to remain objective by publishing voices of both sides of the conflict. Sometimes the press gives more space to the people than the officials, which was the case in the *Globe and Mail* coverage of the Occupy Movement. At the same time, there are two important things that must be clarified. Firstly, the paper did not give any space to analysts or to the general public, as it has during the Egyptian Uprising. By giving voice to the public, the press can give more depth to the general discussion around the social movement by providing the viewpoints of people who are not involved in the protests. Secondly, although it is positive to give protesters more space in the media, the framing strategy of the coverage should be analyzed. An important example is that the press seemed ready to establish a real rational discussion among its readers regarding the Egyptian Uprising, whereas in its coverage of the Occupy Movement, it seems as though the paper simply wanted to satisfy the function of replication of power in society. When the *Globe and Mail* published a story on October 15th entitled “Financial Reform: Carney Calls protesters “entirely constructive”: Bank of Canada Governor confident G20 push banks more accountable will succeed,” the story was just republishing an television interview. The story didn’t provide any additional background or other voice or analysis for what Mr. Carney said. The press was maintaining the status quo in terms of power structure and not trying to give space or voice to the protesters to comment on what Mr. Carney said.

Framing Strategy:

The results also show that the paper followed different strategies in its attempts to frame the movement. The coding manual developed by Harlow & Johnson (2011) is the one used to analyze the data in this study because it is one of the few coding schemes that was able to develop clear categories for the protest paradigm and also counter categories for the protest paradigm. The results show that the paper was covering the Egyptian Uprising from a more liberal perspective, but extremely conservative in its coverage of the Occupy Movement. The categories that promote the protest paradigm are

delegitimizing and spectacle, while the categories promoting the counter protest paradigm are injustice, sympathy, legitimizing, accountability and contextual. There are two ways to analyze the results in order to understand the paper's strategy in framing the two cases: collectively and individually.

In terms of collective analysis, the categories of the protest paradigm represent 17.74% of the stories and the categories of the counter protest paradigm represent 72.26% of the stories for the Egyptian Uprising. On the other hand, in the Occupy Movement coverage, the categories of the protest paradigm represent 66.6% of the stories, while the categories of the counter protest paradigm represent 33.4% of the stories. This result shows that the press is not following consistent standards and strategies for all social movement coverage. According to this research, one important factor is that the press does not have a problem with social movements per se, but they have a problem with social movements occurring within country where the publication is issued. This result in particular confirms what Herman and Chomsky said about the role of the mass media in protecting and maintaining the status quo, also validates Habermas' idea that the press prevents rational discourse, functioning only as a representative for the dominant societal powers.

The *Globe and Mail* attempted to frame the protests in Egypt positively by using the counter protest paradigm frames. However, the press was set presenting the Occupy Movement negatively by using the protest paradigm to frame the events.

When using an individual case analytical approach towards the different strategies followed by the paper, the main frame used in the coverage of the Egyptian Uprising was contextual, while the main frame used in the coverage of the Occupy movement was spectacle. The paper was keen to provide its readers with context for what was happening in Egypt, instead of focusing on violent scenes and the

protesters' physical appearance. The paper was eager to deepen their readers understanding about what was happening in Egypt, but it was not interested in using the same tactics for the Occupy movement. Even when the paper used the context frame in the Occupy Movement coverage, they presented it in the context that the protesters were middle class young adults who wanted to share the establishment of the Occupy Movement with their peers in America. The paper explicitly expressed that Canada is not like Egypt or Tunisia and that there is a difference between those Arab countries and western society. It was clear that the paper was trying to prevent their readers from seeing any resemblance between the two movements (the Occupy website stated that the movement was inspired by the Arab spring). The paper provided its readers with very little context about the demands of the protesters and the economic situation in Canada, stating that the economic frustration that was one of the triggers for the protests was part of an international crises, not a national problem.

The counter protest frames (injustice, sympathy, legitimizing) were not at all represented in the coverage of the Occupy Movement, while they are present in 32.4% of the Egyptian Uprising coverage. This shows that role of the paper changed. During the Egyptian Uprising, it offered support and legitimacy to the Egyptian Uprising, including coverage of the injustice that incited the people to go out into the streets and framing the situation in a way that showed sympathy with the protesters' demands. On the other hand, the paper did not use any positive, supportive frames in its coverage of the Occupy Movement. This proves the double standard the press follows in covering social movements at home and abroad.

A delegitimizing frame was used by the paper to a similar extent for both protests. For the Egyptian Uprising, the delegitimizing frame was present in 10.74% of the stories, while in the Occupy Movement coverage it was present in 16.34% of the stories. It is clear that the press does not want to be extreme and use this frame on so a wide scale that readers feel the paper is subjective toward the

movement. However, they use the spectacle frame widely and don't often use positive frames so that the public doesn't support the movement.

The *Globe and Mail* used the accountability frame in an almost equal percentage for both protests. The accountability frame indicates that the media is conveying that there is consensus that an issue is wrong and in need of change. For the Egyptian Uprising, the percentage of stories that used the accountability frame is 15.30%, while for the Occupy Movement, the percentage is 16.7%. It should be clear that while both percentages are fairly small, they can be considered as good reflection of the reality of the two movements. There was a problem in the Egyptian Uprising in finding a consensus, which was not the case in the Occupy Movement. The Occupiers had reached a consensus about the principal reason for the protests, which was to take action against the economic frustrations. This was easily reflected in the slogan of "we are the 99%". In this category in particular, the percentage of framing reflects the reality in one case, but not the other.

News Elements:

The results of the news elements seem very logical, as the main news element for both cases was social change. Proximity as a news element played an important role. The geographic proximity in case of the Egyptian Uprising was a factor in 20% of the coverage; this value is so high because there were many stories covering the response of Canadian and American officials to the protests, and because of the solidarity protests organized by Egyptian Canadians in different cities. However, the geographic element was present in only 7% of the coverage for the Occupy movement, as the paper chose to focus more on the US and UK chapters of the movement rather than covering the Canadian chapter of the Occupy Movement and the protests in Toronto and other Canadian cities. This supports the analysis that the *Globe and Mail* was trying to present the Occupy Movement so that readers didn't

get the impression that there is economic injustice in Canada. The paper covered Occupy Movement more as an international movement and left out the localization factor.

