THE MEDIA AND THE GLOBAL-LIBERATION MOVEMENT:

THE MAGAZINE FRAMING OF THE 2009 PITTSBURGH, PA G-20

PROTESTERS

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by

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The undersigned, appointed by the Dean of the Graduate School, have examined the thesis entitled.

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Presented by Brooke Still

A candidate for the degree of Master of Journalism

And hereby certify that in their opinion it is worthy of acceptance.

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I also would like to recognize any and all protesters out there, no matter the cause, who believe another world truly is possible. I will never cease to admire your passion and commitment.

THE MEDIA AND THE GLOBAL-LIBERATION MOVEMENT:
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ABSTRACT

From Sept. 24 to Sept. 25, 2009, the Group of 20 summit was held in Pittsburgh, Pa. The event brought in leaders from the most politically and economically powerful countries in the world, as well as protesters committed to the global-liberation movement. Well aware of the carnival-like demonstrations global-liberation protesters bring to cities that host international summits, the media made speculations on the protesters before the event began and reported on them once the G-20 arrived.

Through a textual and framing analysis of 17 magazines and 32 articles that covered the protesters at the Pittsburgh G-20, this thesis determines how magazines framed the global-liberation movement and its protesters in relation to Herbert Gans' enduring cultural values. It is made evident how the activists and the ideals of the global-liberation movement, many of which are non-mainstream, were portrayed to the public, and how dissent in America was reported from the streets.

Ultimately, through Gans' values, the study proves that the global-liberation movement can have difficulty gaining traction because the media is disinclined to fully explain the movement's motivations and issues to the reader, partially because the movement exists on the fringe of common American values. However, it was also found that a high importance was placed on protecting civil liberties in response to what was

interpreted as police overreaction. So while the media might not have conveyed the

specific goals of the global-liberation movement, the protesters' statements were still

transmitted to the reader that any kind of political action is worthy of protection.

PREFACE

I remember being a child who always had opinions. From disliking the Shedd Aquarium at age 7 for not giving the otters enough room, to when my family adopted an abandoned kitten when I was 8, to first going vegetarian when I was 15, for as long as I can remember I have gotten mad at what I considered injustices, and I have felt determined to care and stand up for those who cannot speak for themselves. As I have grown older, I have become more devoted to fighting for not only the defenseless, but also for what is being carelessly destroyed by our society's insatiable appetite for more. But in order to have unfailing passion, you must have information. And so I began to educate myself on what is happening to our dying world.

In September 2009, I decided that reading and arguing was not enough. So my then-partner, Frank, and I drove to Pittsburgh, Pa., for the G-20 protests. As we travelled through the night, the purpose for our journey became clear: If we know enough to care and care enough to know, then it was our responsibility to go. We went to see the global-liberation movement in action and to become aware of how goals that are seemingly unattainable can become so realistic to a group of determined and devoted people.

Pittsburgh was heavily militarized: The city had called for 4,000 external police and national guards people to supplement the existing force of 900. On Thursday, the sky was cloudy, and the atmosphere had a sense of forced amicability. I was surprised by the lack of action from either side then; I saw little protest and little engagement between the police and protesters. But when night fell, Oakland, where the University of Pittsburgh

and its students reside, began to look like some of the infamous protests, such as Rostock or Prague, captured on camcorders and spread across the Internet. It was rumored that a protesters had broken windows of a few symbols of capitalism, such as McDonald's. Students amassed in the streets among groups of protesters and were met by tanks and an LRAD — a long-range acoustic device meant to disorient crowds, and that has been used in Iraq. When a friend and I were taking pictures of the police, an armored officer walked toward us, slapped his baton on his thigh, and told us through a speech synthesizer to get out. On Thursday, there were 36 arrests (KDKA 2, http://kdka.com/local/g20/g20.arrests.list.2.1213517.html#Thursday %20Arrests).

The next day, the sun broke through the clouds, and we headed back to The People's March. The march was meant to be a vehicle for organizations and individuals to unify and project a peaceful message. Papier-mâché puppets and handcrafted banners bounced through the city as protesters beat drums and sang the old protest chants. The day ended for us without disruption at a gathering in Riverview Park. Elsewhere, throughout the course of the day, there were 129 arrests (KDKA 2, http://kdka.com/local/g20/g20.arrests.list.2.1213517 .html#Thursday %20Arrests).

Driving back to Missouri, I was intrigued to know how the rest of the country viewed what I had experienced firsthand, both the peaceful displays of activism and the chaotic nights of protester-police confrontations. And so I have embarked on another learning journey, this time to know how the print media portrayed a movement composed of what may be considered dissidents to the public.

Four years later, I reflect on that trip, and I know that the protests were one of the most defining moments of my life thus far. This is not because I feel we accomplished so

much by being there or even because I still actively advocate for the global-liberation

movement today. It is because it was my first time breaking out of the shelter my life had

provided until then. Those protests and this thesis have affected the way I see the world

— the industry and the trees, the technology and the people. And even now as I work at a

small nonprofit outside of Washington, D.C., advocating for the health and welfare of

feral and stray cats, I feel like the small drop I am putting in the bucket is worth

something.

So I set out to see how the rest of the world saw the global-liberation movement

and protesters through magazines. And I question if the memorable chant, also the title of

Todd Gitlin's famed book, is still pertinent — is the whole world watching, and if they

are, do they know what they see?

CHAPTER I:
INTRODUCTION

America was a country founded by revolutionaries, people willing to demand

something more than the conventional. And for the past two and a half centuries, the

spirit of revolution and social justice has been kept alive in this country, in part due to

social movements. From abolitionists to suffragists to feminists to civil rights

activists, the tradition of speaking out has in many ways defined the American culture

and spirit.

Movements begin with dissatisfaction with the status quo and a willingness to

speak against the norm. As Koopmans (2004) says:

> Away from the mainstream of issues that are generally considered important
> and positions on these issues that are considered legitimate at a particular time
> and place, each democratic society harbors a wide variety of groups who try to
> insert messages in the public sphere that are not generally held to be important
> or legitimate, e.g., the interests of pigeon breeders, or the call to revolution. (p.
> 371)

For roughly the past 30 years, a group has formed a movement against globalization,

and in the 21st century, it has gained significant attention.

The media has played a central role in social movements of the 20th and 21st

century. Gitlin (1980) says, "As movement and media discovered and acted on each

other, they worked out the terms with which they would recognize and work on the

other, they developed a grammar of interaction" (p. 22). Portrayals in the media serve

as one of the primary methods that the public becomes aware of protest, and also that

political elites are exposed to "citizen discontent, expressed outside the more direct

and conventional channels of political representation" (McCarthy, McPhail, & Smith, 1996, p. 478).

As Gitlin (1980) says, the media often will necessitate a news peg, "an *event* deemed, within the news organization, *significant*" (p. 35). It is often the protest events that draw the media's attention to a social movement. The media coverage of protest events from all decades has been a topic of interest for scholars (i.e. Boykoff, 2006; Klein, Byerly, & McEarchen, 2009; McCarthy et al., 1996). Among these studies of protest event coverage, one has yet to be thoroughly researched: The 2009 G-20 summit in Pittsburgh, Pa.

From Sept. 24 to Sept. 25, 2009, the Group of 20, an intergovernmental body commonly referred to as the G-20, came together for a summit in Pittsburgh, Pa. As is characteristic of these large financial and political meetings, global-liberation protesters came to the city from all over the world to demonstrate. Consequently, the American media not only covered what happened within the walls of the summit but also what took place on the streets. This included marches, protests, and other first-amendment action, as well as portrayals of the participants. How the media covered and translated these events is critical to the knowledge base of American-media coverage of protest.

Leading up to the G-20 and weeks after the summit, magazines reported and speculated on the event and what it meant for the city. Magazines that are regarded as leaders and agenda setters in the industry will be studied for their coverage of the G-20.

PURPOSE AND INTENT OF RESEARCH

The purpose of this research is to understand how magazines reported on the protests of the G-20 in Pittsburgh, Pa. More specifically, this research will employ a framing analysis through a textual analysis to find evidence of Gans' (1979) enduring values of the media. Through this, the researcher hopes to envision the landscape in which dissent is portrayed and what that could mean for the greater global-liberation movement. This research will fill an academic hole in that few scholarly studies have been published regarding the media and the G-20 in Pittsburgh, Pa. It is also unique in its focus on the representation of dissent in magazines.

CHAPTER II:
A REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Connecting Movements to the Media

Before Gitlin (1980) wrote *The Whole World is Watching* — a book with far-reaching influences that studied the framing of protesters — scholars studied social movements and protest. In recent years, much attention has been paid to the global-liberation movement and its followers' colorful and sometimes violent protests. What this particular movement stands for and against, how the media frames the protests, and the implications those frames have are among some of the topics for these studies. Much of the prior research has focused on what could be considered the epicenter of global-liberation protest, the Battle in Seattle in 1999. This study continues that research as it looks at the 2009 G-20 global-liberation protests in Pittsburgh, Pa., and how the media framed the event and dissent with relation to Gans' enduring values.

Scholars have observed that social movements and the subsequent protests are often subject to negative media framing, especially when juxtaposed with the values that exist in the media and in American culture. Global-liberation protesters have faced unsympathetic framing as scholars have found the media highlights the deviant, radical qualities of the protesters more than the issues at hand (i.e. Klein, et al., 2009; McCarthy et al., 1996; Olsen, 2005).

There are numerous elements to consider when looking at the media framing of a global-liberation protest, and this literature review intends to touch on those most pertinent to the Pittsburgh, Pa., G-20 protests. First, to build a foundation for

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understanding current social-movement history in the United States, it reviews literature regarding the components of social movements. Secondly, it discusses what role the media plays in social movements. Thirdly, it examines the nature of the global-liberation movement and the doctrine of globalization. Fourthly, it looks at the pertinence of a framing analysis for this kind of research, the usefulness of discourse analysis, and Gans' (1979) cultural values, all of which are used as the methodology of this study. Finally, it reviews the weight and meaning of dissent in the United States. This literature review is meant to connect the many moving parts that are inherent to any social movement, especially one as complicated as the global-liberation movement.

What Qualifies a Social Movement

As long as there have been disproportionate divisions of power, there have been angry and determined groups of the powerless demanding change from the mighty. Social movements act as intense glimpses into the will of humanity, and for that, much research has been done to study their components, influence, and importance.

Tarrow (1998) labels the forces and philosophies of those wanting change as "contentious politics," which he describes as, "when ordinary people … join forces in confrontations with elites, authorities, and opponents" (p. 2). He defines social movements as entities designed to organize and sustain the contention (p. 23). It is the job of the social movement to communicate the politics in an understandable message to the masses, through "frames of meaning" (Tarrow, 1998, p. 25).

Gamson (1992) discusses the varied ways groups frame their mission in order to gain support. An aggregate frame, Gamson (1992) says is when the "we" of the group dynamic is brought to a personal level, making objectives such as peace or preserving the environment the responsibility of the individual (p. 85). In an aggregate frame, no identifiable "they" exists, but instead the focus is placed on abstractions such as poverty and war (Gamson, 1992, p. 85). The collective action frame differs from the aggregate frame, in that the movement does point out a "they" (Gamson, 1992, p. 85). It is the "they" that caused the problem and the "they" that have the power to fix it (Gamson, 1992, p. 85). However, Gamson (1992) also notes that it is not essential for a collective frame to have a clear and focused they; it may be vague, embedded in a call for cultural change rather than political or economic (p. 85).

In addition to the frames Gamson introduces, Olsen (2005) theorizes that the success of movements is based on four separate conditions of a social movement's structure. The first is that the communication of information to the public is credible and justifiable (Olsen, 2005, p. 432). Secondly, the actions of the movement are clearly supported by others in "different localities" (Olsen, 2005, p. 432). Next, "ordinary people and activists around the world" must support the claims of the group (Olsen, 2005, p. 432). And finally, the commitment is physically obvious to the public (Olsen, 2005, p. 432).

In what ways are social movements visible then to the public? Rucht (2003), who defines social movements as "mobilized network of groups and organizations which, based on a shared collective identity, seeks to realize or resist social change,"

asserts that the primary way social movements act is through protest (p. 157). Protest comes alive through "political confrontation" to a "clear opponent" (Rucht, 2003, p. 157).

According to Thorn (2007), the history of the new social movements begins in the 1950s, with the "anti-nuclear mobilizations and the anti-colonial movements" (p. 901). From there came the iconic "solidarity and student movements of the 1960s" (Thorn, 2007, p. 901). The common ground of these movements was that "their identities were defined in anti-establishment terms" (Thorn, 2007, p. 901). Therefore, the anti-establishment terrain was well-traveled by the time America was confronted with one of the largest movements of the 21st century: the global-liberation movement.

Understanding the sociology and history of social movements is essential in laying the groundwork for future study of movements. By comprehending some of the fundamentals of social movements, it is possible to judge the possibilities of the present movements. In addition to Olsen's conditions and the background information provided here, another factor greatly affects social movements — the media. While social movements in America have a varied and formidable background, they are in many ways dependent on the media to transmit messages to the public. The relationship between the media and social movements is complicated to say the least, and thus must be examined for this research.

Looking Into the Global-Liberation Movement

With the 20th-century rise of globalization its countermovement was born. The global-liberation movement (also referred to as the anti-globalization movement, the anti-capitalism movement, and the anti-capitalistic globalization movement) actively disputes and demonizes globalization, paying special attention to the institutions that are proponents of a globalized economy and world. What the global-liberation movement draws attention to can be articulated in the words of Nelson Mandela: "Is globalization only to benefit the powerful and the financers, speculators, investors and traders? Does it offer nothing to men and women and children ravaged by the violence of poverty?" (Mohamad, 2002, p. 7).

The media gave the term anti-globalization to the movement in the late 1990s (Conway, 2003, p. 506). Many protesters reject that title and prefer global justice or global liberation (Conway, 2003, p. 506). Ayres (2004) explains this distaste for the label, saying that what the movement has represented is not anti-globalization at all, but instead "a protest movement against contemporary neoliberal globalization processes" (Ayres, 2003, p. 12). For the purpose of this thesis, the terminology of the protesters has been adopted and thus uses the concept of a "global liberation movement." Boykoff (2006) lists a portion of the causes found under the global-liberation movement: "poverty, the environment, sexual politics, corporate greed to human rights, the AIDS epidemic, labor rights, and the perils of capitalism" (p. 206).

As Conway (2003) says, the global-liberation movement is "an internally heterogeneous movement of movements, opposing neo-liberal American and First World entities" (p. 506). The term global liberation is an umbrella term,

encompassing a wide range of specific causes, from animal rights to environmentalism to workers' rights to nuclear disarmament. Indeed, as Green and Griffith (2002) say, "At first sight the movement looks like an incongruous political mix of contradictions, colours and cultures — in parts vocal and aggressive, in others quiet and conciliatory" (p. 53). Nonetheless, the movement remains united under the larger goal of protecting the defenseless and disadvantaged from the negative repercussions of a globalized society.

The way the global-liberation movement is received might be related to how different it is compared with other large social movements of recent decades. Green and Griffith (2002) acknowledge that the global-liberation movement is not congruent to past social movements (p. 53). It lacks formulaic elements such as a "unified opposing theory, charismatic leaders and revolutionary cadres" (Green & Griffith, 2002, p. 53). Instead, Green and Griffith (2002) say, it is "united at heart by a concern for social justice and a refusal to accept the depredations of the powerful and the exclusion of the poor and the powerless from the mainstream political system" (pp. 53-54).

Although the global-liberation movement has been prevalent for some time now, it is agreed among scholars that the current era of the movement began at the 1999 Seattle Ministerial Meetings of the World Trade Organization, an intergovernmental body designed to regulate trade internationally (Boykoff, 2006; Fisher, 2005; Green & Griffith, 2002). The 1999 WTO protests were indeed a spectacle. Thousands of activists representing myriad social issues came to Seattle in a unified protest against the WTO (DeLuca & Peebles, 2002, p. 125). The streets only

remained peaceful for a short time as police in riot gear soon disengaged mob-control

tactics onto the protesters, inciting hysteria and leading to mass arrests (DeLuca &

Peebles, 2002, p. 125).

What happened at the protests is now commonly referred to as the Battle in

Seattle, a name the media dubbed (DeLuca & Peebles, 2002, p. 125). The violence

that erupted in the streets attracted media attention, which until that point had mainly

been concerned with the events within the walls of the WTO itself. Once reporters

arrived on the streets, Rojecki (2002) found that, through the course of the

demonstration, there was a "growing engagement with movement issues" from the

media (p. 160).

The events in Seattle were significant for the global-liberation movement for

numerous reasons. According to Ayres (2004), these include: the high visibility of the

demonstrations, the diversity of tactics employed, the physical damage to the

corporate symbols of neoliberalism such as Starbucks and Nike, the collective action

of a wide range of international protest groups, and the success of the demonstrations

in closing down the WTO Ministerial Meetings (p. 21). Additionally, the

demonstrations in Seattle placed the anti-globalization movement on journalists'

radars (Rauch et al., 2007, p. 139). Rauch, Chitrapu, Eastman, Evans, Paine, and

Mwesige (2007) studied a five-year period of *New York Times* articles, finding that in

the year prior to the summit in Seattle, only one story about the global-liberation

movement appeared. Subsequently, in the five years after Seattle 209 stories about the

global-liberation movement were published (Rauch et al., 2007, p. 139). The more

than 200 percent growth in coverage indicates that the 1999 WTO Ministerial

Meetings in Seattle were really the beginnings of the current movement (Rauch et al., 2007, p. 139). The protests largely brought the movement forward into the realm of public consciousness (Juris, 2005, p. 414).

After the Battle in Seattle, protest attendance surrounding international neoliberal summits grew (Ayres, 2004, p. 23). As a result, capitalism and the elements of fair versus free trade and globalization were inserted into the mainstream discourse (DeLuca & Peebles, 2002, p. 144). In their same study of the *New York Times*, Rauch, Chitrapu, Eastman, Evans, Paine, and Mwesige (2007) found that Seattle had become a part of journalists' speak — enduring as a "symbolic reference in journalists' narration of subsequent democratic-globalization activities" (p. 140). The Battle in Seattle was used as a reference point a decade later during the media coverage of the 2009 G-20 in Pittsburgh, Pa. (e.g. Hamil, 2009, p. 18).

Examining the roots and motivations of the global-liberation movement allows for deeper understanding of its current state. The movement is made up of people who are loud and colorful, who may sometimes be called radical, and who are willing to face adversity to communicate their message. Additionally, having historical knowledge of the current wave of global liberation makes clear its original conception and sets the tone of the present movement.

Globalization: Where the Core of the Movement Lies

Looking back at the major protests of the past 15 years, it becomes obvious that the global-liberation movement has received intense media coverage. But before

the global-liberation protests can be studied, what it is global-liberation protesters are fighting against should first be understood.

The global-liberation movement blames the majority of what plagues today's world — such as a dwindling ecology, the widening gap between the rich and the poor, and the suffering of Third World countries — on globalization (Green & Griffith, 2002). A brief history of the theory of globalization and its wide-reaching effects should be reviewed.

Dussel and Ibarra-Colado (2006) argue that globalization began in the 16th century, not long after the Americas were discovered and the ideals of Western civilization were popularized (p. 492). The progression of globalization continued with the colonization of Latin America and later Africa and parts of Asia. During this time of imperial power, the colonial world existed on a completely different plane of privilege and wealth than the Western world (Dussel & Ibarra-Colado, 2006, p. 493). Even after these colonies were emancipated, they continued to be subjected to "subordination by means of economic, technological and military power," much of which has carried through to the 21st century (Dussel & Ibarra-Colado, 2006, p. 493).

Green and Griffith (2002) mark several key points in recent economic and political history that have been integral to the burgeoning of globalization. These include, but are not limited to, the Northern oil crisis, the rising indebtedness of Third World countries, the fall of the Berlin Wall and the failure of communism as the major counterargument to both capitalism and the market system, and finally the rise of the New Right and global capitalism (p. 51). The fundamentals of global capitalism, as championed in the 1980s by Western leaders such as Ronald Reagan,

include a "more liberalized trade and investment, tax cuts and concurrent cuts in public spending on social services, deregulation and the privatization of state-owned industries or services" (Ayres, 2004, p. 12).

Meyer (2008) recognizes two separate meanings for the term globalization. The first meaning reflects "expanded interdependencies and rates of transactions around the world" (p. 262). In discussing this definition of globalization, he brings attention to issues such as trade, production and commodity, intellectual property, labor, and "cross-national investment patterns" (Meyer, 2008, p. 262). The second meaning Meyer (2008) discusses expands past economic interdependence into "local and national embeddedness in a world society" (p. 263). This definition relies more on the interconnectedness of people and a global cultural exchange (Meyer, 2008, p. 263).

The institutions that uphold globalization are hegemonic by nature. Gitlin (1980) understands Gramsci's concept of hegemony as:

> A ruling class's … domination of subordinate classes and groups through the elaboration and penetration of ideology … into their common sense and everyday practice; it is the systematic (but not necessarily or even usually deliberate) engineering of mass consent to the established order. (p. 253)

As one of the many intergovernmental bodies designed to act as a leader for the global economy, the G-20 is largely responsible for the expansion of globalization. Its member countries are compromised of the predecessor to the G-20, the G-8 — Canada, France, Germany, Italy, Japan, Russia, the United Kingdom, and the United States — the EU, and other powerful economies from across the globe: South Africa, Argentina, Brazil, Mexico, China, South Korea, India, Indonesia, Saudi Arabia, Turkey, and Australia. Collectively, the member countries of the G-20

represent "over 85 percent of world gross domestic product (GDP), 80 percent of world trade, and two-thirds of the world's population" (Beeson & Bell, 2009, p. 68). At the Pittsburgh, Pa., G-20, it was decided that the G-20 would permanently replace the G-8 as the leader and manager of the global economy (Angeloni, 2009, p. 263).

One of the primary purposes for the creation of the G-20 was to "influence the direction of international negotiations," especially relating to agribusiness (Delgado & Soares, 2005, p. 39). The G-20 also has interest in trade and investment in developing and peripheral countries in the global south (Delgado & Soares, 2005, p. 13). It is generally understood that the G-20 is a proponent of globalization and the free market.

Today, globalization, as defined by Green and Griffith (2002), is the "increasing interconnectedness of individuals, groups, companies and countries" (p. 50). In that regard, Beeson and Bell (2009) establish that the G-20 has a neoliberal agenda (p. 76). For example, looking at the 2004 *G-20 Accord for Sustained Growth*, Beeson and Bell (2009) say it is heavily influenced by a neoliberal orthodox, promoting "fiscal discipline, labor market flexibility, competition, transparency and accountability, good governance, and trade and capital liberalization" (p. 75).

Because of the G-20's support of globalization and efforts to propel it forward, global-liberation protesters flock to their meetings to protest. This creates a formula resulting in the G-20 summits "offer[ing] the international media an enticing mix of popular protest, police brutality and a deeper ideological background, which these often violent conflicts symbolize" (Thomas, 2007, pp. 45-46).

The growth of globalization from an economic theory to a post-modernistic way of life documents the power it and the G-20 have come to have. The materialized entities of globalization affect nearly every living being on the planet. Seeing the sheer weight and power of globalization and its manifestations are critical in understanding the current state of the globalized world and what advocates of the global-liberation movement are fighting against.

Framing in the Media

When dealing with media interpretation and information dissemination of an event, scholars often turn to the theoretical frameworks of agenda setting, gate keeping, and/or framing. This study does not intend to look at the journalists' or the media organizations' decision making in transmitting the Pittsburgh, Pa., protests to the public. Rather, this study is concerned with the way the protests were presented in the news, and therefore employs framing theory.

Before it is understood how framing in the media works, Goffman (1974) asserts that it must be realized that all individuals partake what he calls "primary framing" every day (p. 21). This essentially refers to how a person absorbs and interprets information (Goffman, 1974, p. 21). Primary framing, Goffman (1974) writes, "Allows its user to locate, perceive, indentify, and label a seemingly infinite number of concrete occurrences defined in these terms" (p. 21). McQuail (2005) defines framing as the organization of fragmented facts (p. 378). And Bryant and Miron (2004) say framing is, "cognitive structures that guide perception and the representation of reality" (p. 693). When applied to journalism, perceptions of the

world are manifested through frames, "organized and communicated verbally,

visually, or in print" (Watkins, 2001, p. 84).

As Entman (2003) explains, the selection of events, issues, and connections

promotes a "particular interpretation, evaluation, and/or solution" (p. 417). The way

the organization and structure of a story's information is presented then has the

possibility to assign meaning to the information (McQuail, 2005, p. 379). Entman

(2003) defines framing as:

> To select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient …
> in such a way as to promote a particular problem, casual interpretation, moral
> evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation. (p. 52)

When messages framed through the media are transferred to the audience,

they have the potential to have an "influence over the human consciousness"

(Entman, 1993, p. 51). Entman (1993) expands on his ideas, describing the power of

frames:

> Frames, then *define problems* — determine what a causal agent is with what
> costs and benefits, usually measured in terms of common cultural values;
> diagnose causes — identify the forces creating the problem; make moral
> judgments — evaluate causal agents and their effects; and suggest remedies
> — offer and justify treatments for the problems and predict their likely effects.
> (p. 52)

To make an impact, however, frames also need to generate resonance. Resonance

refers to the degree to which frames elicit a response from interested parties (Olsen,

2005, p. 432).

Furthermore, Entman (1993) says not only are frames used in what

journalists include, but also in what they omit in their reporting — including the same

themes of "problem definitions, explanations and recommendations" (p. 54). In fact,

he says that what is omitted can be as significant to the audience as what is included

in the text of the story (Entman, 1993, p. 54). This "calling to attention some aspects of reality while obscuring other elements," can affect audience awareness and reaction to the information gathered (Entman, 1993, p. 55).

Looking further into the effects framing can have on a news story, Entman (1993) finds that framing can reflect hierarchy of power and the "boundaries of discourse" (p. 56). In a framing analysis study of the media and the U.S. government foreign policy post 9/11, Entman (2003) writes: "Framing is the central process by which government officials and journalists exercise political influence over each other and over the public" (p. 417). Similarly, Gitlin (1980) says, "The power of the media frame to identify the issue in the first place preserves for the framers an important power over the very terms of public life" (p. 142).

Matthes and Kohring (2008) identify five separate methodological approaches to studying media framing:

1. Hermeneutic: Frame identification through linking frames with "a broader cultural element."

2. Linguistic: Frame identification through syntax and word choice.

3. Manual holistic: Frame identification through coding holistic variables in a manual content analysis.

4. Computer-assisted: Frame identification through "specific vocabularies."

5. Deductive: Frame identification coded in a standard content analysis. (pp. 259-263)

Hermeneutic and linguistic framing are of the most interest and thus will be the only approaches explicated. Hermeneutic framing is "rooted in the qualitative

paradigm" (Matthes & Kohring, 2008, p. 259). When employing a hermeneutic frame, smaller samples are used as representations of "the discourse of an issue or an event" (Matthes & Kohring, 2008, p. 259). These frames undergo in-depth analysis, looking for underlying cultural elements and content.

Linguistic framing, on the other hand, is more concerned with the "selection, placement and structure of specific words used in the text" (Matthes & Kohring, 2008, p. 260). Like hermeneutic framing, linguistic framing looks at how the information is framed, but instead it takes a micro approach by studying the words as they fit together within the story (Matthes & Kohring, 2008, p. 260). This approach takes the position that words are "the building blocks of frames" (Matthes & Kohring, 2008, p. 260). Studying the linguistic framing of text ensures a thorough analysis (Matthes & Kohring, 2008, p. 260). Because hermeneutic framing takes a macro look at the text, and linguistic framing a more micro look, the two approaches work together to formulate a complete analysis.

Framing the news is a process that is believed to take place regularly in the newsroom (e.g. Entman, 1993; Boykoff, 2006; Watkins, 2001). Journalism is laborious in nature, especially when considering the amount of information being dealt with. Frames act as a method of organizing and making news more manageable for journalists (Watkins, 2001, p. 84). It affects nearly every news story, and by proxy, it affects the public (e.g. Entman, 1993, 2004; Watkins, 2001; Goffman, 1974).

The researcher stipulates that the protesters and demonstrations at the Pittsburgh, Pa., G-20 underwent framing in the news before, during, and after the event. By studying the magazine articles from the G-20 regarding protesters, the

researcher found how the global-liberation protesters and the movement as a whole were framed and presented to readers.

Media Influence on and Framing of Social Movements

Because the media has the potential to act as a vehicle for social movements by informing the public of the movement's causes, framing, as was discussed, of protests and protesters becomes a critical issue. For protesters, the media acts as a translator to the broader public, bringing light to the issues at hand and to the movement's goals and objectives. For this reason, many demonstrators realize that in order to convey their messages to wider audiences they would otherwise not have access to, they need to seek out media attention (Cottle, 2008, p. 867). Based on the fact that movements need the media to deliver messages, the media directly influences the movement's successes and failures — demonstrators can gain legitimacy and support, not to mention financial and material resources, as a result of media attention (Cottle, 2008, p. 854; Perlmutter, 2004, p. 95). In their study, Gamson and Wolfsfeld (1993) outlined the dependency a movement might have on the media and found that a movement needs the media for the following: mobilization by inspiring discussion among the masses; validation, which comes through receiving coverage from trustworthy news outlets that operate on finite amounts of space; and scope enlargement, by inserting the movement's topic into the mainstream discourse (p. 116).

Many scholars have researched and theorized the traits of a protest that make it likely to receive coverage in the news. McCarthy, McPhail, and Smith (1996)

conducted a content analysis of the *New York Times*, the *Washington Post*, and nightly news telecasts of ABC, NBC, and CBS, regarding the coverage of protests in Washington, D.C., in 1982 and 1991, and they found indicators within the protests that would ensure news coverage, which they named "mechanisms of selection bias" (McCarthy et al., 1996, p. 480). One of these indicators was relevance to the "issue-attention cycle" (McCarthy et al., 1996, p. 494). This is relevant to the protests in Pittsburgh, Pa., because the globalized society is a topic that is gaining awareness and becoming a large part of the issue-attention cycle, likely attributed to various news pegs and current hot-button issues including the visible deterioration of the environment and the 2008 economic collapse (Meyer, 2007, p. 261).

In Gitlin's (1980) study of the framing of the protests held by Students for a Democratic Society in the 1960s, he found that the newsroom cycle played an important role in the framing of protesters (p. 35). Gitlin (1980) theorized that once a frame has been chosen, a reporter does not generally want to complicate the story by adding more complex material, does not have the time to break the general news routine, and is pressured by deadlines to keep simplicity in the story (Gitlin, 1980, p. 35). This supports, as Gitlin (1980) says:

> The crucial, unintended ideological effect is to undermine whatever efforts movements may make to present a general, coherent political opposition; the effect is to reinforce the image that reform movements focus, and in the nature of things out to focus, on single grievances which the system, however reluctantly, can correct without altering fundamental social relations. (p. 35)

Oliver and Maney (2000) conducted a study from Madison, Wisc., looking at four years, 1993 to 1996, of news coverage of what they termed message events — "events whose purpose is to influence the opinion or actions of persons other than the

participants" (pp. 471-472). From this study, they were able to conclude indicators of message-event coverage. Among their findings were that issues with controversy received more news coverage generally, except for some conflicting issues such as animal rights, which received minimal coverage (Oliver & Maney, 2000, p. 476). The size of an event is also a predictor of coverage, as is the presence of conflict (Oliver & Maney, 2000, pp. 481, 482). Oliver and Maney (2000) relate this to the value the media places on drama as well as institutional politics (p. 482). Four other indictors of coverage Oliver and Maney (2000) found were the presence of counterdemonstrators, the amount of police at the protest, if local people organized the protest, and if a sound amplifier was used (p. 496).