Conclusion:

To conclude, the first question in this research is inspired by the work of Cotle (2007) when he questioned whether the attitude of the media toward protests would change as protests become a tool of expression that is increasingly seen to be legitimate among the masses. This research proves that the attitude of the media toward protest has changed, but only if it is happening outside of the country where the media is published. The media contributes to the construction of a democratic public sphere in favour of the protesters for social movements taking action abroad. However, the media still has a negative attitude toward social movements and protests that happen inside the country. It is important to mention that while the *Globe and Mail* published many stories and gave voice to protesters and analysts, they did not publish any news about the protesters supporting the Mubarak regime, a large movement that was taking place at the same as the anti-Mubarak protests. However, the paper was careful not to give the public sphere much information while covering the Occupy Movement, giving the protest only a small amount of coverage and focusing on presenting the story from an official government perspective.

This research proves that the press use completely different strategies in framing social movements at home and abroad. The press framed the Egyptian Uprising in a positive way and was keen to put the events happening in Egypt into context so people could understand what was happening. On the other hand, the press highlighted the spectacle frame for the Occupy Movement, focusing more on violence and drama in order not to let readers get involved in a real discussion about the Movement's demands.

Appendix B

Coding

Selection Criteria:

Only stories that meet the following criteria will be coded. All the generated stories from the Micro Films of the three newspapers, the Globe and Mail, The Toronto Star and The Toronto Sun, will be evaluated to be confirmed that they meet the following criteria.

- The story should be a self-written and not an exported stories from news wires or syndicated item.
- The Story should be be news, stories that follow the other different formats like editorial, opinion will be excluded.
- The Story should be published in one of the following section: The main section, Business section, Greater Toronto section, the world section.
- The thesis case study should compose at least 50% of the news story, in other words, The Egyptian uprising should occupy 50% of the stories that cover the Arab spring. In the same context , the Occupy Toronto should compose 50% of the stories that cover the Occupy Movement.

The coding objective:

There two objectives for the coding process. The first objective is quantify the news values. The second objective is to quantify the embed frame in each story. Each news story that meet the coding criteria will will be coded in order to quantify the pervious stated variables. Multi coded is accepted for each story. In other words, if the researcher found more than embed frame or that the story is applying different news value.

The Coding process:

The coding of each news story will follow the following procedures:

- The researcher will train a group of coders on the coding scheme.
- The coders will chose random sample from the news stories, and code them.
- A coder reliability text will be conducted in order to be sure of the coding scheme.
- The inter-coder reliability formula reported by Holsti (1961) is the one going to be used.

- The reliability test should be at 85% identical, in case it is less than 85% more training will be given to the coders. In case the result of the of the intercoder reliability is less than 85% the coding scheme will be revised.
- Each coder will receive a copy from the coding manual which will include the the selection criteria and the definition of each variable in two categories: News values and embed frames.
- All the coding sheets will be collected at the end of the coding process in order to be complied together and analyzed for the final report.

- **The coding manual:**

The coding manual is divided into two parts: The selection criteria, the definition of each variable. The first category is the news values. Geographic Proximity. Psychological Proximity, Localization, Normative Deviance, social change Deviance, Statistical Deviance, Social Significance, Political Significance, culture Significance, Public significance. The definition developed by Shoemaker, Lee, Han, & Cohen (2012) in their study will be used in developing the coding manual for this study.

As for the second coding category which is the embed frames, the definitions developed by Harlow & Johnson (2011) will be used in defining the embed frames.

The code scheme:

The coding scheme is divided into three parts, the first part is general information about the news story, the second part include the codes related to the category of the news values. The third section is the category related to embed frames.

Coding Manual

1.1 Selection Criteria:

- The story should be a self-written and not an exported stories from news wires or syndicated item.
- The Story should be news, stories that follow the other different formats like editorial, opinion will be excluded.
- The thesis case study should compose at least 50% of the news story, in other words, The Egyptian uprising should occupy 50% of the stories that cover the Arab spring. In the same context , the Occupy Toronto should compose 50% of the stories that cover the Occupy Movement.

1.2 variables definition:

Term	Definition
New values	
Proximity	
Geographic Proximity	“the physical distance between an event and a media organizations offices”
Localization (Psychological Proximity)	“Is the extend to which an event has meaning for the community in which a news organization exists”
Deviance	
Normative Deviance	“Which refers to the breaking of norms and laws”
Social change Deviance	“Which identifies ideas, people or events that challenge the status quo of the social system, whatever large or small”
Statistical Deviance	“Which judges an idea, person or event to be very different from the average- being odd, usual or novel”
Social Significance	
Political significance	The extent to which the event has potential or actual impact on the exchange of goods and services, including the monetary system, business, tariffs, labour, transportation, job markets, resources and infrastructure
Cultural significance	compares the event to a social systems` traditions, institutions, and norms, such as religion, ethnicity, or the arts.
Public Significance	The enhancements or or threats an event has the public`s well- being.
Embalmed Frames	
Injustice	Empathizing moral outrage, the significance of a problem , and injustices being done
Sympathy	Provoking support, compassion, or sympathy for the protesters as underdogs
Legitimizing	Recognition or support of protesters claims, fostering the public`s support for the protesters, or portraying the protesters as having a real, legitimate reason to protest.

De-legitimizing	Marginalizing or discrediting the protesters claims and actions
Accountability	Suggesting there is a consensus that an issue is wrong and in need of changes or oversight/ monitoring
Spectacle	Emphasizing the number of protesters, the violence, emotion, drama, and deviance of protests and protesters
Contextual	In depth history and background

Coding Scheme

Category	Code	Notes
General Information	Newspaper: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The Toronto Star • The Globe and Mail • The Toronto Sun Case: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The Occupy Toronto • The Egyptian uprising Date:	
Content Information	Head line: Section:	
Voice in Story	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Officials (police, Government officials, court, city employees, public servants) • Analysts (political analysts, economic analysts , university professors, representative from) • Protesters (protesters on site, members in opposition parties, members in pressure groups, members in NGOs) 	
Employed frames	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Injustice • Sympathy • Legitimizing • De- legitimizing • Accountability • Spectacle • Contextual 	
News values	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Proximity • scope • Deviance 	

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◦ Normative Deviance ◦ Social change Deviance ◦ Statistical Deviance • Social Significance: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◦ Political significance ◦ The economic significance ◦ Cultural significance ◦ public significance 	