Additionally, Smith, McCarthy, McPhail, and Augustyn (2001) found trends among stories from papers regarding the use of sources and themes that were supportive of the sources' political agenda. Their findings concluded that stories that used expert and government officials reinforced the agendas of those experts and officials (Smith et al., 2001, p. 1416). However, this did not prove to be the case when sourcing the protesters because stories in which protesters were quoted did not represent or replicate the protest agenda (Smith et al., 2001, p. 1417). The researchers found that this might lead to disproportionate validation granted to political authorities compared to protesters (Smith et al., 2001, p. 1417).

The influence that comes with being a part of the mainstream discourse is far-reaching for social movements. Andrews and Biggs (2006) found that the news media covering civil rights protests and sit-ins in varying cities inspired and galvanized organizers and students to take part in similar demonstrations elsewhere in

the country (p. 769). They recognize that though information from the media was not the sole factor that led to more action, it did show students that others were practicing this form of protest and brought the actions into their realm of possibility (Andrews & Biggs, 2006, p. 770). In this way, the media helped to expand the social movement.

In addition to informing citizens, the media also plays a critical role in demonstrations by drawing the attention of those in power to the protesters' causes (Koopmans, 2004, p. 368; Smith et al., 2001, pp. 1398-1399). Without media exposure, authorities are unlikely to respond to protests (Koopmans, 2004, p. 368). Therefore, media exposure of the protests could potentially help the protesters move toward goals of policy change and progress (Smith et al., 2001, p. 1399).

Researchers have found that the media attention given to the protests in Seattle and other global-liberation protests has become an integral part of the public awareness of the movement and its ideals (e.g. Cottle, 2008). As Cottle (2008) says:

> It is in and through the news media especially that the politics of protest and dissent is now generally conveyed to wider audiences, and it is by this same means that wider support and legitimacy for their actions and aims can be potentially won — or lost. (pp. 853-4)

As the global-liberation movement has grown, it has realized its own need for the media. Not only does the news media act as a gatekeeper for information flow, but in many instances, it is also a determinant for who or what will directly interact with the masses (Bennett et al., 2004, p. 437). This is not lost on activists, for as DeLuca and Peebles (2002) say, "The activists acknowledge the imperative to appear on the television screen alongside the staged image events of governments and corporations" (p. 127). While demonstrations draw the attention of bystanders,

comparatively the amount of people reached by the media is significantly larger than any sidewalk beside a march can hold (Koopmans, 2004, p. 368).

The way in which the media frames protests can have a great effect on their public perception. Arpan, Barker, Lee, Jung, Lorusso, and Smith (2006) conducted an experiment in which study participants were given news stories about protesters that used either violent or peaceful framing, and then asked them to fill out a questionnaire. The researchers found that the participants were more likely to perceive the protest as successful and identify with protesters if they were framed to be peaceful rather than those who were framed as violent (Arpan et al., 2006, pp. 12-13). This finding indicates that the level of positivity or negativity in framing protesters could affect a movement's outreach, as well as the public's ability to relate to it.

Furthermore, in their study regarding issue representation of protests in Washington, D.C., in 1982 and 1991 and the coverage by the *New York Times*, the *Washington Post*, and nightly news telecasts of ABC, NBC, and CBS, Smith, McCarthy, McPhail, and Augustyn (2001) asserted:

> News reports would tend to marginalize or de-emphasize the issues behind public protests, and they would rely primarily on government and other authorities for information on the protest and surrounding issues. (p. 1416)

This de-emphasis of issues and use of outside sources can prove to be problematic for protesters' issue dissemination (Smith et al., 2001, p. 1416).

Boykoff (2006) identifies framing from the media as ultimately a roadblock to social movements (p. 203). In a thorough content analysis of the *New York Times*, the *Washington Post*, the *Los Angeles Times*, the *Wall Street Journal*, *USA Today*, the

Boston Globe, ABC, CBS, NBC, CNN, and Fox all during the WTO protests in 1999 and the World Bank/IMF protests in Washington, D.C., in 2000, Boykoff (2006) finds that social movements often are subject to episodic framing instead of thematic framing — which he finds leads to "shallower — and in some instances, misinformed — understandings of political and social issues" (p. 206). And in Rhode's (1993) study of the progression of feminist coverage, she finds that early coverage "focused exclusively or disproportionately on 'extremist' tactics or rhetoric" (p. 693).

The relationship between the media and the movement is one of grave importance to perpetuating the issues the movement champions. Prior research can be a foundation to current analysis and study. In this case, research of protest coverage can provide information regarding what is most likely to be written, who was most often sourced, or how complex journalists are willing to make the discussion of a social movement's issues. Though some protesters reject the mainstream media, many recognize its potential for their cause and try to influence coverage and portrayal to the public. The capability of the media to have influence over a social movement is significant to both the scholarly understanding of social movements and of media framing.

Protest and Dissent

Because the ideology of the global-liberation movement does not fall in line with the normative American way of thinking and cultural values, it is important for its sustainability and resonance that it establish legitimacy, in part through the media

(Rojecki, 2002, p.159). Movements make use of the media for "various counter-hegemonic purposes" which include, as Carroll (1999) says:

> Critique of existing social and material conditions, disruption of dominant discourses, codes and identities, and articulation of alternatives, whether in the form of new codes, identities and ways of life. (p. 2)

Strodthoff (2006) defines granting legitimacy as, "The process by which those who regulate the content for a given channel or media organization recognize various concerns pertinent to a social cause as valid topics for coverage by particular channels" (p.134). However, protesters often are not given that legitimacy, and sometimes instead are presented as deviants, separating them from conventionality and what is considered normal.

Determining what constitutes a disruption of social order and subsequently what is deviance is a standard determined by society — as it is the result of breaking social rules and mores that society holds to high regard (Shoemaker, 1984, p. 66). Shoemaker (1984) outlined three measures of deviance based on survey results from the editors of 100 United States dailies (p. 67). The results for what determined deviances were: "similarities to most Americans, amount of change advocated and how close the editor felt to the group" (Shoemaker, 1984, pp. 67-68).

McLeod and Detenber (1999) discuss the protest paradigm (a structure with which journalists build protest stories) and the degree of status quo in relation to audience interpretation of a story's meaning. They did so based on anarchist marches in Minneapolis (McLeod & Detenber, 1999, pp. 8-9). The researchers found that the different degrees of status quo support within reporting translated to the level of deviant framing of the anarchist protests (McLeod & Detenber, 1999, p. 10). For

example, stories that exhibited lower support of the status quo included scenes of interested bystanders while stories that exhibited high support of the status quo were marked by negative framing, such as the people of Minneapolis being disgusted by the protests (McLeod & Detenber, 1999, p. 10).

Deviance is a standard determined by society and perpetuated by the media. When a group or ideal is presented as deviant, it is separated from the norm and has the potential to be framed negatively. The global-liberation movement deals with issues, ideals, and proposed solutions that all, at varying levels, differentiate from the standard way of life. It is the intention of this research to find how that contributed to the overall framing of the global-liberation protests.

Gans' Enduring Values of the News

In studying any type of text, it is nearly impossible not to find evidence of underlying cultural values. In order to properly interpret the values in any story, an examination of the values themselves must first take place. For this study, the researcher will employ Gans' (1979) enduring values as a framework in order to understand the coverage of the protests at the Pittsburgh, Pa., G-20.

In *Deciding what's news: A Study of* CBS *Evening News,* NBC *Nightly News* Newsweek, *and* Time, Herbert Gans (1979) introduced eight enduring values of news that make frequent appearances in news stories. He believed that while journalists strive for objectivity, no news story is void of these values.

When reading a text, Gans (1979) says that the values are not explicit, but instead, "must be found in between the lines" (pp. 39-40). The following enduring

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values have been found to exist between the lines in a wide variety of stories, and are ultimately telling of fundamental American principles of society.

Ethnocentrism: Ethnocentrism is the practice of valuing America above other nations (Gans, 1979, p. 42). First and foremost, ethnocentrism is observed in foreign news in determining to what degree other countries emulate American values (Gans, 1979, p. 42). However, ethnocentrism can appear in domestic news, such as in stories that are critical of domestic conditions, but in the end the stories retain optimism about American ideals themselves and classify conditions that are a result of failures of the system as "deviant cases" (Gans, 1979, p. 42). Gans (1979) argues that the "clearest expression of ethnocentrism" comes in war news (p. 42). This is manifested in several ways, from not covering American atrocities to describing enemy casualties impersonally (Gans, 1979, p. 43).

Altruistic Democracy: Altruistic democracy is the second of Gans' (1979) enduring values (p. 43). Altruistic democracy asserts American democracy is superior to all other forms of government (Gans, 1979, p. 43). This value is seen in the news in commentary and coverage that indicates "how American democracy should perform by its frequent attention to deviations from an unstated ideal, evident in stories about corruption, conflict, protest, and bureaucratic malfunctioning" (Gans, 1979, p. 43). Above all, Gans (1979) writes, the media "implies that politics should follow a course based on the public interest and public service" (p. 43). Gans (1979) explains that the media holds politicians to high standards of scrupulous action, and expects the same of citizens, especially in regards to citizen participation in the government, and it is complimentary of "grassroots activity" (p. 44). Additionally, the media will react

positively to people who help themselves without the aid of the government

(Gans, 1979, p. 44).

The standard by which the news measures citizen and political activity is

based on that of the Constitution, "formal norms of democracy and the formal

structures of democratic institutions as established by the Founding Fathers" (Gans,

1979, p. 44). Nonetheless, Gans (1979) finds that the news will defend "democratic

theory against an almost inevitably inferior democratic practice" (p. 43). This results

in the news being concerned with violations of norms, especially civil liberties, on

both large and small scales (Gans, 1979, p. 43). However, when put into practice, the

media does not defend "activists who strive for the realization of democratic norms,"

and they are often labeled as "extremists or militants" (Gans, 1979, p. 43).

Responsible Capitalism: Responsible capitalism is the third of Gans' (1979)

enduring values (p. 46). In the news, this value is seen through support for the

structure and ideals of Western capitalism (Gans, 1979, p. 46). Gans (1979) writes

that media has an

> optimistic faith that in the good society, businessmen and women will
> compete in order to create increased prosperity for all, but that they will
> refrain from unreasonable profits and gross exploitation of workers or
> customers. (p. 46)

Gans (1979) also writes that opposition to this productivity, such as strikes,

are "judged negatively, especially if they inconvenience the public, contribute to

inflation or involve violence" (p. 46). The media views economic growth as "a

positive phenomenon," though it is critical of severe consequences such as inflation,

or if it puts people out of work (Gans, 1979, p. 46). Other forms of economic

misbehavior are "undesirable in business as in government" but "are nevertheless tolerated to a somewhat greater extent" (Gans, 1979, p. 46).

As far as the operations of capitalism goes, Gans (1979) writes that the news has recognized the "necessity for the welfare state;" though while it is acceptable for the government to help the poor, it should limit its outreach to the "deserving poor" (p. 47). Finally, the value is suspect of all things socialistic or communistic, believing that these things will strip Americans of their "private property and impair productivity and growth" (Gans, 1979, p. 47). Gans (1979) says that the news perpetuates a belief that socialism will lead to an overall debunking of Americans' liberties (p. 47).

Small-town Pastoralism: Small-town pastoralism idealizes small-town America and general smallness over other ways of American life (Gans, 1979, p. 48). The value holds that while cities are interesting places, they are ultimately problematic (Gans, 1979, p. 48). Conversely, the small-town life is often romanticized to be "the good life," where friendliness and a slower pace are the norm (Gans, 1979, p. 48). Additionally, small-town pastoralism is representative of a respect for tradition (Gans, 1979, p. 50). Gans (1979) writes, "Tradition is valued because it is known, predictable, and therefore orderly, and order is a major enduring news value" (p. 50). Small-town pastoralism can be representative of a "virtue of smallness," which comes through most clearly in stories about "bigness" — "Big Government, Big Labor, and Big Business rarely have virtues" (Gans, 1979, p. 49). Bigness is undesirable for a number of reasons, says Gans (1979), namely because it is "a threat to individualism" and also "reflects a fear of control" and of loss of

privacy (p. 49). At the time Gans (1979) wrote his book, he also included the fear of new technology under small-town pastoralism (p. 49).

Individualism: Individualism is Gans' (1979) fifth value (p. 50). He writes, "One of the most important enduring news values is the preservation of the freedom of the individual against the encroachments of nation and society" (Gans, 1979, p. 50). The media appreciates stories of an individual who participates in society "on their own terms," and who "struggles successfully against adversity and overcomes more powerful forces" (Gans, 1979, p. 50). This is commonly seen through the frame of the "self-made" man or woman, someone who has risen against the odds (Gans, 1979, p. 50). Most importantly, Gans (1979) writes, "individualism is … a source of economic, social and cultural productivity" (p. 51). Therefore, the news looks down on forces that would take away a person's individuality, such as technology, socialism, and communism (Gans, 1979, p. 50).

Moderatism: Gans (1979) writes: "The idealization of the individual could result in praise for the rebel and the deviant, but this is possibly neutralized by an enduring value that discourages excess or extremism" (p. 51). This leads to the sixth value, moderatism (Gans, 1979, p. 51). Comparing the fifth value of individualism to moderatism, Gans (1979) writes that "what is valued in individuals is discouraged in groups," leading ultimately to criticism by the media (p. 51).

Essentially, moderatism favors the moderate over the extreme (Gans, 1979, p. 51). Under this value, anything that "violates the law, the dominant mores and enduring values is suspect" (Gans, 1979, p. 51). Additionally, those who "exhibit what is seen as extreme behavior are criticized in the news through pejorative

adjectives or a satirical tone" (Gans, 1979, p. 51). This could go in either direction of excess or abstention, and is not exclusive to politics, but is true across "all human activities" (Gans, 1979, p. 52).

Social order: Social order and the desire to maintain that order is the seventh value (Gans, 1979, p. 52). Order news can be defined by what Gans (1979) calls "disorder news" (p. 52). Disorder stories are found in four different forms: Natural disorder, technological disorder, social disorder, and moral disorder (Gans, 1979, p. 52). Natural disorder deals with natural disasters and forces, while technological disorder accounts for all other kinds of accidents not created by nature (Gans, 1979, pp. 52-53). Social disorder is more complex, and is defined as, "Activities that disturb the public peace and may involve violence or the threat of violence against life or physical property" (Gans, 1979, p. 52). Finally, moral disorder is the "transgressions of laws and mores which do not necessarily endanger the social order" (Gans, 1979, p. 52).

Social disorder stories are particularly evident in the media, both in domestic and international news (Gans, 1979, p. 53). To illustrate the nature of social-disorder news, Gans (1979) uses examples of protest. He argues that in domestic stories, evidence of social disorder often can be seen in coverage of violent, nonviolent, and nonpolitical demonstrations (Gans, 1979, p. 53). Regarding the demonstrations in the 1960s, Gans (1979) writes, "Marches and demonstrations are, from one point of view, protest activities, but the news almost always treated them as potential or actual dangers to social order" (p. 53). This is based in reporting on trouble and violence at demonstrations, as these are results of social disorder (Gans, 1979, p. 53).

Gans (1979) also writes that social disorder is equated with political disorder, as it is seen as a threat to the authority of public officials (p. 58). This lends itself to a larger issue, as Gans (1979) says:

> Beneath the concern for political disorder lies another, perhaps even deeper concern for social cohesion, which reflects fears that not only the official rules of the political order but also the informal rules of the social order are in danger of being disobeyed. (p. 59)

An association can also be drawn between social-disorder news and "ordinary people, many of them poor, black and/or young" (Gans, 1979, p. 60). It is these people who are most often framed as breaking the social order of the "upper sects of society" (Gans, 1979, p. 61).

Moral disorder stories are also concerned with social cohesion, but through the lens of values rather than laws (Gans, 1979, p. 56). These stories most often deal with crime or political acts that are seen as "violations of altruistic democracy" (Gans, 1979, p. 56). Though the values being violated may not explicit, it is clear that there is a "transgressor" (Gans, 1979, p. 56).

Leadership: In order to maintain social order, Gans (1979) says, there must be leadership, the eighth and final value (p. 62). As depicted by the media, leaders are charged with maintaining the social and moral order (Gans, 1979, p. 62). Consequently, this divides society into two groups: leaders and followers (Gans, 1979, p. 63). Additionally, Gans (1979) points out, the news makes it clear that the president is the "ultimate protector of order" (p. 63).

Gans (1979) wrote that these values do not enter journalists' processes and articles consciously, but rather they are "built in to news judgment" (p. 182). Nonetheless, Gans (1979), like other scholars, notes the enormous amount of

information that journalists gather, saying, "They translate that information into news, they frame it in a national context, and thereby bring the nation into being" (p. 298). Like Entman's (1993) views on framing themes, Gans (1979) wrote that the enduring values arrive in a story both through inclusion and exclusion of the values (p. 182).

Looking for embedded cultural themes in a news story is especially pertinent to social movements and protests, as protesters are often proponents of a value that deviates from the mainstream. The protests at the Pittsburgh, Pa., G-20 deviated from the norm in that the ideals of global liberation advocate for a way of life that is starkly different from the current order, and their values differentiate from American societal values. The way protesters were framed in relation to Gans' enduring values is significant to the study of the global-liberation movement as it enlightens how the movement fits into American values and life.

Conclusion

As a social movement, global liberation seeks to challenge the order of the world. Like many mid-20th-century movements, the global-liberation movement is strongly anti-establishment, and manifests itself mostly through large-scale protests. Also homologous to other social movements, the global-liberation movement relies heavily on the media for information dissemination. The attention the media gives to this movement directly influences how the public understands globalization and global liberation.

Globalization has been comprehended as the working economic model of the late 20th and early 21st centuries. It is largely neoliberal in character, and very much

dependent upon open borders and corporate success. Critics of globalization believe these fundamentals lead to divisions between the rich and the poor, a deterioration of the environment, and a plethora of other modern-day grievances. The most identifiable critic of globalization is the global-liberation movement. The global-liberation movement attempts to face globalization head on, bringing light to its shortcomings and alleged evil-doings. Its proponents seek a shift to another world, one that is more harmonious and supportive of community efforts. While critics of the global-liberation movement say the movement is disjointed and radical, the movement prides itself on its diversity and an umbrella-like nature.

The most wide-reaching way the global-liberation movement communicates with the general public is the media. Within this context, framing becomes an important factor. Media framing describes how players and information can be presented to the public, and it deals with organizing information that may influence interpretation. The global-liberation movement encounters frames that shape the coverage of stories about the movement, as does the predominance of cultural values. Gans (1979) discusses how cultural values find their way into news stories, thus perpetuating that given value and strengthening the norm.

The researcher hypothesizes that stories about protesters are often framed in line with Gans' values. When protesters are framed, the frame influences both their image to the public and can affect the issues' conspicuousness. What is especially germane to the global-liberation movement is framing in terms of deviance. Deviance is a cultural standard, and one that is not met with much acceptance. For global-

liberation protesters to be negatively framed as deviant and on the fringe of these

values might compromise their message salience and credibility.

Together, all of these elements create a foundation for examining the 2009

Pittsburgh, Pa., G-20 protests. By comprehending the background of social

movements and the interactivity between movements and the media, studying the

framing of the global-liberation movement at the Pittsburgh, Pa., G-20 event is

possible. This then determines how the global-liberation movement and the protesters

themselves were presented to the American public.

RESEARCH QUESTION

Like previous intergovernmental summits, the 2009 Pittsburgh, Pa., G-20 drew protesters to the city to advocate for their issues and to make a call for change. Per usual, the media, both on the streets of Pittsburgh and from the newsroom, covered the event. And as has been found with previous protest coverage, protesters were framed in relation to prevailing American values. This raises the research question: *Through the lens of Gans' eight enduring values, how were the 2009 Pittsburgh, Pa., G-20 protests and dissent framed in magazines?* The study uses a framing analysis to discover the framing employed by the print media before, during, and after the summit.

CHAPTER III:
METHODOLOGY

The methodological approach the researcher used in this study is qualitative.

Because the research intended to explore the coverage and interpretation of a social

movement, a qualitative approach is appropriate, for as Iorio (2004) wrote,

"Qualitative researchers seek to explain the world rather than measure it" (p. 6). More

specifically, the researcher used framing as a theoretical framework, employed

through an in-depth textual analysis. And finally, through the textual analysis, the

researcher looked to find evidence of Gans' (1979) enduring cultural values in the

magazine coverage of the 2009 Pittsburgh, Pa., G-20 protesters.

A framing analysis is appropriate for this study, because as Watkins (2001)

says, it "seeks to understand the social implications of how journalists organize their

representations of the world" (p. 83). When studying media relevant to

demonstrations and protest, framing has been a popular method in the research

community. Some noteworthy studies include Klein, Byerly, and McEarchen's (2009)

framing analysis that "systematically bracket the dominant perspectives or points of

view that emerged from the 89 news articles selected for analysis," all regarding

protesters of the war in Iraq (p. 332). Through this method, the researchers found

three frameworks of anti-war coverage: "(1) the war is based on lies, (2) the war is

illegal, and (3) the war is immoral," which provided a deeper comprehension of the

protest goals, as well as the media's interpretation of the protests (Klein et al., 2009,

343).

Similarly, Watkins (2001) performed a framing analysis on the television news coverage of the 1995 Million Man March in Washington, D.C., asking "to what extent was the Million Man March displayed and, as a result, made important" (p. 86). Along those same lines, for his analysis of six newspapers' and five television networks' coverage of the 1999 Seattle WTO protests and the 2000 IMF/World Bank protests in Washington, D.C., Boykoff (2006) found a framing analysis to be most appropriate. He wrote, "by framing socio-political issues and controversies in specific ways, news organizations present—if tacitly—the foundational causes and potential consequences of a social problem or issue, as well as possible remedies" (Boykoff, 2006, p. 204). However, if the news coverage is marked by violence and other unflattering framing, social movements can suffer from "negativity and cynicism, and this often discourages social movement participation" (Boykoff, 2006, p. 206).

In order to discover how the protests and protesters were framed at the Pittsburgh, Pa., G-20, the researcher conducted a textual analysis. As Lester-Rouhanzamir and Ramam (1996) write, "Textual analysis differs from content analysis in that it is an interpretative method which allows the researcher to take account of all aspects of content (including omissions)" (p. 702). This is done through careful reading and study of the text, in "attempts to categorize, analyze and evaluate a text based on a set of established standards or criteria" (Morris, 2004, p. 164). Thus, not only is the experience of reading "enriched," but textual analysis also exposes unrealized meanings and strategies of the text (Morris, 2004; Lester-Rouhanzamir et al., 1996). This can lead to uncovering "buried facts or provide leads to other information" (Iorio, 2004, p. 223).

In order to successfully conduct a textual analysis, the researcher must first

gain an intimate awareness of the sample through "a long preliminary soak" (Hall,

1975, p. 15). From here, Hall (1975) says that more specific examples are found and

are to be "intensively analyzed" (p. 15). The researcher then studies these examples

and, as Hall (1975) says,

> They point, in detail, to the text on which an interpretation of latent meaning
> is based; they indicate more briefly the fuller supporting or contextual
> evidence which lies to hand; they take into account material which modifies or
> disproves the hypotheses which are emerging; and they should (they do not
> always) indicate in detail why one rather than another reading of the material
> seems to the analyst the most plausible way of understanding it. (p. 15)

An essential component of textual analysis concentrates on the words of the

text themselves. To gain a well-informed reading of the text, researchers must pay

close attention to how a narrative is built and the stylistic devices used to tell the

story. These elements include a long list of writing techniques cited by multiple

researchers. Morris (2004) outlines textual clues and features, provided for him by

researcher Evan Mahoney, including "abstraction, attribution, connotation,

denotation, contrast, lead, nut graph, narration, exposition, form, induction,

deduction, tone, voice, mood, style, thesis, quotation and metaphor" (p. 157).

Additionally, Morris (2004) attributes researcher Diana Fishlock for highlighting the

importance of looking for evidence of "brainstorming, ambiguity, clichés, character,

close-ups and editorializing" (p. 159).

Regarding placement of information, Boykoff (2006) provides an example of

how adjacent materials contribute to framing in his study of the 1999 Seattle WTO

protesters. He finds that,

WTO protesters are mentioned in direct proximity to assertions regarding chemical and biological attacks, thereby allowing the reader to make the tacit link that these protesters are capable of committing acts of terrorism involving weapons of mass destruction. (Boykoff, 2006, p. 211)

When the researcher studies the individual building blocks of a story, larger components of the text become evident, such as the tone and theme. Simply put, Morris (2004) describes tone and mood as "word choices that indicate … emotions" (p. 159).

In Robins' study of the language and techniques used in the stories of the Sudanese "Lost Boys," she found that prevailing themes emerge. For example, through lack of description of where the refugees came from, Robins (2003) argues a theme among the media of Africa as a land of darkness (p. 38). Similarly, through equating America with both freedom from the Lost Boys' past and also with material wealth, she finds the theme of "America as the promised land" (Robins, 2003, p. 37).

In Peng's (2008) study of coverage of anti-war protests, he looked at the "overall tone of the news item" to determine the story's favorability toward the protests (p. 370). He gives the example of an article that indicates in the headline "Forty Injured as Police Fire Rubber Bullets at Peaceful Protestors" that it is in favor of protesters (Peng, 2008, p. 370). Peng (2008) refers to the type of mood set in a story as its "theme," writing: "Theme refers to elements in the story such as slogans and utterances cited, or actions depicted in the news story that suggest themes of the specific protest" (p. 369). Three thematic categories are outlined: "attack, position and acclaim" (Peng, 2008, p. 369).

By paying close attention to indicators of tone, mood, and theme, Hall (1975) writes, "The analyst learns to 'hear' the same underlying appeals, the same 'notes'

being sounded again and again in different passages and contexts" (p. 15). When employed in a story, these tones and themes then register emphasis and meaning for the reader, framing to indicate how to feel about the information (Hall, 1975, p. 15).

Fueling a story and its theme are the journalist's sources, an ever-powerful player in both the construction of the story and how it is framed. Gans (1979) writes,

> I view news information which is transmitted from sources to audiences, with journalists—who are both employees of bureaucratic commercial organizations and members of a profession—summarizing, refining and altering what becomes available to them from sources in order to make the information suitable for their audiences. (p. 80)

Much of the information a journalist comes in contact with is reliant on his or her sources, invariably playing into the ultimate outcome of an article. Gans (1979) continues, saying, "the most salient characteristic of sources is that they provide information as members or representatives of organized and unorganized interest groups, and yet larger sectors of nation and society" (p. 80).

Sourcing is especially pertinent in protest coverage. In Peng's (2008) analysis of news stories, he defines sources as "items quoted, paraphrased or attributed in a story" (p. 368). Peng (2008) found three categories of protest sources: official sources, such as those from law enforcement or the government; protesters; and outsiders, people who were not a part of the demonstration (p. 368). These distinctions helped Peng (2008) characterize the different framing and themes within the text (p. 374). He found quoting protesters especially important to protest coverage, writing:

> What they say during the protests constitutes important political and ideological messages to the spectators, and through the coverage of the news media, to the audience. Therefore, coverage of their utterances is an important part of the entire news-framing process. (Peng, 2008, p. 374)

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In their study on coverage of conflict in Asian newspapers, Lee and Maslog (2005) found patterns of source type relative to the story's theme of either war or peace. The researchers discovered that in war coverage, sources were more likely to be elite-oriented or leaders, while in peace stories, sources were often people-oriented or focused more on the common person (Lee & Maslog, 2005, p. 325). And in Klein, Byerly, and McEachern's (2009) study of anti-war protests, they took note of the attention given to the protesters' messages and how this contributed to the overall framing of the war in the story. The researchers write:

> The words and descriptions that resounded from the crowds of protesters emphasized a counterframe that challenged original notions emanating from the Bush administration that this war was about "liberation" and "Iraqi freedom." According to the dissenting masses, the Iraq War was more aptly characterized as "a war for profit," "dishonesty," "killing innocent people," "an offense to God." (Klein et al., 2009, p. 345)

The researchers show how the journalists were giving voice to the protests, all the while framing their individual causes either positively or negatively (Klein et al., 2009, p. 345). It is in this way that the sources can have incredible influence over a story — and similarly, it is the journalist who can choose to include or withhold certain sources (Klein et al., 2009, p. 347).

Following framing theory employed through a textual analysis, the researcher identified which of Gans' enduring values exist in the magazine coverage of the 2009 Pittsburgh, Pa., G-20. As discussed previously, Gans (1979) wrote of eight values that in many ways shape American news. They are: ethnocentrism, altruistic democracy, responsible capitalism, small-town pastoralism, individualism, moderatism, social order, and leadership (Gans, 1979, p. 42).

Many aspects of the writing process were used as tools to find evidence of Gans' values by the researcher. When looking for evidence of altruistic democracy, narratives that informed the reader of the difficulties activists had protesting signaled themes of violations of civil rights; and comparisons between good and bad protest, details of protester causes, and descriptions of protester violence all contributed to a discussion on the preferred kind of political action. Comparisons and placement of text also came into play in the discussion of ethnocentrism, as descriptions of undemocratic societies placed against the U.S. illustrated the preference for American democracy. Framing of economic growth as a positive phenomenon was a theme that largely informed responsible capitalism throughout the sample, as well as narratives that illustrated the damage protesters were causing on the city's economy. Small-town pastoralism was found in the sample largely through sourcing Pittsburgh locals as they expressed anxiety over the G-20 and protesters coming to the city. Sourcing also was integral in discovering individualism as magazines quoting protesters and describing their causes framed the protester as an individual, as did juxtaposing the positive efforts of protesters against the harmful policies that the G-20 represents. Word choice and tone were most effective in finding evidence of moderatism — many publications that framed either the protesters or the police as too much did so through words and themes that symbolized violence, destruction, and unlawfulness. Narrative and word choice also informed social order, evidenced in stories of chaotic nights and multiple arrests that were told as examples of order disrupted. Additionally, the tacit placement of the disorder in relation to either the protesters or the police gave evidence as to whom the publication blamed. And leadership was

found through stories that connected leaders to the protester issues, and also in articles that gave room to protesters to call out the grievances they have against the leaders. Ultimately, through the methods described here and others not yet mentioned, the way protesters were framed within these values revealed how magazines disseminated information on the protests, the protesters, and the issues and ideals for which they were advocating.

Magazines That Influence the American Reader

The main focus of the sample is magazines with influence that reach American readers of all persuasions. In order to generate the sample, the researcher began with a rough list of extremely well-known magazines that could be expected to cover the G-20. Then, the researcher searched the SRDS database of consumer magazines, which organizes magazines into different classes. The researcher looked for titles in a wide variety of classes including Affluent, Business, General Editorial/Content, Political and Social Topics, and so on. The researcher gathered magazine titles from those lists for which the Pittsburgh, Pa., G-20 would fall within their sphere of content. For example, the researcher chose to look into *National Geographic* but did not search within *InStyle*. The researcher then relied on the archived content of each individual magazine's website, in some instances subscribing to the magazine in order to gain access to material. Searches were performed with the key terms "Pittsburgh G20," "Pittsburgh G-20," "G20," and "G-20." The articles were then searched for references to protests, demonstrations, or

marches. Finally, the sample was checked against LexisNexis Academic, where the same search terms were used in the category of "magazines."

The following magazines were then found to have covered the G-20 in some capacity, either in the pages of the publication or online: *Bloomberg Businessweek*, *The Economist*, *Esquire*, *GOOD*, *Mother Jones*, *The Nation*, *The New Yorker*, *The Progressive*, *The Weekly Standard*, *Time*, *U.S. News and World Report*, *Wired*, *Newsweek*, *In These Times*, *Bitch*, *The Christian Science Monitor*, and *Reason*.