Appendix C

Occupy Movement's Stories

newspaper	Title	page#	Date	Production	Section	#of words
The Star	let's call it Occupy America	A19	Oct-14	in house	News	757
The Star	G20 memories loom on eve of Toronto protests	A19	Oct-14	in house	News	400
The Star	Inside Occupy Toronto: limitation or revolution	A1	Oct-15	in house	News	1619
The Star	I was ready to be arrested over this	A7	Oct-15	in house	News	554
The Star	Toronto, Occupied?	A1	Oct-16	in house	News	1255
The Star	Bay street protest split movement	A1	Oct-17	in house	News	808
The Star	Tough to agree on top issues in protesters "war on apathy"	A11	Oct-17	in house	News	733
The Star	Occupy is peaceful and puzzling	GT1	Oct-18	in house	News	624
The Star	Protesters missing the local issues	A7	Oct-19	in house	News	587
The Star	Activist, banker, bystander	GT2	Oct-19	in house	News	799
The Star	Occupy Toronto : an inside look at logistics	G10	Oct-20	in house	News	527
The Star	Occupiers to world: change the agenda	A27	Oct-20	in house	opinion	692
The Star	It's not what you protest, but where	GT4	Oct-21	in house	News	587
The Star	Occupy Toronto standing firm	GT4	Oct-21	in house	News	290
The Star	Occupy protesters force cathedral to close	A28	Oct-22	News Wires	News	-1
The Star	Occupy our attention	N7	Oct-22	in house	letter to the editor	1330
The Star	living, undead take to streets	A2	Oct-22	in house	News	454
The Star	Toronto man held for scaling sculpture	A8	Oct-23	News Wires	News	-1
The Star	What's the message?	A8	Oct-23	in house	opinion	110
The Star	Tahrir to Succoth, the power of place	D3	Oct-23	in house	opinion	1000
The Star	That Troublesome 99 percent	A27	Oct-26	in house	opinion	2000

The Star	The 99% know all about inequality	A23	Oct-26	in house	opinion	953
The Star	Occupy movement inspiring- to capitalists	A30	Oct-27	in house	News	262
The Star	Occupy protesters rally around war vet	A20	Oct-28	in house	News	545
The Star	Occupy Toronto; protesters look to stay into winter	GT3	Oct-28	in house	News	368
The Star	CUPW, OFL join protesters in Bay St March	GT3	Oct-28	in house	News	243
The Star	Toronto: A surprising dilemma of cash flow	A6	Oct-30	in house	News	354
The Star	Vancouver: city candidates differ on turning the tents	A6	Oct-30	in house	News	358
The Star	Occupy newsroom to reuse words	A2	Oct-31	in house	News	1109
The Star	Frozen Occupiers are asking "what now?"	A8	Oct-31	in house	opinion	642
The Star	Occupy Toronto is en vogue with yurts	L9	Nov-02	in house	opinion	526
The Star	Meet the army behind the protesters	A10	Nov-04	in house	News	866
The Star	A note to Occupy T.O act local	GT2	Nov-04	in house	opinion	554
The Star	Occupy protesters hunker down	GT6	Nov-04	in house	News	300
The Star	Occupy Toronto walks in solidarity with Tibet	GT12	Nov-05	in house	News	355
The Star	Occupy camper found dead	A7	Nov-06	News Wires	News	-1
The Star	Occupy Toronto ready to resist eviction	A21	Nov-09	in house	News	636
The Star	Ford wants Occupy protesters gone	A4	Nov-10	in house	News	497
The Star	How effective has Occupy really been?	A22	Nov-10	in house	opinion	319
The Star	city says days are numbered for Occupy Toronto camp	GT1	Nov-11	in house	News	586
The Star	Protesters inspired activist to new cause	A4	Nov-12	in house	News	884
The Star	Double parking strategy foiled	A3	Nov-13	in house	News	536
The Star	Cyber threat doesn't faze ford	A2	Nov-14	in house	News	550
The Star	score one for the Occupy movement	A23	Nov-15	in house	opinion	602
The Star	protesters getting notice to leave park	GT1	Nov-15	in house	News	498
The Star	The geeks named Anonymous	GT1	Nov-15	in house	News	726
The Star	fight over St James moves to court	A20	Nov-16	in house	News	685

The Star	country crooning of old perfect for disenchanting	A20	Nov-16	in house	News	938
The Star	Tensions rise as Occupy camps shut	A21	Nov-16	in house	News	720
The Star	Getting Evicted a great move Occupiers	A14	Nov-17	in house	News	611
The Star	They may be camping on solid legal ground	GT8	Nov-17	in house	News	403
The Star	Debating the moment: occupy gets people talking "About" is the question	GT1	Nov-17	in house	News	832
The Star	Occupations should stay or go?	A27	Nov-18	in house	opinion	680
The Star	Occupier's fate lies in this man's hands	GT1	Nov-18	in house	News	418
The Star	Occupy Toronto a haven for homeless	GT4	Nov-18	in house	News	498
The Star	Camp " a symbol of human evolution"	GT4	Nov-18	in house	News	426
The Star	Occupy Toronto's legal conscience	A1	Nov-19	in house	News	1000
The Star	Tension rises for protesters	A10	Nov-19	News Wires	News	-1
The Star	How to keep the movement after the move-out	A1	Nov-20	in house	News	1265
The Star	occupy protesters take on ford	A4	Nov-20	in house	News	526
The Star	Decision day for Occupy	A1	Nov-21	in house	News	694
The Star	occupying morphs into bullying	A4	Nov-21	in house	News	770
The Star	officers on leave after protesters sprayed	A13	Nov-21	News Wires	News	-1
The Star	campers often at odds	A13	Nov-21	News Wires	News	-1
The Star	An open letter to the Occupiers	Gt2	Nov-21	in house	opinion	550
The Star	Occupy moves us into new era	A23	Nov-22	in house	opinion	824
The Star	"only way I'm leaving is in a pair of handcuffs"	GTA1	Nov-22	in house	News	1051
The Star	The beginning of the end	GTA 4	Nov-22	in house	News	673
The Star	camp must go Wednesday, maybe longer it progress made	GT4	Nov-22	in house	News	410
The Star	The Toronto way leans toward conciliation, not confrontation	GT6	Nov-22	in house	News	581
The Star	Occupy Toronto digs in	GT2	Nov-23	in house	News	518
The Star	Occupy Toronto: Marching on from the parks	GT6	Nov-23	in house	opinion	800
The Star	Next up, Occupy Christmas	B1	Nov-24	in house	Business	563