The magazines in the sample represent a range of ideologies including conservative and left-leaning magazines, as well as the ideologically moderate news and general-interest publications. Left-leaning magazines took the largest role in the sample and included *GOOD*, *Mother Jones*, *The Nation*, *The Progressive*, *In These Times*, and *Bitch*, all of which published 12 articles in total. News magazines also covered the G-20 protests extensively, which included nine articles over *Businessweek*, *Time*, *U.S. News and World Report*, *The Christian Science Monitor*, *Newsweek*, and *The Economist*. It should be noted that despite the fact that *The Economist* is British-owned, the researcher chose to include it in the sample. *The Economist* truly is an international magazine reaching a global audience. Of its 1.4 million readers, more than half are American. And of its 57 news bureaus, 17 are in the U.S. — the largest concentration outside of the U.K. It has tremendous influence in the American market, and for these reasons the researcher considered it highly pertinent to the American reader. General-interest publications represented six articles in the sample from *Esquire*, *The New Yorker*, and *Wired*. And finally, the right-

leaning magazines *The Weekly Standard* and *Reason* contributed four articles to the sample.

As will be discovered, the ideologies of the magazines ultimately played a role in the type of coverage that they provided to the reader, as well as which of Gans' values were most prevalent. For example, the researcher found that left-leaning magazines were more likely to focus on the protester as an individual and often placed blame on the G-20 leaders for the negative issues the globalized society faces. Right-leaning magazines paid special attention to the disorder that the summit and the protesters caused. And the general-interest and news magazines were more likely to view the event from an economic standpoint for at least a portion of their coverage.

Social order was one of the most prevalent themes across all publications, but where the blame was placed shifted based on the magazine's ideology. Left-leaning magazines framed the police as responsible for the disorder, and the right-wing magazine *The Weekly Standard* put the blame on protesters. And while many of the moderate general-interest and news magazines framed the protesters as creators of disorder, they also analyzed the force used by police against the protesters as being too much, presenting them as contributors and creators of disorder as well.

The varying ways that publications covered the event is one facet that makes studying protester coverage in magazines so important. Magazines don't only provide the reader with explanation, but also with exposition. As Johnson and Prijatel write, "…magazines are far more comfortable than any other medium in providing opinion and interpretation, and in advocating the causes of their audiences" (Johnson & Prijatel, 2007, p. 10). The kind of narrative and analysis that magazines offer are

especially influential on social movements as they present complicated issues and the radical demands to readers. Additionally, as was exampled in the literature review, the majority of prior studies of protest in the media have centered on newspaper coverage, not magazines. This study thus contributes to filling the academic hole of protest coverage in magazines.

Limitations of the Study

There are limitations to the research. The researcher's findings are valid for study of mainstream news and its coverage of protest and dissent. The research is representative of media in America in the early 21st century, not yet a decade after the 9/11 attacks, still within the first year of the Obama administration, and facing economic recession and turmoil. This research will not be applicable to the media coverage of global-liberation protests internationally. The United States and the American society react to protest differently than countries in Europe and Asia, where violent dissent is arguably more engrained into the culture.

This study looks purely at the stories describing the protests outside the Pittsburgh, Pa., G-20. It does not include stories that discuss the G-20 meetings, discussions, or decisions of the summit. It does not include information regarding the diplomats or the G-20 interests. The only issues reflected in the study are those that the protesters raise.

Finally, this study focuses on how the protesters were presented in the final product. It does not look into the additional factors that play into the building of the story. This includes the agenda setting of a news organization, the reporters' and

editors' biases, and the gate-keeping power of the organization to select some facts over other information.

Pilot Study

The researcher performed a pilot study on four randomly selected articles. The researcher took three sets of notes for each article: one based on themes and information in the story, one based on writing style, and one based on evidence of Gans' enduring values. Then, the researcher compared the notes to determine if any patterns existed. The pilot study was successful in discovering common themes, style, and evidence of values. Regarding themes, examples of patterns found include police methods for maintaining order, description of protester violence, and references to the Battle in Seattle. Stylistically, there were commonalities of language, structure, and sources used, including using the word "clash" to describe protester-police encounters, describing the G-20 as comprised of the most powerful nations in the world, and giving more direct quotes of authorities than protesters. Finally, there were many indications of Gans' values in all of the articles, including social order, moderatism, responsible capitalism, and individualism.

CHAPTER IV:
ENDURING VALUES SHAPING PROTESTER COVERAGE

Employing an in-depth textual analysis of 32 articles across 17 different magazines that covered the 2009 Pittsburgh, Pa., G-20, the researcher studied the content and style of the text to uncover evidence of Gans' eight enduring values, and to understand how the protesters were framed at the event. Each value was accounted for, though some were much more prevalent than others — altruistic democracy, leadership, moderatism, responsible capitalism, and social order were the most predominant, while individualism, ethnocentrism, and small-town pastoralism were not found to be as relevant to the content. The researcher identified thematic patterns that appeared consistently throughout the sample under the umbrella of each value. These patterns help to explain how the protesters were framed in relation to each value, and ultimately how they were portrayed to the readership.

Ethnocentrism

Ethnocentrism rests on the assumption that the American news holds the U.S. in the highest regard above all other nations, and it most often appears in foreign news coverage (Gans, 1979, p. 42). Because the Pittsburgh, Pa., G-20 was a domestic event, the researcher found that ethnocentrism did not come into play very often. The exception was only in descriptions of other countries' disorder and comparing that to the streets of Pittsburgh with the overall reaction that what is happening is so extreme, it does not belong in America.

Disorder in Other Countries

Because ethnocentrism rests on the assumption that America is a superior democracy and a more civilized nation than other countries, when the disorder in Pittsburgh is compared to other countries, it is used to shock the reader. *Wired* employed this tactic in its examination of the LRAD by giving instances of "sonic weaponry" being used in other countries, under much more extreme circumstances (Hambling, 2009). This included a siege in Honduras — *Wired* paints a picture of the epitome of disorder, including the return of an ousted president and crowds of supporters being tear gassed (Hambling, 2009). The current coup in power was "'blast[ing] the embassy with harsh sounds,'" like the LRAD, to force the president to come out of the embassy he was in (Hambling, 2009).

Reason's assertion that police action in Pittsburgh was too harsh is strengthened through narrating a scene from the streets as belonging in a more chaotic country, not the U.S. It describes an arrest:

> …several police officers dressed entirely in camouflage emerge from an unmarked car, apprehend a young backpack-toting protester, stuff him into the car, and then drive off. It evoked the sort of "disappearance" one might envision in a Latin American junta or Soviet Block country. (Balko, 2009)

The scene is meant to shock the reader not only by the actions taking place, but also by emphasizing that they are taking place in this country, despite looking as though it belongs somewhere void of democracy.

The content matter of the G-20 protests did not lend much opportunity for ethnocentrism. The exception was in coverage that highlighted police tactics for controlling protesters and drawing comparisons to other countries in ways that associated the tactics with chaos and void of democracy.

Altruistic Democracy

When dissecting protest coverage, especially protest of controversial topics, the discussion inevitably turns to civil liberties and how they are relative to the democratic system. As asserted by Gans (1979), the pillars of altruistic democracy include how democracy should perform, the practice of holding politicians to high standards, citizen participation in democracy, and a critical look at violation of rights (p. 43, 44). The researcher found that altruistic democracy was one of the most recurring values in the protest coverage, taking the following forms: favoring grassroots action, framing political speech as either "right" or "wrong," exposing civil rights violations, and assessing what restriction of protest means for the country and American democracy overall.

Grassroots Protest and Democracy

Positive framing of protesters most often derived from an appreciation of their grassroots efforts, the researcher found. Gans (1979) asserted that the media values citizen participation as an essential part of democracy (p. 47). He wrote,

> Citizens should participate; and "grassroots activity" is one of the most complimentary terms in the vocabulary of the news, particularly when it takes place to foil politicians or bureaucrats, or to eliminate the need for government action. (p. 44)

This proves to be especially applicable to the Pittsburgh, Pa., G-20 coverage, as most of the protesters were there with the explicit intention to air their grievances to one of the most powerful intergovernmental bodies in the world, and largely do so through grassroots action.

Unsurprisingly, the majority of magazines that most favor grassroots protest maintain a heavily liberal leaning: *Mother Jones*, *The Nation*, and *In These Times*. In the text, they supported grassroots action in ways that range from simply framing the protesters in a positive light to nearly endorsing the protesters' causes to their readership.

In These Times took the most space to describe the protesters and the global-liberation movement in detail with an approving tone. The article "Ten Years After Seattle" maps the route the movement has taken since the now-infamous Battle in Seattle, showing the reader how activists had worked to adapt, stay relevant, and make an impact through the dramatically changing climate of post-9/11 America. The story frames the protesters in a positive light from the beginning, saying the activists came to Pittsburgh in order to put "the new administration in Washington on notice that 'change' is more than a campaign slogan" (Moraff, 2009). This relates to Gans' (1979) claim that by altruistic-democracy standards, the media holds politicians accountable to their campaign promises (p. 45). The story goes on to say that the activists "were reaffirming their commitment to a world that represents the interests of the poor and disadvantaged over that of the powered elite" (Moraff, 2009). This not only frames the protesters' causes as noble and just, but legitimizes both their presence at the summit and their freedom to call the government on their grievances — grievances that mainly include the "near collapse of the global economy … which exposed the failings of neoliberalism …" (Moraff, 2009). Through framing the protesters' grassroots action in a positive light and by explaining details of their call

for change to the administration, the publication displays an appreciation for the protesters' efforts.

The Nation takes a similar approach in "The World and Pittsburgh," endorsing the protesters by quipping that their classic slogan "Another World Is Possible" should be adjusted to "Another World Is Necessary" (Nichols, 2009). It gives the authority to make these demands of the leaders to the activists who

> are determined to use Pittsburgh's streets, campuses, churches and union halls to demand a paradigm-shifting response to the crisis, one that recognizes that the neoliberal policies that got us into this mess are not going to get us out of it. (Nichols, 2009)

Again, the progressive magazine not only lays the groundwork to support the activists being in Pittsburgh as an essential function to democracy, but it also legitimizes the activist causes by illustrating their grievances against the government and leaders.

Mother Jones values the grassroots efforts of protesters in "The G-20 Protests: Taking it to the Tweets," an article that devotes the majority of its space to illustrate how protesters have taken advantage of technology to "organize and raise hell" (Buchwalter, 2009). By immediately presenting the activists at the G-20 as there to "hit the streets to speak out on a variety of issues, from Tibet to trade," *Mother Jones* shows readers that it respects the protesters being at the summit as well as appreciates political speech (Buchwalter, 2009).

A more mainstream publication's appreciation of grassroots activity can be seen in *Time*'s "Will Anarchists Reign in Pittsburgh at the G20?" The article takes time to look into the activists' goals, and it uses them as a mouthpiece to describe the grievances that they not only have with larger government policies, but also with Pittsburgh and the oppressive actions of the local police against free speech. *Time*

connects the activists to the general population, and gives an example of protester issues, saying,

> [Activist Alex Bradley] was referring to the G-20 globalization policies that he says take advantage of the cheapest labor markets and most vulnerable environments, which are running roughshod, in the anarchists' view, over the 6.7 billion people not invited to this week's meeting. (Levine, 2009)

Though *Time* makes it clear that these viewpoints are not that of the magazine's, it nonetheless shows the reader the activists' desire to incite change, and by going more in depth, it exhibits the value of grassroots activity in relation to the larger democratic climate.

The Right Kind of Political Action

Protest action can be framed favorably when it comes out of grassroots efforts because it represents citizen participation. However in protest-centric stories, the researcher found that altruistic democracy can also take form through framing political action to be either "right" or "wrong"— apart from celebrating the good activists for partaking in grassroots activity, some activists were framed to be too extreme in either their message or tactics.

GOOD's story "Can Art Redeem the G20?" represents one of the strongest examples of differentiating good protest from bad protest by highlighting the "correct" form of political action and reprobating others. The majority of the article describes a youth art project, "Moving the Lives of Kids Community Mural Project," and its intention "to welcome—rather than protest—the summit" (Mock, 2009). This project is portrayed as a "rare uplifting activity during a world gathering normally marked by uprisings," as it is meant to provide the youth involved with "a chance to

make a statement visually instead of joining the crowd of protesters" (Mock, 2009).

Though the magazine uses a local organization's leader to defend the need to protect

the theoretical right to protest, overall, protesters are described as unruly and

potentially violent, and it celebrates the community effort to provide an alternative to

protesting for youths, protecting them from the action downtown (Mock, 2009). The

text suggests that the magazine is drawing the line for the reader between what is

good political activism and what is bad — how freedom of speech should look, and

what is too extreme.

Progressive publications also made the distinction between good and bad

protest, such as the *In These Times'* article "Ten Years After Seattle." After praising

grassroots protest for positive action, it made an effort to separate the destructive and

potentially violent protesters from the rest of the global-liberation movement, saying,

> a handful of young people took it upon themselves to destroy property —
> mostly breaking windows at corporate-owned businesses — and their actions
> were mostly condemned by other protesters. (Moraff, 2009)

Though the line between approved and unapproved protest is much more generous, it

nonetheless exists, forming a barrier between what is a desirable manifestation of

democracy, and what is not.

Protesters as Extremists

While publications support the pillars of democracy in theory, Gans (1979)

believed they are more hesitant to endorse activists who demand those ideologies

come to fruition (p. 45). When this occurs, it is often in line with what Gans (1979)

phrased as, "Activists who strive for the realization of democratic norms are often

described in the news as extremists or militants" (p. 45). The researcher found this to be evident when articles displayed activists as violent, labeled protesters as anarchists, or put the blame for altercations with the police on the protesters.

Though the extreme tactics the police used to control protesters at the G-20 is highlighted in *Businessweek*'s "Protesters Clash With Police as G-20 Opens," ultimately the article spends far more space describing the protesters as political extremists and showing how they repeatedly broke the law (Associated Press, 2009). A subsection of the article titled "Anarchists and Others" immediately labels the protesters as those who deviate from the democratic norms, despite going on to qualify the anarchists as only "small groups" of the majority of the marchers (Associated Press, 2009). The article continues to explain their deviations by describing their banners and chants that were largely against capitalism, without providing the reader with the context to interpret their messaging. It is this lack of explanation that allows the reader to draw negative conclusions about the protesters and interpret them as outsiders from the democratic norm.

In line with its conservative ideology, *The Weekly Standard* perhaps takes the biggest issue with protesters at the G-20 in its coverage titled "Lefty Protesters Get Violent at G-20, No One Frets About State of Republic." In it, the protesters are framed as extremists who are dangerous and on society's fringe, associating them with anarchists (Ham, 2009). The article does not link them with positive political action or the act of voicing grievances, but instead claims they ignore and perhaps even distract from the "state of the republic" — or in other words where true political concern should lie (Ham, 2009).

Defending Protesters' Civil Rights

While Gans (1979) wrote that "the news defends democratic theory against an almost inevitably inferior democratic practice," he also theorized that the media makes an exception when it comes to citizens' civil rights (p. 44). He wrote, "Over the years, the news has been perhaps most concerned with freedom of the press and related civil liberties" (Gans, 1979, p. 44). The researcher found this to be especially true when publications dealt with protesters potentially being denied the right to free speech and freedom of assembly. In nearly every case that this angle was presented, the publication took the side of the activists, showing the readers that the police and government were in the wrong.

Reason finds serious implications of the protesters' treatment, connecting the restrictions on protest to the larger idea that protest is inhibited as a whole in this country. While the article in no way endorses the protesters and their causes, initially saying "one could assume that most altercations represented justified police response to overzealous protesters," it does take up issue with the evidence that the protesters faced discrimination and were denied their civil liberties overall (Balko, 2009). Free speech, which is presented as an existing priority for the magazine, is given even more weight due to the circumstances, calling the G-20 and similar summits "the very sort of events where the right to dissent is the entire purpose of protecting free speech" (Balko, 2009). *Reason* sets out to expose that this was not the case at the Pittsburgh, Pa., G-20, and puts the blame on the police and the city (Balko, 2009). It says that while there is potential for protests to get out of hand, that alone "doesn't give the police license to crack down on every young person in the general vicinity,

nor should it give the city free rein to suppress all dissent," supplying the connotation that not only was free speech under fire at this particular event, but that it is also threatened on a larger, more significant scale (Balko, 2009).

Throughout *The Nation*'s four articles covering the protesters, it continually touches on civil rights violations. In "Police Harassment Greets G20 Protesters," the unjust police treatment of protesters is portrayed as systematic, highlighting a pattern of "unconstitutional searches and seizures," denial of protest permits, and "severe constraints" by law enforcement of legally permitted protests (Eshelman, 2009). This all paints a landscape in which police are consciously and actively denying protesters their rights to freedom of speech and assembly. "The World and Pittsburgh" also hones in on the restrictions on protesters enforced by the city. "Roughly 4,000 police and new rules to detain protesters have not made dissenters feel welcome," the story explains, creating an atmosphere where protests are restrained, and free speech seems to be outright halted (Nichols, 2009).

By focusing in on one dissenter's experience, *Wired* also shows the extent that rights were violated throughout the summit. In two articles, *Wired* describes the experience of Elliott Madison, a Pittsburgh man who was arrested by the police for tweeting to protesters police locations that he picked up from a police scanner. A week after he was arrested, Madison was "raided" by the police, who confiscated items from his home, including manuscripts, pick axes, and computers (Singel, 2009). *Wired* frames this story as both ludicrous and as a sad example of the government perceiving political dissidents as serious threats, and it emphasizes that these types of searches are exactly what the Constitution is supposed to protect U.S. citizens from

(Singel, 2009). Though the story pays less attention to the summit itself, it still takes major issue with how someone who was associated with the G-20 protests is now being treated by the law enforcement (Singel, 2009).

The suppression of civil rights is expanded in a few publications to apply to what it means for dissent as a whole in the United States. In mapping the evolution of the global-justice movement, *In These Times* describes the post-9/11 general attitude toward dissent as "… to question American motives and action was tantamount to defeatism …" (Moraff, 2009). *Wired* extends that idea to the Pittsburgh, Pa., G-20, calling Elliott Madison "yet another casualty of the government's nasty, post-9/11 habit of considering political dissidents to be threats to national security" (Singel, 2009). And *Reason* defends political dissidents as a whole in the article "Civil Disobedience is Not Terrorism," in which it profiles a sector of law-enforcement agents who have taken it upon themselves to disobey orders that come in conflict with a citizen's rights, and says that these civil servants could have benefited the protesters at the Pittsburgh, Pa. G-20 (Walker, 2009).

With the combination of the global-liberation protests being so politically charged, and protest activity being the core of democracy, altruistic democracy easily shone through in the magazine coverage of the G-20, the researcher found. This is seen through an appreciation of the grassroots efforts of protesters, framing political action to be either right or wrong, presenting protesters as extremists, exposing civil rights violations, and connecting those civil rights violations to the larger democratic climate. Doing so set the tone for the reader of the protests at the G-20 — it either grants approval of the protests through appreciating citizen participation and

defending political action, or it condemns them for being too on the fringe ideologically and their actions being too extreme.

Responsible Capitalism

Responsible capitalism is the idea that the researcher found has evolved the most since Gans first conceived his values in 1979, largely based on the tumultuous years the American economy has faced. Nonetheless, though the value has shifted in the way it appears in the media, its basic attributes remain largely unchanged: that men and women should compete with each other and create increased prosperity for all, unreasonable profits and gross exploitation should be refrained from, bigness is not a virtue, economic growth is a positive phenomenon, and business people should be honest and efficient (Gans, 1979, p. 46). The researcher found these themes prevalent in a number of articles in the sample, in the form of Pittsburgh as a story of triumphant capitalism, protesters hurting the local economy, protesters opposing capitalism, and lastly the promise of responsible capitalism.

Pittsburgh's Story of Triumphant Capitalism

The researcher found that one of the best displays of positive framing of responsible capitalism in the sample was in Pittsburgh's comeback story. Formerly plagued by the death of the steel industry, Pittsburgh, Pa., was traveling down a path similar to many post-industrial American cities ("The revival of Pittsburgh: Lessons for the G-20," 2009). *Time*'s "Why is the G-20 Being Held in Pittsburgh?" tells the story of Pittsburgh's revival through showing Obama's support and enthusiasm for

the city (Fletcher, 2009). The article paraphrases Obama's decision to host the G-20 in Pittsburgh, Pa., in order "to showcase the city's reinvention from an aging industrial town into a tech-heavy, eco-friendly metropolis with a burgeoning alternative-energy sector" (Fletcher, 2009). Additionally, statistics of Pittsburgh's unemployment and foreclosure rates solidify the city's transformation, with the undertone that it was fueled by capitalism (Fletcher, 2009).

As *The Economist* raves, the city has completely bounced back from the economic hit it took, thanks to "good long-term planning," which included, "state and local officials" providing investment, and "universities and community and corporate leaders" coming together "to develop economic and business strategies for the region" ("The revival of Pittsburgh: Lessons for the G-20," 2009). *The Economist* lists attributes of capitalism as anchors for the city's economic renaissance, such as entrepreneurship being fostered, becoming hub for technological innovation, and being one of the best cities for job growth, as named by *Forbes* ("The revival of Pittsburgh: Lessons for the G-20", 2009).

Protesters Hurting the Local Economy

The tale of Pittsburgh's transformation is countered throughout the sample with expectations and reactions to protesters hurting the local economy and businesses, told with an overall disapproving and disappointed tone. This is illustrated through businesses preemptively closing and boarding up windows, as described in *GOOD*'s "Can Art Redeem the G-20" (Mock, 2009). *Time*'s "Will Anarchists Reign in Pittsburgh at the G-20?" similarly describes preparations for the protesters' arrival

as "businesses blocks away decided to shut down or arrange for workers to

telecommute. And *U.S. News and World Report* describes the aftermath in grisly

detail:

> Last week, the G-20 summit rolled through Pittsburgh like a tornado on the plains of Kansas, leaving behind a path of destruction. According to *The Pitt News*, more than 10 businesses were damaged and more than 40 people arrested. (Greer, 2009)

Because responsible capitalism is such a predominant value in the media, especially

on a smaller city and local businesses level, stories of protesters hurting the local

economy added to their overall negative framing.

Protesters Opposing Capitalism

Many of the protesters at the G-20 came to confront issues they had with the

capitalistic structure, and their opposition was in some cases on display in the media.

From mainstream mentions of protester causes, such as *Time* and *Businessweek*

quoting a protester banner that read "No hope in capitalism" and "NO BAILOUT NO

CAPITALISM," to larger endorsements from left-leaning magazines of the

protesters' mission against capitalism's corruption, the general failings of responsible

capitalism came through (Levine, 2009; Associated Press, 2009).

In "Will Anarchists Reign in Pittsburgh at the G-20?" *Time* takes a look at a

meeting of the Pittsburgh G-20 Resistance Project, in which anarchist Alex Bradley

says, "People out there are angry, and they're angry about the same issues you're

angry about" (Levine, 2009). *Time* then gives room to expand on these issues:

> He was referring to G-20 globalization policies that he says take advantage of the cheapest labor markets and most vulnerable environments, which are

running roughshod, in the anarchists' view, over the 6.7 billion people not invited to this week's meeting. (Levine, 2009)

Unsurprisingly, *The Nation* and *In These Times* also identified the issues that the protesters have with the G-20 and with capitalism. *The Nation* provides a concise and accurate assessment of the protester problem with capitalism and demands for the G-20:

> The activists are determined to use Pittsburgh's streets, campuses, churches and union halls to demand a paradigm-shifting response to the crisis, one that recognizes that the neoliberal policies that got us into this mess are not going to get us out. (Nichols, 2009)

This description does not just put Wall Street on trial, but the entire system. And in its discussion of the global-liberation movement's reemergence, *In These Times* sources senior analyst with Foreign Policy in Focus Mark Engler saying,

> "With the financial collapse you see a return to some of the attention given to these issues [of globalization]. There is definitely a tremendous amount of public outrage around the world about…neoliberal capitalism's failure to support working people." (Moraff, 2009)

By shedding some light on the fundamentals of neoliberal capitalism and why protesters advocate for a different system, not only is the protest presence validated at the G-20, but it also engages the audience in a deeper discourse that exposes the ultimate failure of capitalism in recent years.

The Promise of Responsible Capitalism

Many articles' focus on protester issues circled back to the fundamental promise of capitalism, as described by Gans (1979):

> An optimistic faith that in the good society, businessmen and women will compete with each other in order to create increased prosperity for all, but that

they will refrain from unreasonable profits and gross exploitation of workers or customers. (p. 46)

Throughout the coverage, this is contrasted with the reality of capitalism in the light of the financial collapse. And while some extreme ideas of departing from capitalism all together arise through the protester voice, most often magazines reflect a vision of an ideal economic structure, a call to return to a responsible economic system, and what that meant exactly in regards to the G-20's realm of influence.

In one case in *The Nation*, how responsible capitalism is not the current reality was reflected in a citizen's take on the G-20 coming to his town: "'…Pittsburgh's broke. What about the ghettos, what about the homeless, the food banks?'" (Eshelman, 2009). This illustration departs from the shiny city of innovation and capitalistic success that is painted in so many other articles, as it attempts to expose the underbelly of the G-20: the average citizen who bore the brunt of the financial collapse, and who is still reeling.

The Nation continued to show some of the best examples of the protesters' demands for economic reform based on responsibility. A fundamental ideological shift was called for in "The World and Pittsburgh," a shift that required "Changes in global governance that shake the grip of bankers and CEOs" (Nichols, 2009). This would mean a "strong government" that is able to "stimulate, regulate and steer the economy" — the steps necessary to ensure positive growth and increased prosperity for all. Creative approaches were also discussed, in particular a "greater public investment in economic stimulus programs that encourage alternative energy production" — an endeavor that Greenpeace and the European Renewable Energy Council endorsed and that could support 8 million jobs by 2030 (Eshelman, 2009).

These tangible and seemingly attainable goals balance the idealism of the protest

groups with the reality that there are alternatives to the reliance on banks and the

investors that caused the collapse, but that a readjustment is necessary.

     In These Times took an equally strong look at what responsible capitalism

should be and held it against the reality, supporting the protesters' call to the

government to work toward "a world that represents the interests of the poor and

disadvantaged over that of the powered elite" (Moraff, 2009). The broken promise of

capitalism is displayed through defending the poor while simultaneously condemning

the elite, ultimately calling for an overhaul of the system.

     How that system could take shape is described in *In These Times*' "Global

Unions Tell G20: Create Jobs, Reduce Inequality." The entirety of this article speaks

to the union reaction to the financial collapse, as well as the fundamental changes that

need to take place in order to return to a more idealized vision of responsible

capitalism (Moberg, 2009). This is framed as important for "humanitarian reasons,"

and also to "assure that the small signs of recovery resulting from government

stimulus programs turn into self-sustaining economic and employment growth"

(Moberg, 2009). Sourcing John Evans, the general secretary for the Trade Union

Advisory Committee to the Organization for Economic Cooperation and

Development, the article lists multiple ways the government could ensure the

economic growth and protection of workers that is required for responsible capitalism

to return to a functioning norm (Moberg, 2009). Examples include continuing

stimulus programs, ensuring that workers do not pay for the crisis through taxes or

service cuts, and re-regulating the financial sector (Moberg, 2009). But at the core, the publication explains that the unions seek

> A new, more balanced model for global and national economic growth that addresses the "underlying causes" of the crisis "in fundamental economic and governance imbalances that are the direct result of three decades of neo-liberal economic policies, with the effect that the fruits of growth have not been distributed to workers." (Moberg, 2009)

While this shift in ideology may come across as radical at first, at its base are ideas that are tantamount to responsible capitalism itself.

In the sample, the researcher found that responsible capitalism can be divided into two separate themes: the basic theme of responsible capitalism working and wanting to protect it, and the more complicated look at how responsible capitalism has been broken down since the financial collapse and a general agreement that a return to responsible capitalism is necessary. First, exhibiting Pittsburgh's economic achievements and telling its success story was an example of Gans' responsible capitalism at work. This was contrasted with protesters threatening in some way to destroy that progress and the positive achievements of the city of Pittsburgh. Simultaneously, it was acknowledged that capitalism had taken a huge hit with the financial collapse of 2008. This led to small endorsements of protester missions that called for economic reform. However, what most publications were advocating for was an ultimate return to responsible capitalism in order to remedy the situation, evidence that there was still faith that capitalism is the superior economic system and that if handled responsibly, could bring benefits for the greater population.

Small-town Pastoralism

Like ethnocentrism, small-town pastoralism was underrepresented in the sample. Because small-town pastoralism mainly exhibits the media's preference for small towns and the general idealization of "the good life" that only exists in small-town America, it was largely irrelevant to the protest coverage at the G-20 (Gans, 1979, p. 48). The researcher found that a few articles of varying ideological backgrounds did treat Pittsburgh, Pa., as though it were a small town, and in those instances the value was evident. In that regard, local voice and reaction reflected small-town pastoralism and the city's small-town narrative was strengthened through general descriptions that idealized Pittsburgh, Pa.

Local Voice and Reaction

Small-town pastoralism came through in the sample through the local Pittsburgher perspective, one that was represented both through a simple, hometown voice and through an overall sense of anxiety over the protesters. *The Nation* was one of the few publications to talk to non-protesting locals. First, "city workers" are quoted saying they hadn't seen any protesters (Eshelman, 2009). The second conversation is more in-depth with a coal passer on his way to a baseball game with his granddaughter — painting an antiquated but still romanticized portrait of a "true" American (Eshelman, 2009). Miller is decidedly against the G-20 being in Pittsburgh on account of the funds used for security not going to what he sees to be worthier causes — aiding the homeless and helping the food banks (Eshelman, 2009). And regarding the protesters, he believes that the city should "'let 'em protest'"

(Eshelman, 2009). It does not seem to be a coincidence that both voices are more

working-class oriented, perhaps an attempt to showcase the "real" Pittsburgh, one that

is representative of an idealized small-town America.

Other representations of local voices centered on locals feeling "anxious,

angry, and largely confused" by the protesters and by the police presence (McBee,

2009). The buzz prior to the event had led to fear of protesters being "the talk of

grocery and bank lines" (Levine, 2009). This emphasis on the local reaction,

especially with a tone that is weary of the bigness of the G-20, reflects magazines

valuing the small-town Pittsburgh voice, while also negatively framing protesters

coming into the city.

In two instances, publications expressed locals' concern over the treatment of

protesters. In *GOOD*'s "Police at the G20: How Are Locals Faring?" how a particular

citizen is inconvenienced by the police presence is highlighted, and it also quotes her

saying, "if this is how they're treating us, how are the people who are actually

fighting for human rights being treated?" (Mock, 2009). And *Reason* sources a

Pittsburgh student who is also concerned with police treatment of protesters, saying,

> "…people have no sympathy for peaceful protesters *or* curious college
> students on their campus. They just feel comfortable and confident that people
> who have the right to use force on other people are always in the right …"
> (Balko, 2009)

It is this kind of framing that portrays Pittsburgh, Pa., as a simple, small town,

juxtaposed against the much grander G-20. While other articles did not give as

specific examples of small-town pastoralism as the ones examined here, the

researcher did find a theme that Pittsburgh was unprepared for the protesters coming

to the city because it is not the booming metropolis that traditionally holds these kinds

of summits, and this contributed to an overall frame that protesters were invading and hurting the city.

Individualism

News stories that focus on individuals seek out and highlight qualities that show the individual as a source of productivity, who struggles and overcomes more powerful forces, or who are self-made (Gans, 1979, pp. 50-51). Conversely, individualism also appears in stories that deal with forces that "rob the individual of their initiative," and is deeply concerned with the "preservation of the freedom of the individual" (Gans, 1979, p. 50). The researcher found that Gans' individualism value came through most often in the form of the protester. Stories in the sample praise the protester as an individual for existing in the world on his or her own terms, as someone who is making a contribution to the greater society, and for standing up against more powerful forces.