The Star	Round one Occupy Toronto	GT1	Nov-24	in house	News	595
The Star	Camp lost but case was made	GT2	Nov-24	in house	News	5000
The Star	local residents get park back	GT8	Nov-24	in house	News	453
The Star	What now for Occupy players?	GT8	Nov-24	in house	News	345
G&M	Wall street protesters need to find their "sound bite"	B2	Oct-14	in house	Business	760
G&M	Protest: Not your parents revolution	L2	Oct-14	in house	opinion	740
G&M	Occupy crosses the border	A1	Oct-15	News Wires	News	-1
G&M	Occupy protesters united by frustration,	A5	Oct-15	in house	News	1705
G&M	Carney calls protests 'entirely constructive'	A3	Oct-15	in house	News	827
G&M	Toronto's Occupiers speak	A6	Oct-17	in house	News	500
G&M	The Canadian response four cities	A3	Oct-15	in house	News	700
G&M	Protest peaceful in Toronto financial district	A7	Oct-18	in house	News	247
G&M	Notes from the occupation	A15	Oct-18	in house	opinion	600
G&M	Occupy Movement sparks a battle a battle of the blogs	L3	Oct-18	in house	opinion	762
G&M	The 99 per cent	A18	Oct-19	in house	letter to the editor	71
G&M	Protesting whatever	A20	Oct-20	in house	letter to the editor	88
G&M	Struggle: Occupy Toronto: The one-week anniversary party	M3	Oct-22	in house	opinion	650
G&M	Occupy Wall street The Brand	B3	Oct-28	in house	Business	998
G&M	Occupiers are blaming the wrong people	F9	Nov-05	in house	opinion	866
G&M	Protest: The face of Occupy has changed and movement is in trouble	A1	Nov-07	in house	News	811
G&M	Public opinion: Most Canadians sympathize with Occupiers, poll shows	A8	Nov-08	in house	News	515
G&M	Occupy Movement: protest and the use of force	A16	Nov-08	in house	opinion	367
G&M	Occupy Toronto, let protester run out of steam in winter of discontent St James park would feed into claims of Violence inherent in the system	A10	Nov-10	in house	News	648
G&M	The week: At some point, Occupier's light will turn off and it will no longer be chic for the rich	A2	Nov-12	in house	News	789

G&M	The Occupy movement: Protesters ponder future tents	A2	Nov-16	in house	News	711
G&M	Occupy wall street: for the Occupiers, an end and a beginning	A16	Nov-18	in house	News	811
G&M	Occupy Toronto Occupiers cant shift to church	A12	Nov-18	in house	News	468
G&M	Occupation: undecided	F6	Nov-19	in house	opinion	2364
G&M	Protesters prepare to evacuate in Vancouver, defend in Toronto	A6	Nov-21	in house	News	517
G&M	Occupy Toronto: free expression with limits	A10	Nov-22	in house	opinion	374
G&M	Breaking Camp: occupy protesters barely hanging on	A5	Nov-23	in house	News	679
G&M	Occupies Message: who wants to talk about income inequality?	A21	Nov-23	in house	opinion	739
G&M	Protest: peace prevails on Occupier's final day	A18	Nov-24	in house	News	684
G&M	Occupy Movement: This was not the west's Tahrir square moment	A23	Nov-24	in house	opinion	740
The Sun	Protesters get set to Occupy Toronto	10	Oct-14	in house	News	293
The Sun	Here comes Trouble with union help Occupy T.O hits the streets	3	Oct-15	in house	News	425
The Sun	Block the Bloc \ If the Occupy Toronto movement is infiltrated by thugs, the cops vow action	6	Oct-15	in house	News	1022
The Sun	Occupy protesters lack focus	20	Oct-15	in house	opinion	397
The Sun	Get Job! Does wall street Occupiers not have bosses, families, responsibilities?	20	Oct-15	in house	opinion	320
The Sun	Protesters Park it	3	Oct-16	in house	News	491
The Sun	Pointless, but peaceful \ Someday, maybe some good will come of it	4	Oct-16	in house	News	615
The Sun	One thing we can agree on	5	Oct-16	in house	News	623
The Sun	Slogans won't change world	20	Oct-16	in house	opinion	236
The Sun	"City has supported us" protesters say food donations flowing in from business and individuals	4	Oct-17	in house	News	419
The Sun	Protesters about town: Demonstrators march from St James " Park to Ryerson, then block traffic at Younger and Dudes	4	Oct-17	in house	News	499
The Sun	Don't ignore protesters liberals	5	Oct-17	in house	News	246
The Sun	Pampered Protesters, They camp for free but you still get parking tickets	9	Oct-18	in house	News	729
The Sun	Occupy protest stinks, in Canada we should Occupy our mega corporation: the CBC	19	Oct-18	in house	opinion	623
The Sun	WWJD? join hands with the Occupiers	19	Oct-18	in house	opinion	568
The Sun	Outcry won't change Occupy wall St facts	34	Oct-24	in house	opinion	355

The Sun	Situation gets Tents, protesters set James park, with a little native inspiration, look like they are ready to stay	6	Oct-27	in house	News	864
The Sun	Clock Ticking on protesters	7	Oct-27	in house	News	362
The Sun	Stokers drive protest to York Region HQ	8	Oct-28	in house	News	260
The Sun	Power that we should recognize the power of the people	39	Oct-30	in house	opinion	662
The Sun	But it couldn't yurt \ Wooden hut might not help Occupy T.O. protesters stay warm this winter	5	Nov-01	in house	News	619
The Sun	Arrivals of Mohawks takes Occupy up an notch	19	Nov-01	in house	opinion	597
The Sun	Protesters are above law?	19	Nov-01	in house	opinion	233
The Sun	Memo to Canadian Occupiers: Go South	19	Nov-01	in house	opinion	591
The Sun	Inside the Occupied: Sun reporter, photographer spend 2 days with the protesters	4	Nov-06	in house	News	1076
The Sun	A dream by day, Scary by night	5	Nov-06	in house	News	451
The Sun	Movement hijacked \ 'Loony left' has ruined Occupy protests, originator says	6	Nov-06	in house	News	834
The Sun	It is time to de-Occupy T.O	29	Nov-06	in house	opinion	503
The Sun	When hell freezes over \ \$40Gs in damage could be caused to sprinkler system unless city staff allowed into park	6	Nov-09	in house	News	265
The Sun	Protesters keeping medics busy	6	Nov-09	in house	News	190
The Sun	" Time to leave" Occupiers told	16	Nov-09	in house	News	389
The Sun	No law in the park \ Rules flouted by Occupiers in St. James as cops, City Hall keep low profile	7	Nov-09	in house	News	338
The Sun	" Time we asked the protesters to move on"	8	Nov-10	in house	News	417
The Sun	Walking Papers \ Bylaw officers would have a field day with park occupiers	5	Nov-11	in house	News	800
The Sun	Patience growing thin \ Moves afoot nationwide to end occupations	31	Nov-11	in house	News	499
The Sun	Occupy Toronto, 1 Month Later \ Protesters show no sign of leaving, even as colder weather sets in	8	Nov-12	in house	News	472
The Sun	Occupiers hold one month march	14	Nov-12	in house	News	422
The Sun	Occupiers right	36	Nov-12	in house	opinion	322
The Sun	Anonymous Threats	5	Nov-14	in house	News	428
The Sun	Rolling up the welcome mat	6	Nov-14	in house	News	233
The Sun	Huda agrees "I just think it's time"	6	Nov-14	in house	News	422
The Sun	We're not Egypt \ NDP's Horvath compares Occupy Toronto to the Arab Spring, but couldn't be more wrong	7	Nov-15	in house	opinion	655

The Sun	The Tyranny of Occupation	7	Nov-15	in house	opinion	600
The Sun	"Life over, "jury hears Sharia sat	6	Nov-15	News Wires	News	-1
The Sun	They can stay-for now	4	Nov-16	in house	News	646
The Sun	Dilly-dallying costs city	5	Nov-16	in house	News	740
The Sun	lefties want "full debate"	9	Nov-16	in house	News	190
The Sun	'What they're doing is illegal' \ City fears court ruling will allow protesters to rain on parade	7	Nov-16	in house	News	454
The Sun	Wall Street gets boot \ Judge affirms city plan to ban tents, sleeping bags	16	Nov-16	in house	News	448
The Sun	Brit camp faces court action	17	Nov-16	in house	News	207
The Sun	"on legal grounds"	5	Nov-17	in house	News	300
The Sun	FIGHTING FIRE WITH FIRE \ I occupied a park to show how council lefties are aiding, abetting occupy Two. crime	4	Nov-17	in house	News	750
The Sun	There`s no stopping Mr. & Mrs. Claus	4	Nov-17	in house	News	184
The Sun	Too late to throw the book at them	6	Nov-17	in house	News	790
The Sun	And now the end is near	7	Nov-17	in house	News	450
The Sun	Occupation`s ranks thinned	9	Nov-18	News Wires	News	-1
The Sun	'Status quo' for occupiers \ Judge won't decide on legality until Monday	6	Nov-18	in house	News	390
The Sun	Worth protesting	6	Nov-18	in house	News	748
The Sun	Judge brown is occupied	20	Nov-18	in house	opinion	401
The Sun	Masks not a riot	34	Nov-18	in house	News	218
The Sun	Time to pack it in \ Judge to rule on Occupiers Monday	3	Nov-19	in house	News	1027
The Sun	We spy empty tents at occupy \ Infrared camera reveal few protesters there at night	4	Nov-19	in house	News	763
The Sun	Park weekend	5	Nov-19	in house	News	520
The Sun	Holy crap	4	Nov-20	in house	News	568
The Sun	This is our answer to him	4	Nov-20	in house	News	265
The Sun	He'd better watch out \ Santa the ideal target for Occupy protesters	5	Nov-20	in house	News	986
The Sun	Troubled tree of life \ Occupiers show indifference to beloved woman's memory while fighting for entitlements	40	Nov-20	in house	opinion	744
The Sun	Protest draws a crown	10	Nov-21	in house	News	285

The Sun	Occupiers brace for ruling	10	Nov-21	in house	News	277
The Sun	TOLD TO LEAVE \ 'They'll have to drag me out kicking and screaming,' protester vows	3	Nov-22	in house	News	426
The Sun	Judge upholds eviction notices	3	Nov-22	in house	News	180
The Sun	Nowhere else to go but out	4	Nov-22	in house	News	761
The Sun	Auto-dialer urges people to join protesters at park	4	Nov-22	in house	News	493
The Sun	No surprise that council`s lefties were pre occupied	5	Nov-22	in house	News	743
The Sun	Their 15 minutes are occupied	22	Nov-22	in house	opinion	377
The Sun	Gone, but not forgotten \ In wake of court order, occupiers slowly pack up and leave	9	Nov-23	in house	News	473
The Sun	Don't occupy me with this nonsense	23	Nov-23	in house	opinion	450
The Sun	What I have learned about occupation?	23	Nov-23	in house	opinion	500
The Sun	Calm after the storm	4	Nov-24	in house	News	549
The Sun	conditions were ripe for disaster but police save the day	5	Nov-24	News Wires	News	-1
The Sun	17 Month later, police learn lesson	6	Nov-24	in house	News	683
The Sun	Occupy Toronto Timeline	5	Nov-24	in house	letter to the editor	467

Appendix D

Egyptian Uprising`s Stories

newspaper	title	page#	Date	production	section	#words
G&M	Political Up heals around the world; Rallis in the streets	A1	Jan-24	News Wires	News	138
G&M	Taking it to the streets	A3	Jan-24	News Wires	News	200
G&M	Inspired by Tunisian uprising Egyptian protesters	A3	Jan-26	News Wires	News	300
G&M	How Egyptian got here: A brutal beating and a penchant	A10	Jan-27	in house	News	1201
G&M	What it all means: Mubarak`s credibility on the line	A11	Jan-27	In house	News	958
G&M	Will Egypt go Tunisia`s way?	A19	Jan-27	In house	Opinion	626
G&M	Uncertainty, as the day of rage dawns, with future of Egypt`s	A1	Jan-28	In house	News	922
G&M	Obama`s gentle shift of policy comes with great danger,	A13	Jan-28	In house	News	783
G&M	Despite his reputation for peace, El Baradei is far	A13	Jan-28	In house	News	729
G&M	Egypt: "We" have way beyond the old movements	A13	Jan-28	In house	News	730
G&M	Denial isn`t just a river in Egypt	A14	Jan-28	In house	Opinion	809
G&M	How they see it: leading Egyptian expatriates	A12	Jan-29	In house	Interview	268
G&M	Mubarak dissolves government as protests mount	A14	Jan-29	In house	News	1199
G&M	In a span of minutes, a country goes offline;	A16	Jan-29	In house	News	1140
G&M	President`s hubris honed over30 years	A17	Jan-29	In house	News	677
G&M	Obama calls on Mubarak to deliver reform;	A18	Jan-29	In house	News	639
G&M	Ottawa urges Egyptian leader to avoid violence; protesters` concerns must be addressed, foreign Affairs says	A18	Jan-29	In house	News	381
G&M	On a trip back to Cairo, the guilt sets in;	A19	Jan-29	In house	Letter to the editor	950
G&M	In Ottawa, expatriate Egyptians add their voice	A19	Jan-29	In house	News	466
G&M	Egyptian civil strife felt across the board	B20	Jan-29	News Wires	Business	5000
G&M	Enough	F1	Jan-29	In house	Opinion	2258
G&M	Mubarak doesn`t get it	F8	Jan-29	In house	Opinion	434
G&M	Locked in a battle of wills	A1	Jan-31	In house	News	962
G&M	On the street	A3	Jan-31	In house	News	958
G&M	Obama`s silence on Mubarak says volumes	A3	Jan-31	In house	News	764
G&M	Ottawa moves to evacuate Canadians;	A3	Jan-31	In house	News	507
G&M	Relatives fear for ex-pats in Egypt Approximately 6500	A3	Jan-31	In house	News	360
G&M	New VP known President`s "conciliate" Omar Suleiman	A4	Jan-31	In house	News	1261
G&M	Million- man behemoth with a history of defeat	A8	Jan-31	In house	News	629
G&M	Egypt awakens	A12	Jan-31	In house	Letter to the editor	289
G&M	Egypt unrest has wide global overtones	B7	Jan-31	In house	Business	263
G&M	Military stands behind people`s movement	A1	Feb-01	In house	News	751