The Protester Participating in Society on His or Her Own Terms

Throughout the Pittsburgh, Pa., G-20 coverage, the researcher found several instances of when the protester, and one case of a Pittsburgh citizen not involved in the protests, is praised for being an individual who thought and acted independently. Gans (1979) wrote, "The good society of the news is populated by individuals who participate in it, but on their own terms, acting in the public interest, but as they define it" (p. 50). The researcher found this to be evident in the coverage of protesters by left-leaning magazines that framed some protesters' beliefs and causes in a noble,

rugged way, showing them to be free-thinking and also righteously concerned

citizens. *The Nation* does this in several instances throughout its coverage by giving

substantial room in the articles to quote activists' concerns with and outrage against

the G-20, perpetuating the protesters' messaging. In "Fortress Pittsburgh," *The Nation*

writes:

> Geoff Frost, a local activist, offered a concise statement on the situation: "I think the thing that really strikes me is the whole idea that the people who are coming to meet here to talk about how to fix problems with the climate and the financial crises are literally the people who engineered those problems." (Eshelman, 2009)

It then continues with "Unfortunately, that message isn't getting out to a lot of people

in Pittsburgh" (Eshelman, 2009). Allowing Frost as an activist nearly an entire

paragraph of the story to air his grievances not only values his thoughts on the G-20,

but also values him as an individual who has opinions that are outside of the norm.

And in the sentence that follows, *The Nation* postulates that his ideas are worthy of

being spread to the masses and to the G-20 itself.

    In These Times takes a similar route in its descriptions of protesters. "Ten

Years After Seattle" sets the scene in Pittsburgh, Pa., explaining that protesters were

there to reaffirm "their commitment to a world that represents the interests of the poor

and disadvantaged over that of the powered elite" (Moraff, 2009). Dissecting that

sentence shows that the protesters are there to stand up for the "poor and

disadvantaged," a noble cause to begin with, but put that against the interests of the

"powered elite," and immediately they are framed and valued as individuals who take

on the current structure and act in society on their own terms (Moraff, 2009).

In *Wired*'s coverage of Elliott Madison, the citizen arrested during the G-20 for tweeting the location of police, it solidifies its depiction of him as a freethinking individual through descriptions such as "anarchist and prolific writer" (Singel, 2009). The story shows that he participates in society on his own terms by giving examples of his non-mainstream lifestyle, such as his participation in the "Curious George Brigade" — a group that published a book titled *Anarchy in the Age of Dinosaurs* (Singel, 2009). *Wired* also draws the comparison of Madison's aid to protesters to the use of Twitter by protesters in Iran to organize anti-government protests, which it says were praised by the Department of Justice as a "boon to democracy" (Singel, 2009). This further asserts Madison as a martyr, someone who the government is being hypocritical not to recognize as a protector of democracy.

The Protester as a Source of Social or Cultural Productivity

The media also often tells the story and praises the individual who makes some kind of social or cultural contribution. Most often, the researcher found instances like this in left-leaning magazines such as *Mother Jones*, *The Nation*, and *In These Times* that framed protest as socially productive. *Mother Jones*' "The G-20 Protests: Taking it to the Tweets," looks at how Twitter was used to "organize and raise hell" (Buchwalter, 2009). The magazine frames the protesters at the summit as there to "speak out on a variety of issues, from Tibet to trade" (Buchwalter, 2009). This description of the protesters' causes, along with using the term "speak out" paints the protester as someone who is attempting to not only raise his or her voice, but do so to incite change for the positive. Similarly, *The Nation* highlights the protest

group Code Pink in "Police Harassment Greets G-20 Protesters," and disseminates its mission as an organization to bring light to the plight of women refugees (Eshelman, 2009). And *In These Times* quotes expert on global justice Heather Gautney saying, "There are so many great projects these kids are working on — building squat communities and giving homes to illegal immigrants, organic farming, Food Not Bomb's programs, feeding Katrina victims" (Moraff, 2009). These socially productive projects that help a wide range of groups and promote a variety of causes furthers the idea that the protesters are individuals who are "not just fighting in the streets," as Gautney says, but who are creating real and lasting change (Moraff, 2009).

GOOD's "Can Art Redeem the G20?" was the only story that made the juxtaposition between a positive project and the protesters. As was consistent with the coverage in this particular article, which told the story of an organization that commissions teen artists to paint murals, the protesters were seen not as contributing to society but instead creating an environment from which the youths had to be saved (Mock, 2009). The project and the organization represented a positive outlet for expression and social productivity, a "rare uplifting activity during a world gathering normally marked by uprisings" (Mock, 2009). In *GOOD*'s other G-20 article, "Police at the G20: How are the locals faring?" it highlights an individual who was not related to the protests. Pittsburgh businesswomen Liana Maneese is the focus of the lede anecdote, which explains how she was sidetracked on her way to meeting for a group called "GET Larimer," a local organization that works to revitalize one of Pittsburgh's most deprived neighborhoods (Mock, 2009). Giving a significant amount

of space to this woman and her cause, she is highly valued as an individual,

establishing what *GOOD* frames as worthwhile societal contributions.

The Protester Standing Up Against Powerful Forces

Gans (1979) writes, "The ideal individual struggles successfully against

adversity and overcomes more powerful forces," and in the context of the global-

liberation protesters, this characteristic came through in stories that frame the activists

as standing up against both the police and the G-20 (p. 50). *Time*'s article "Will

Anarchists Reign in Pittsburgh at the G-20?" opens with a "gathering of anti-

authoritarians," perhaps alarming at first look, yet it alerts readers that the group

claims to have been "followed, photographed, stopped and searched in the run-up to

their protests" (Levine, 2009). Despite alleged "propaganda" that went out from "the

state" leader Alex Bradley explains, "a huge part of our effort was to reach out to

people. People out there are angry, and they're angry about the same issues you're

angry about" (Levine, 2009). Through the progression of first showing the protesters

being targeted by police, then claiming that the common fear of protesters is actually

derived from the propaganda put out by the state, and finally calling out protester

perseverance to continue to effect change and educate the public, *Time* shows the

reader that the protester is not only a source for good, but also one that is overcoming

much adversity in order to expand that good.

Wired's portrayal of Elliott Madison, the "self-described anarchist" who was

arrested during the G-20 summit for tweeting to protesters the location of police, very

clearly presents Madison as an individual who is standing up against the current

system (Singel, 2009). This is initially seen in his aiding the protesters in avoiding "heavily armed cops" (Singel, 2009). Then, he was pursued by law enforcement, wrongfully so, as *Wired* frames it (Singel, 2009). Madison though continues to fight against the powers at be who, in line with Gans' theory, are attempting to encroach on his individualism.

Individualism most often shone through in the form of the protester, as magazines zeroed in on one individual or a small group of individuals who were at the G-20 to attempt to inspire change. The qualities that made the protester an individual, as told through the magazine articles, included the protester participating in society on his or her own terms, taking action that could potentially be socially productive, and standing up against powerful forces. While not every instance completely endorsed the protester messaging, framing the protester as an individual in some ways allowed for acceptance of activism at the G-20.

Moderatism

Of Gans' values, one of the most relevant to the coverage of the Pittsburgh, Pa., G-20 and its protesters was moderatism. Moderatism in the media manifests itself through a general favoritism toward the moderate, and "discourages excess or extremism," especially when those qualities appear in groups (Gans, 1979, p. 51). It is important to note that moderatism pertains to both excess and abstention (Gans, 1979, p. 52). The three main players of the G-20 discourse can be identified as the protesters, the G-20 leaders, and the police, and all three are guilty of lacking moderatism, as described by the media coverage. Multiple publications interpreted

protesters as too extreme in their demands and actions, the police too extreme in their

riot-control tactics, and the G-20 too extreme in its wealth and power.

Protesters as Extremists

Throughout the magazine discussion of G-20 protests, it is not surprising that

the researcher found moderatism most often exemplified through protesters acting too

extremely. Protest action was criticized for being too big, too violent, and from an

ideological standpoint, too on the fringe of commonly accepted ideals.

At the most basic level, the magazines described the protester numbers as

simply too much. The idea of "an onslaught of protesters" invading the city is

repeated, and in masses that are far from moderate ("The revival of Pittsburgh:

Lessons for the G20," 2009). The implication is that too many protesters means

certain disturbance; *The Economist* claims that the resistg20.org website "promises a

mass march and other protests to disrupt the summit," quantifying that with the

35,000 people that came to the London G-20 summit the previous April ("The revival

of Pittsburgh: Lessons for the G20," 2009). The metric for too many protesters was

also illustrated through comparison. *GOOD*'s "Can Art Redeem the G20?" describes

thousands of activists and sojourners coming to the Pittsburgh, Pa., G-20, followed

with local speculations of mass arrests, and then brings the reader to a much more

moderately sized group — 60 teens and a dozen local artists participating in an art

project (Mock, 2009). This technique clearly links for the reader what is excessive

and what is moderate enough to garner approval. Elsewhere in the sample, marches

having as many as 800 people are described as being met with resistance from the

police, who are shown as trying to control the demonstrations, leading the reader to associate the protesters with automatic disturbance (Levine, 2009).

Most often, magazines took issue with protester tactics, and the researcher found this to be the most tangible example of moderatism at play. Wild descriptions of protesters include pushing Dumpsters and throwing rocks at the police (Singel, 2009; Levine, 2009). *GOOD* introduces protesters in "Police at the G20: How Are Locals Faring?" with the nomenclature "people smashing windows" (Mock, 2009). Additionally, publications rarely sought understanding for protester tactics, instead portraying what *Bitch* called "action without direction" (McBee, 2009). This kind of direct action is denoted to be too extreme, even through the common voices that publications quoted. Speaking to a community organizer, *GOOD* selects this activist's opinion to impart: "'I don't agree with riot culture and some of the tactics in terms of direct action … I prefer more creative and inspiring direct action that involves art'" (Mock, 2009). The reader is then given a link to the *GOOD* story "Can Art Redeem the G20" with text that says, "an example of more peaceful public engagement" (Mock, 2009). *The Weekly Standard*'s description of the demonstrations at the G-20, which "erupted in violence, as globalization protests always do," is representative of the non-moderate, aggressive direct action that was tied to the global-liberation protesters throughout the sample (Ham, 2009). Said violence included "damaged businesses, barrels and rocks thrown at law enforcement, setting fire to posters, and parading around like anarchists …" (Ham, 2009). Selectively highlighting the violent actions of some protesters ups the sensationalism of the G-20 protests, and creates a connotation that the protesters are completely void of moderatism.

In some instances, magazines speculated on the type of protester action that was in store, making the assumption that aggressive direct action was on the horizon. *Time* posits this question directly in the title of its story "Will Anarchists Reign in Pittsburgh at the G-20?" The first line of the lede reads, "The anarchists came to Pittsburgh to prepare to disrupt the G-20 summit," practically answering its own question immediately with the most egregious scenario for protesters being at the summit (Levine, 2009). And while the rest of the article describes the back and forth between the protesters and the police and state, it is peppered with descriptions of an upcoming "big protest" and of locals boarding up their windows and staying out of downtown out of "fear of protesters" (Levine, 2009). It is this expectation for extremism that blocks the potential for approval and possibly protester messaging to get through.

Specific global-liberation causes that were found to be on the outskirts of common thinking are also called out as differentiating too greatly from the norm, another violation of moderatism. For example, protesters are described on the fringe through monikers such as "everyone who has a problem with globalization" (Davidson, 2009). *GOOD* describes the range of activists coming to the summit from "passive and peace-loving to [the] most militant anarchists" (Mock, 2009). Not providing a middle ground and only the most extreme ends of the spectrum disallows the protesters from being accepted as moderate.

Even left-leaning magazines drew the line for what is acceptable action and what is too extreme. In defense of the global-liberation movement, *In These Times* qualifies the destructive direct action that took place at the G-20 as something that the

majority of protesters "say draws media attention away from more constructive voices," and goes on to point out that the majority of the damage is believed to be caused by one single protester — indicating that this negative excessiveness is not representative of the movement as a whole (Moraff, 2009). The magazine then balances the story with what might be considered more moderate, peaceful projects, such as giving homes to illegal immigrants and organic farming — qualified as what the movement's participants favor (Moraff, 2009).

This kind of favoritism toward moderate action appeared throughout the sample. "Can Art Redeem the G20?" again gives a well-rounded example of what it frames as positive action through the description of a mural project intended to welcome the G-20 leaders. In the words of the lead artist, "'Everything the G20 does may not be good, but we still want to get positive energy out there and show that people can work together'" (Mock, 2009).

Time took a similar approach when describing and sympathizing with the plight of protesters by selectively telling the story of groups who were advocating for action on climate change and women's rights — much more digestible topics than the more radical protesters with anti-authoritarian stances (Levine, 2009). That the positive frames of protesters rested most often on the moderate groups clearly shows preference for more middle-ground action and causes, further pushing the more extreme ideas and tactics outside the edge of acceptance.

Police Acting Extremely

Publications also placed a spotlight on excessive police activity, taking the form of extreme police presence, police harassment, and overall restrictions on dissent. This kind of storytelling often begins with scenes of the downtown area described with an eerie, militarized feel. Concrete barriers, tall steel fencing, and even "ominous-looking" black sedans set the scene for *The Nation* in "Fortress Pittsburgh" (Eshelman, 2009). With an extremely fortified police force, a city emerges that is heavily patrolled by officers and national guards people, many of them in riot gear, and in most cases who outnumber protesters (Moraff, 2009; Eshelman, 2009).

The sheer numbers of the police at the G-20 was cause enough for concern among publications; *GOOD* describes locals "feeling outnumbered," and quotes a local activist likening the police presence to "'trying to kill ants with a sledgehammer'" (Mock, 2009). *Reason* supplies immediate framing of the police at the summit in the subtitle for the article "Scenes From a Crackdown: *Police overkill* [emphasis added] at the G20 summit in Pittsburgh" (Balko, 2009). And it is not just the number of police that *Reason* is concerned with — it also notes that members of the police department were dressed in military fatigues: "The symbolism is clear, and it affects the attitudes of the [sic] both the cops wearing the clothes and the people they're policing" (Balko, 2009). That symbolism referenced shows the reader how the a civic police force has turned into a small army, and gives the connotation that this makes for a heightened chance of escalated, extreme police action.

Additionally, several publications claimed police were harassing protesters and abusing civil rights, taking their duties beyond protection and restoring order to

outright crushing dissent. The LRAD was just one of several "controversial tactics being employed in the city" *Wired* says, and links to a video depicting a "'snatch-and-grab'" arrest (Singel, 2009). This same video is also called out in *Reason*'s coverage, making a comparison to the kind of "disappearance" one might witness in a "Latin American junta or Soviet Block country" (Balko, 2009).

The Nation's title "Police Harassment Greets G-20 Protesters" signals right away that foul play is at hand and follows with a description of what it calls "unconstitutional searches and seizures" against two groups at the G-20 (Eshelman, 2009). One of those groups was Seeds of Peace Collective, an organization that provides food and medical assistance to protesters on the ground (Eshelman, 2009). Because of their mission, the story sources a Seeds of Peace member claiming, "'we have become a primary target for those who wish to repress this expression'" (Eshelman, 2009). Ultimately, *The Nation* sums up the narrative by sourcing the state director of the ACLU: "'It's hard to believe the City of Pittsburgh is deploying this much firepower against a peaceful group'" (Eshelman, 2009).

However, the most serious repercussion of the lack of moderatism in police was in stories that frame the police presence as blocking citizens' rights to protest. The researcher found that many publications interpret the police presence, the issues protesters were facing in obtaining permits, and the temporary laws the city put in place to be so extreme that it resulted in first-amendment violations. *The Nation* synopsizes the police presence as being so excessive that the result was "a tightly controlled, heavily militarized city center with little sign of protest" — drawing the

direct causality between the overuse of force and a lack of demonstrations (Eshelman, 2009). It sources a local peace activist for analysis of the situation:

> Unfortunately, Pittsburgh Mayor Luke Ravenstahl … have imposed restrictions on dissent so wide-ranging that peace activist Cecilia Wheeler had to remind an early September city council meeting, "We are not terrorists … We're the good apples here" (Eshelman, 2009).