G&M	What creates the anger: A sense of scarcity	A10	Feb-01	In house	News	937
G&M	How governments are reacting	A11	Feb-01	In house	News	785
G&M	US press Mubarak for More: white house signals	A12	Feb-01	In house	News	421
G&M	Fearing the unknown and violence Copts support Mubarak	A15	Feb-01	In house	News	300
G&M	Frustrated Canadians anxious to go home;	A12	Feb-01	In house	News	609
G&M	Islamists come late to the party;	A13	Feb-01	In house	News	666
G&M	Protesters right to complain,	A13	Feb-01	In house	News	500
G&M	Urgency in ending the emergency	A16	Feb-01	In house	Opinion	377
G&M	Mubarak's talk of transition fails to calm Cairo's crowd	A1	Feb-02	In house	News	927
G&M	For those who stayed home, fear trumps solidarity	A1	Feb-02	In house	News	1006
G&M	How the other strongmen are holding up: As Egypt's	A10	Feb-02	In house	News	1720
G&M	For Washington, an unstable Arab world is a triple threat	A12	Feb-02	In house	News	1176
G&M	Inside glimpses of a revolution	A13	Feb-02	In house	News	573
G&M	His power was the price for refusing to reform	A14	Feb-02	In house	News	490
G&M	Mubarak's long goodbye	A16	Feb-02	In house	Opinion	467
G&M	Crises in Egypt	A16	Feb-02	In house	Letter to the editor	173
G&M	From order to chaos	A1	Feb-03	In house	News	760
G&M	As violent reality takes shape,	A1	Feb-03	In house	News	651
G&M	Tories' response to Egyptian unrest conservative on every front	A7	Feb-03	In house	News	768
G&M	Inside the opposition's game plan	A14	Feb-03	In house	News	540
G&M	Israel has reason to fear loss of a strong ally	A14	Feb-03	In house	News	731
G&M	Banners shredded for bandages	A15	Feb-03	In house	News	962
G&M	It's all Obama's fault	A17	Feb-03	In house	Opinion	838
G&M	Egyptians violence puts shippers on edge	B14	Feb-03	In house	Business	670
G&M	In a break with Washington, Ottawa backs Mubarak	A1	Feb-03	In house	News	699
G&M	Journalists detained at gunpoint in Cairo	A1	Feb-04	In house	News	1470
G&M	Power struggle sending mixed signals:	A13	Feb-04	In house	News	1025
G&M	U.S keeps up the pressure for Mubarak to go now	A14	Feb-04	In house	News	720
G&M	An agent of order or disorder?	A16	Feb-04	In house	Opinion	350
G&M	No democratic tradition, no bright future	A17	Feb-04	In house	Opinion	700
G&M	The army marches to the fore; Egyptians	A18	Feb-05	In house	News	939
G&M	Mubarak supporters emerge as potent force	A19	Feb-05	In house	News	752
G&M	Egyptian Journalist Dies	A19	Feb-05	News Wires	News	300
G&M	Could Egypt destabilize global economy? Markets say no	B18	Feb-05	In house	Business	507
G&M	What Obama make of this?	F6	Feb-05	In house	Opinion	1586
G&M	America's new to do list: first up, get a based on the Brotherhood	F6	Feb-05	In house	Opinion	945
G&M	Who's afraid of the Muslim Brotherhood?	F9	Feb-05	In house	Opinion	722
G&M	Muslim brotherhood makes history in talks with regime	A1	Feb-07	In house	News	752
G&M	Coptic christens shoulder to shoulder with Muslims	A10	Feb-07	In house	News	859
G&M	The man in the middle	A1	Feb-08	In house	News	1273

G&M	Google executive says he was behind key Facebook page	A16	Feb-08	In house	News	800
G&M	Unproved by concessions protesters "smell blood"	A1	Feb-09	In house	News	793
G&M	Conformists by day, revolutionise by night	A12	Feb-09	In house	News	1044
G&M	Creeping powers not presidency stirs fears	A1	Feb-11	In house	News	848
G&M	Do no harm: Washington's new foreign policy principle	A1	Feb-11	In house	News	783
G&M	What the military means to the power,	A10	Feb-11	In house	News	1446
G&M	Obama rejects Mubarak assurances	A16	Feb-11	In house	News	609
G&M	In Tahrir square, crises of joy, then tears of rage	A17	Feb-11	In house	News	549
G&M	Suleiman may have taken part in questioning of Canadian	A17	Feb-11	In house	News	559
G&M	Rage at Mubarak became liability to military	A20	Feb-12	In house	News	891
G&M	Israel fears ouster could imperil peace treaty	A20	Feb-12	In house	News	800
G&M	18 days that brought down a dictator	A22	Feb-12	In house	News	1631
G&M	Middle East turmoil concerns traders	B9	Feb-12	In house	Business	521
G&M	The generals take up a new trade	F8	Feb-12	In house	Opinion	460
G&M	Egypt's future	F8	Feb-12	In house	Letter to the editor	79
G&M	When the bad guy goes: Revolutions tend to defy hopes	F9	Feb-12	In house	Opinion	875
G&M	Why did Ottawa drag its feet on Mubarak?	F9	Feb-12	In house	Opinion	692
The Star	Anti-Mubarak demonstrations shake Egypt;	A4	Jan-26	News Wires	News	279
The Star	Thousands fight police as Egypt protests spread	A21	Jan-27	News Wires	News	274
The Star	Egyptians gear up for the largest rally yet	A17	Jan-28	In house	News	462
The Star	Support Arab reformers	A20	Jan-28	In house	opinion	336
The Star	Defiance	A1	Jan-29	in house	News	1208
The Star	Egypt unplugged: The day the Internet died	A1	Jan-29	in house	News	790
The Star	As Egypt burns, Jordan's heats up	A20	Jan-29	News Wires	News	481
The Star	How Egypt came to such a crisis	A21	Jan-29	in house	News	758
The Star	Rights activists urge Ottawa to stand up for principles	A22	Jan-29	in house	News	365
The Star	Egyptian supporters plan rally in Toronto	A22	Jan-29	in house	News	264
The Star	Your plane is waiting Euphoric protesters	A1	Jan-30	in house	News	1265
The Star	Canadians scramble to get relatives out of Egypt	A1	Jan-30	in house	News	622
The Star	Citizens help thwart looting of antiquities	A3	Jan-30	News Wires	News	272
The Star	2005 election a sham that left blueprint of hope	A4	Jan-30	in house	News	851
The Star	Choice of new VP answers succession question	A6	Jan-30	News Wires	News	193
The Star	Egypt defies autocrat	A14	Jan-30	in house	News	497
The Star	Smashing through fear in Egypt	IN3	Jan-30	in house	opinion	853
The Star	How a single match can ignite a revolution	IN3	Jan-30	in house	opinion	850
The Star	Arab look within, and see the enemy	IN3	Jan-30	in house	opinion	850
The Star	We are not afraid	A1	Jan-31	in house	News	1101
The Star	El Baradi evolving into leader	A6	Jan-31	in house	News	560
The Star	Igatieff urges clear message to Egypt;	A7	Jan-31	in house	News	329
The Star	U.S grapples with post Mubarak era;	A8	Jan-31	in house	News	516

The Star	World leaders call for reforms in Cairo	A8	Jan-31	News Wires	News	375
The Star	Israel faces "new Midst" Unfriendly government in Cairo	A10	Jan-31	News Wires	News	795
The Star	Army holds key to Mubarak's fate	A10	Jan-31	in house	News	520
The Star	Cairo shakedown	A1	Feb-01	in house	News	967
The Star	Even Egypt's elite feeling the pinch; Wealthy businessmen	A8	Feb-01	in house	News	1004
The Star	Army foils museum looters; soldiers arrest 50 men	A8	Feb-01	News Wires	News	398
The Star	Canadians relieved to be home; Retiring travellers	A10	Feb-01	in house	News	229
The Star	Egypt's rebels find a voice	A12	Feb-01	in house	opinion	514
The Star	connected to revolution	A13	Feb-01	in house	opinion	806
The Star	Arab rallying cry is Dignity	A13	Feb-01	in house	opinion	647
The Star	TSX higher as oil rises on Egypt's crisis	B5	Feb-01	News Wires	Business	337
The Star	U.S Backs Egypt's generals	A1	Feb-02	in house	News	1021
The Star	we are staying, he's going protesters vow President's	A1	Feb-02	in house	News	882
The Star	Egypt fate may depend on west	A6	Feb-02	in house	News	815
The Star	Hope has surfaced in Tahrir square	A7	Feb-02	in house	News	580
The Star	Most Canadians decide they will stay a bit longer	A10	Feb-02	in house	News	550
The Star	Egypt crisis signals end of the American	A17	Feb-02	in house	News	600
The Star	Mubarak should step down now	A18	Feb-02	in house	opinion	445
The Star	West has only itself to blame over Egypt	A18	Feb-02	in house	opinion	260
The Star	Egyptians battle for heart of Cairo	A1	Feb-03	in house	News	1208
The Star	Hard lives now made desperate	A14	Feb-03	in house	News	799
The Star	Is Muslim brotherhood a threat? Egypt Experts say no	A17	Feb-03	in house	News	1153
The Star	Don't fear the Muslim brotherhood	A19	Feb-03	in house	opinion	765
The Star	Investors flock to oil aimed Egypt violence	B4	Feb-03	News Wires	Business	339
The Star	Egyptian turmoil causes bank downgrading	B5	Feb-03	News Wires	Business	141
The Star	US. Egypt discuss early exit plan	A6	Feb-04	in house	News	547
The Star	Defiant protesters to march on palace Mubarak	A6	Feb-04	in house	News	865
The Star	Tens of thousands march in Yemen against	A6	Feb-04	in house	News	865
The Star	Tens of thousands march in Yemen against regime	A6	Feb-04	in house	News	365
The Star	Forging a new destiny in Tahrir square	A8	Feb-04	in house	News	607
The Star	Violence spreads unchecked	A10	Feb-04	News Wires	News	325
The Star	Media "witch hunt" in Cairo condemned	A10	Feb-04	in house	News	629
The Star	Egyptians protests, curfews side-wipe local businesses	B4	Feb-04	in house	Business	400
The Star	Tahrir defenders on a high	A19	Feb-05	in house	News	1076
The Star	Proper headgear for a riot	A19	Feb-05	News Wires	News	369
The Star	Military poised to decided how free Egyptians	A19	Feb-05	in house	News	588
The Star	Why the Middle east has been a desert for democracy	IN1	Feb-05	in house	opinion	1023
The Star	what's next for Egypt? World is watching	IN2	Feb-05	News Wires	opinion	844
The Star	The Revolution index	IN4	Feb-05	in house	opinion	799
The Star	The AL Jazeera moment	IN6	Feb-05	in house	opinion	691
The Star	Arab autocrats just don't get it	IN6	Feb-05	in house	opinion	376

The Star	Egypt's moment in the spotlight	IN7	Feb-05	in house	letter to the editor	727
The Star	Mubarak regime, opposition began talks	A1	Feb-06	in house	News	882
The Star	Amid the chaos, A wedding goes ahead	A6	Feb-06	in house	News	325
The Star	Queen's park rally draws 600 protesters	A6	Feb-06	in house	News	411
The Star	Stories from the street	A8	Feb-06	in house	News	2007
The Star	Operating manual for a Mideast	A15	Feb-06	in house	opinion	733
The Star	A terrible accident: Men who charged Tahrir square	A1	Feb-07	in house	News	978
The Star	leaders before giving up power	A6	Feb-07	News Wires	News	336
The Star	Obama maintains Egypt move ahead: but protesters	A6	Feb-07	in house	News	488
The Star	Opposition digs in after talks; VP claims progress	A6	Feb-07	in house	News	344
The Star	Slain reporter honoured	A12	Feb-08	in house	News	715
The Star	Health check could lead to Mubarak's exit	A12	Feb-08	News Wires	News	412
The Star	constitution limits reform	A12	Feb-08	in house	News	562
The Toronto Star	Youth revolution's spark revealed	A13	Feb-08	in house	News	566
The Toronto Star	No retreat as 350.000 jam into square	A12	Feb-09	in house	News	832
The Toronto Star	paying tribute to lost lives	A13	Feb-09	in house	News	594
The Toronto Star	Egyptians go on strike, defy government warning	A17	Feb-10	in house	News	925
The Toronto Star	Mubarak blasts rapid reform	A17	Feb-10	News Wires	News	296
The Toronto Star	Harper follows Israeli line on Egypt	A19	Feb-10	in house	opinion	716
The Toronto Star	Egypt will Explode	A1	Feb-11	in house	News	731
The Toronto Star	Hosni Mubarak key dates in the life of Egypt's	A6	Feb-11	News Wires	News	196
The Toronto Star	Death blow to old model of rule	A6	Feb-11	in house	News	704
The Toronto Star	Mubarak clings to vanishing power	A7	Feb-11	in house	News	718
The Toronto Star	The punk who honours his king	A10	Feb-11	in house	News	2937
The Toronto Star	Mubarak's poly wont calm Egypt	A18	Feb-11	in house	opinion	395
The Toronto Star	Egypt goes wild with Joy	A1	Feb-12	in house	News	1391
The Toronto Star	Criticizing the king means three years in jail	A12	Feb-12	in house	News	2692
The Toronto Star	uprising could usher in a lasting peace	A14	Feb-12	in house	News	672
The Toronto Star	Cairo coup is welcomed (sort of) by the west	A18	Feb-12	in house	News	598
The Toronto Star	Egypt searches for new direction	A20	Feb-12	in house	News	814
The Toronto Star	Face of regime is gone. Not so the police state	A21	Feb-12	in house	News	783
The Toronto Star	Egyptians have inspired us	A22	Feb-12	in house	News	418

The Toronto Star	Vive I1 Egypt! Liberate	A24	Feb-12	in house	News	1312
The Sun	Egypt press feels wrath	34	Jan-26	News Wires	News	-1
The Sun	Egyptians day of wrath continues	30	Jan-27	News Wires	News	-1
The Sun	Egypt seeing revolution	30	Jan-27	News Wires	News	-1
The Sun	Egyptian protesters cross borders	30	Jan-28	News Wires	News	-1
The Sun	Cairo reality in your face	8	Jan-29	News Wires	News	-1
The Sun	T.O will demonstrate support for Egypt	8	Jan-29	in house	News	-1
The Sun	Obama talks reform with Mubarak	9	Jan-29	News Wires	News	-1
The Sun	Call for change	4	Jan-30	in house	News	-1
The Sun	Worry grows for family in Egypt	5	Jan-30	in house	News	-1
The Sun	Chaos in the streets	6	Jan-30	News Wires	News	-1
The Sun	All eyes on the Nile	7	Jan-30	in house	News	-1
The Sun	is Nobel winner next in line	7	Jan-30	in house	News	-1
The Sun	The Future of my kids	7	Jan-30	in house	News	-1
The Sun	Looters storm Cairo Museum	9	Jan-30	News Wires	News	-1
The Sun	Cut off from family	9	Jan-31	in house	News	-1
The Sun	Mubarak has to leave	9	Jan-31	News Wires	News	-1
The Sun	China blocks Egypt	9	Jan-31	News Wires	News	-1
The Sun	U.S Arab allies fading first	8	Feb-01	in house	News	-1
The Sun	No way I will leave	8	Feb-01	in house	News	-1
The Sun	Mubarak begins to buck	9	Feb-01	News Wires	News	-1
The Sun	Response to Egypt is key	18	Feb-01	News Wires	News	-1
The Sun	El Baradei no saviour	18	Feb-01	News Wires	News	-1
The Sun	Beware the brotherhood of devilish trades	7	Feb-01	News Wires	News	-1
The Sun	Egypt`s uprising ignites deja vu	18	Feb-02	News Wires	News	-1
The Sun	Get out, get out, get out	29	Feb-02	News Wires	News	-1
The Sun	peaceful protesters filled with hope, sense of duty	29	Feb-02	News Wires	News	-1
The Sun	Army steps into fray	28	Feb-02	News Wires	News	-1
The Sun	Egypt revolts: hold the applause	26	Feb-04	in house	opinion	-1
The Sun	Mubarak`s downfall could turn dangerous	10	Feb-04	in house	opinion	-1
The Sun	Mubarak`s must go	7	Feb-05	News Wires	News	-1
The Sun	Detained for taking a photo	10	Feb-05	News Wires	News	-1
The Sun	Memories of Iran	12	Feb-05	in house	opinion	-1
The Sun	Egypt is bruised, but not broken	12	Feb-05	in house	opinion	-1
The Sun	Father of modern Egypt	7	Feb-06	in house	News	-1
The Sun	Rallying cry in T.O freedom	7	Feb-06	News Wires	News	-1
The Sun	Regime`s moves a trick	8	Feb-06	News Wires	News	-1
The Sun	The Things Obama left unsaid	10	Feb-06	in house	opinion	-1
The Sun	Facebook, the web and TV news overpower tanks	10	Feb-06	in house	opinion	-1
The Sun	Egypt holds its breath	12	Feb-07	News Wires	News	-1
The Sun	Protesters call for huge rally as Egypt talks lag	28	Feb-08	in house	News	-1

The Sun	Egypt takes stock	42	Feb-10	News Wires	News	-1
The Sun	Rural framers, workers also restless for change	42	Feb-10	News Wires	News	-1
The Sun	Mubarak clings to power	38	Feb-10	News Wires	News	-1
The Sun	Ruler`s stance potentially "catastrophic"	38	Feb-10	News Wires	News	-1
The Sun	on path to democracy	3	Feb-12	in house	opinion	-1
The Sun	Canada`s respects Mubarak`s decision	4	Feb-12	in house	News	-1
The Sun	Now we have freedom	4	Feb-12	News Wires	News	-1
The Sun	The Egyptian Unrest	5	Feb-12	News Wires	News	-1
The Sun	In Egypt, Joy mixes with concern for the future	5	Feb-12	News Wires	News	-1
The Sun	Islamic awaking	5	Feb-12	News Wires	News	-1