This is what *Reason* also finds is happening at the G-20, and frames it as wrongly so: "A few unruly protesters … doesn't give the police license to crack down on every young person in the general vicinity, nor should it give the city free rein to suppress all dissent" (Balko, 2009). The police excessiveness and extreme action took a major role in the narrative of the Pittsburgh, Pa., G-20 protests, as the media was concerned with both the lack of moderatism, as well as the implications of civil rights violations.

The G-20 Representing Excess

The third pattern of moderatism that the researcher found throughout the sample was in examples of the G-20 itself and of those with the most power in the economy, such as bankers and CEOs. Many publications question the amount of power the G-20 holds and criticize the amount of wealth it represents.

The sheer magnitude of the G-20 was illuminated throughout the text in ways that suggest the wealth and power that these 20 economies represented borders on obscene. Simple titles for the group such as "the world's richest countries" introduced the G-20 to readers in stories such as *Time*'s "Cops and Anarchists Clash at the G20" (Levine, 2009). Another common theme of showing the excessiveness of the G-20 was to juxtapose the fact that only 20 economies represent a total of 85 percent of the

world's wealth (e.g. Moraff, 2009). *Esquire* took the lack of moderatism in the

group's power a step further, saying:

> While this more inclusive club encompasses 85 percent of the global
> economy, it still doesn't have a charter, and its debates aren't open to the
> public … that third of the world's population barely surviving on the other 15
> percent. (Barnett, 2009)

An obvious example of disapproval of the wealth the G-20 represents is seen

in "Remember the Real Villain — Wall Street." Throughout *The Nation*'s coverage,

the researcher found a general message that the banks are too big, the CEOs too

greedy, the politicians too weak — all supported by protester messages (Anderson &

Cavanagh, 2009). And the G-20 itself was not left unscathed, as in "Fortress

Pittsburgh," when *The Nation* refers to the G-20 leaders as "the architects of global

corporate dominance" (Eshelman, 2009). While the majority of the article is spent

highlighting the failings of bankers, it does tie the G-20 protests in at the end, urging

activists to aim their protests "at the real culprits" — "the bankers whose greed got us

into this mess" (Eshelman, 2009). This messaging is also seen in *The Progressive*'s

"Banks Take Over the G20, and Their Own Bailout" — where once again the banks

are framed as too powerful and too risky (Conniff, 2009).

The coverage of the G-20 summit and its protesters hinged on the lack of

moderatism both in the players and the events of the summit. The protesters are the

most obvious choice for lacking moderatism just by virtue of taking part in large

demonstrations and sometimes advocating for radical change from the norm. As the

events transpired, it became evident though that the police response to protester was

as, if not more, extreme than the protesters. And finally the G-20 itself was framed as

fundamentally extreme based on the amount of wealth and power it represents. From all three angles, the lack of moderatism amplified the G-20 storytelling.

Social Order

Gans placed special emphasis on the prevalence of social order in the media, and fittingly and as expected, the researcher found that it was the most prevalent in the sample. Order in the news is established most often through disorder — the lack of order is what distinguishes the order preference (Gans, 1979, p. 58). Therefore, social disorder manifests itself through "activities which disturb the public peace" (Gans, 1979, p. 53). When applied to protest activities, Gans (1979) wrote, "Marches and demonstrations are, from one point of view, protest activities, but the news almost always treated them as potential or actual dangers to the social order" (p. 53). The researcher found that this was precisely the case in the coverage of the global-liberation protesters at the Pittsburgh, Pa., G-20. Specifically, this came in the form of how protesters were characterized in relation to disorder, protesters disrupting the order, references to the Battle in Seattle, instances of property destruction, police maintaining and restoring order, and protesters using disorder to force change. Additionally, natural disorder was represented through discussion of climate change in relation to both the protesters' missions and the G-20's influence, and technological and moral disorder remained unrepresented.

Characterizing Protesters

The researcher found that before the protesters arrived and the clashes

erupted, there was a pattern of publications characterizing protesters and anarchists as

automatic threats to social order. This is because of expectations that revolved around

the assumption that, as *Reason* describes, "Among the various classes of protesters …

the most destructive are easily the anti-globalization/anarchist protesters" (Balko,

2009). Leading up to the summit, publications speculated on and warned of the threat

of confrontations. Articles questioned why the G-20 was being held in Pittsburgh, Pa.,

as with it comes "terrorist threats and violent protests" (Fletcher, 2009). A similar

sentiment is displayed in *Time*'s "Will Anarchists Reign in Pittsburgh at the G-20?"

establishing from the first sentence that protesters came with the intention to "*disrupt*

[emphasis added] the G-20 summit" (Levine, 2009).

Facing frames such as "a bunch of angsty collegiate anarchists, hell-bent on

causing a ruckus but no real match for the forces awaiting them," protesters were

immediately placed on the outside of order (Paul, 2009). Publications expected

protesters to be "parading around like anarchists," as *The Weekly Standard* put it,

basing entire articles on the potential for protesters to come to the summit and bring

extreme chaos with them — taking over the city and causing dramatic disorder, as

Time's title "Will Anarchists Reign in Pittsburgh at the G-20?" suggests (Ham, 2009;

Levine, 2009). The city government also was aware of the likelihood for the protests

to turn violent. *The Christian Science Monitor* explained that while Pittsburgh

welcomed those wanting to talk about the issues, there was a definite expectation for

violence: "those who are here to destroy property, cause harm, threaten individuals —

that's where the line is crossed" (Scherer, 2009). These characterizations establish protesters as antagonists and conductors of disorder before the summit even begins.

It is also interesting to note that the researcher found the visual description of the protester to be another telling aspect of their framing, as it often times placed the protester further on the fringe. Physical descriptions of protesters included "cloaked in black bandanas," "black-clad," and "carrying black flags" (Mock, 2009; Balko, 2009; Associated Press, 2009). This subtly creates a link to anarchists, and perhaps even black blocs — the type of anarchist action responsible for property destruction at the WTO in Seattle (Ayres, 2004, p. 21). Using visual descriptions that highlights the protester as ominously dressed makes them less relatable and more threatening to the reader, which helps build the transition to them being the source of disorder.

Protesters Disrupting Order

Past the expectations of disorder prior to the summit, it comes as no surprise that the majority of social-disorder news focused on protesters actually upsetting the order to varying degrees. Publications that found protesters as a source of disorder described a scene like the one found in *Newsweek*, where the protesters have "descended" onto Pittsburgh and formed "rowdy crowds" (Paul, 2009).

The researcher found many articles constructed a narrative of chaos with protesters as the antagonists in numerous clashes erupting between protesters and police. The constant back and forth over the days of the summit is described with the most detail in "Cops and Anarchists Clash at the G-20" — a *Time* story that describes the confrontations of the Thursday night protests (Levine, 2009). The episodes are

qualified with the protesters first not seeking a permit for their marches — indicating to the reader that the protesters are responsible for the majority of the confrontations (Levine, 2009). The pattern of protesters attempting to march and police attempting to squash them is described in detail as the night escalated — complete with pepper spray fired at the protesters who kick it back to the police, Dumpsters rolled at law enforcement, protesters smashing windows of storefronts, and plenty of rock throwing (Levine, 2009). The only resolution in the story is the promise of more actions tomorrow — and the protesters claiming the night a victory (Levine, 2009).

Businessweek's description placed extra emphasis on the violent actions of protesters, describing a scene that includes "a man in a black hooded sweatshirt threw rocks at a police car" and protesters using "pallets and corrugated steel to block a road" (Associated Press, 2009). Further discussion of the Thursday night clashes were found throughout the sample, drawing on the number of arrests to illustrate the extent of the social disorder, the businesses damaged, and the protesters' refusal to disperse when police ordered. Subtly, even *In These Times* puts protesters as the main actors for the clashes throughout the night — "After scattering, protesters regrouped, and as the sun began to set, damage to some local businesses drew a heavy police response" (Moraff, 2009). And assuming the voice of a native Pittsburgher, *Bitch* took extreme offense to the property damage caused by protesters — ranting that, "violence, perpetrated by a government or an individual, brings out the worst aspects of humanity" (McBee, 2009).

Protester disorder was the most obvious and expected source of disorder in the coverage of the G-20 summit. The combination of the history of violence at these

types of summits, the reputation for global-liberation protesters to use direct-action techniques, and the actual disruption that happened at the summit translated to the theme of protesters as a source of disorder appearing in nearly every article in some capacity.

The Battle in Seattle as a Reference

Largely regarded as the biggest global-liberation protest on American soil to date, multiple publications sought comparisons between when the WTO was in Seattle and the G-20 in Pittsburgh, Pa. The researcher found both positive and negative references to the Battle in Seattle — a few left-leaning magazines used it as a study of when protesters made an impact on a intergovernmental summit, the more moderate magazines used it as an illustration and warning of the disorder Pittsburgh faced, while right magazines did not mention it at all.

When the Battle in Seattle was framed negatively, the focus was on the protesters' disruption to Seattle's public peace. *GOOD* relates back to the Battle in Seattle as having ended in "utter bedlam," and then transitions to large chain retailers boarding up their windows in anticipation of the protesters (Mock, 2009). And *Time* links online readers to a story on the Battle in Seattle with the text "Read about how anarchists disrupted Seattle" (Levine, 2009).

Left-leaning magazines took a different angle on the Battle in Seattle, engaging their readership on a level of assumed preexisting knowledge. *Mother Jones* informed its readers that the G-20 in Pittsburgh, Pa., "paled in comparison" to the Battle in Seattle, in a tone that borders on disappointment (Buchwalter, 2009). *The*

Nation quotes a "longtime labor activist and union member" speaking to the

roadblocks protesters were facing in Pittsburgh, Pa., in relation to the WTO protests

in Seattle: "'I'm afraid it seems that the police and the G-20 have learned everything

since Seattle, and we've learned nothing'" (Eshelman, 2009). Following that same

discourse of how the movement has changed since Seattle is *In These Times*' article

"Ten Years After Seattle." This story provides the most detailed account of both what

happened in Seattle and the global-liberation movement itself. It speaks to the fallout

the movement saw after 9/11 both in participation and public support (Moraff, 2009).

But with conscious decisions to become more relevant and insert its issues into the

current discourse, *In These Times* asserts, the movement has re-emerged stronger, and

less violent, than what was seen at Seattle (Moraff, 2009). Regardless of if a

magazine appreciates the protest at the Pittsburgh, Pa., G-20 or if it frames protesters

as conductors of disorder, the Battle in Seattle continues to serve as one of the

strongest points of reference for the history of the global-liberation movement.

Property Destruction

The destruction of property was one of the most visible aftereffects of the

protesters at the G-20. Breaking windows and destroying property has long been

associated with the global-liberation movement through the action of black blocs —

undefined groups of protesters who break windows as a method of sending a message

to the retailers and to the public (Ayres, 2004, p. 21). Black blocs almost exclusively

target large retailers, "highly visible corporate symbols of neoliberal success" (Ayres,

2004, p. 21). As is the case with most world summits, there was black bloc action at

the Pittsburgh, Pa., G-20. The researcher found that some magazines took this as a hook to frame protesters for disrupting Pittsburgh's order.

Many publications noted stores boarding up their windows before the protesters arrived in anticipation of disorder. *Time* gives a colorful example of one apartment-building owner advertising on Craigslist for "ex-military personnel to man fire hoses and to guard against protest-related vandalism" (Levine, 2009). The majority of storefronts that were hit were in fact chains, such as a Boston Market (Levine, 2009). And while publications did not often make the connection between the chain store and the protester message, they did in a small way let readers know that local stores were mostly left unscathed, with the exception of one diner (e.g. McBee, 2009). *Wired* offhandedly remarks that "some self-styled anarchists broke windows of chain stores," as does *In These Times*: "a handful of young people took it upon themselves to destroy property — mostly breaking windows at corporate-owned businesses — and their actions were mostly condemned by other protesters" (Singel, 2009; Moraff, 2009). Nonetheless, this tangible evidence of protester destruction and disorder ultimately contributed to the negative framing of the movement and its tactics.

Police Maintaining Order

If the protesters' goal was to disrupt the order, it is without a doubt that the police goal was to maintain order. Coverage of the maintenance of order can be subdivided into three parts: interest in the number of police at the summit, the

fortification of the city before the protesters arrived, and the steps the police took to maintain order when confronted with protesters.

Pittsburgh's police force was originally 900 strong, and that number grew to 4,000 for the summit (Scherer, 2009). This build up was a point of intrigue across the sample, the researcher found. The fact that the police force was "quadrupling" and "shipping in" reinforcement, as *The Economist* puts it, was indicative of the type of disorder the city was preparing for ("The revival of Pittsburgh: Lessons for the G20," 2009). *GOOD* stipulated that the increase in force came from an estimate of 10,000 protesters coming to Pittsburgh, Pa. (Mock, 2009). The amount of law enforcement on the street was in part the city's attempt to learn from past summits, especially the WTO in Seattle (Scherer, 2009). *The Christian Science Monitor* explains that Mayor Ravenstahl even read parts of a book that the then Seattle police chief wrote, and one lesson it says he learned was that, "Seattle did not have enough police" (Scherer, 2009). Connecting the dots between Seattle and Pittsburgh, Pa., *The Christian Science Monitor* not only shows the potential for disorder, but also the necessity of taking steps to properly fortify the city.

The police presence created an eerie state of unease in the downtown area that was translated by the journalists covering the event as they saw signs that "the City of Pittsburgh has prepared for the worst" (Moraff, 2009). In addition to describing the amount of police, *The Christian Science Monitor* story "G-20 summit: how Pittsburgh plans to handle protesters" also explains the other ways the city had planned to "limit demonstrators' mobility" (Scherer, 2009). This included dividing the city into different zones and encouraging "most downtown businesses to close" (Scherer,

2009). The end result: "Downtown Pittsburgh will be quite deserted once world leaders arrive" (Scherer, 2009). This feeling of desert was further explored in the next *Christian Science Monitor* story, "Our reporter will cover the G20 leaders — if he can navigate security," in which the journalist lists the security lengths he had to go to in order to get to the summit itself (Scherer, 2009). Interestingly, the writer notes that while he was being taken through downtown Pittsburgh, the bus passed one man "holding an American flag upside down" and that there were "no other signs of protest" (Scherer, 2009).

The sense that the city was on lockdown was not lost on protesters. Covering a gathering of anti-authoritarians, *Time* quotes an anarchist saying, "'Obviously, repression has already started'" (Levine, 2009). The lengths he might have been referring to, stipulates *Time*, includes hefty security perimeters; the preparation of "up to 1,000 jail cells for protesters"; and even new laws, set to expire on Sept. 30, passed by the city council that targeted "the possession of certain tools and 'noxious substances'" (Levine, 2009).

The researcher found that a few publications defended police action in the name of social order. This came in subtle forms, such as placing the number of people arrested after describing the chaos and destruction the city faced (Levine, 2009). And *GOOD* calls out that there were instances in which the police could have reacted more strongly, but chose to not make "matters worse" and only "observe and contain," and in situations when they could have "easily escalated tensions with protester, they opted not to" (Mock, 2009). This type of framing implicates that the

police were justified in their response and tactics, and that on the scale of what is acceptable, the police were within their rights.

Of course, the police action taken to maintain order once met with protesters was heavily covered by publications. Protesters were met with "tear gas, loud orders, rubber pellets, batons and handcuffs," lists *GOOD* (Mock, 2009). *Time* commends police efficiency in maintaining order when "the police took less than half an hour to block the anarchists' way downtown" (Levine, 2009). The police action is supported with appreciative cheers from some citizens, *Time* notes, though other citizens passed water out to the marchers (Levine, 2009). The LRAD was an additional point of interest among publications in the police campaign to maintain order. The device was used to "ward off protesters," with its "super loud-hailer," describes *Wired* (Hambling, 2009).

Police maintaining the order was a certain part of the summit and an expected part of the Pittsburgh, Pa., G-20 protest coverage. However, as the protests transpired and police pushed back, coverage shifted to explore the question of who is really creating the disorder in these situations — is it the activists, or are the police in fact creating more disorder in their attempts to maintain order? This balance emerged as a predominant theme and was explored throughout the coverage, as well as its repercussions.

Restoration of Order

Though it was generally understood across all publications that a police presence is necessary to maintain the order, the researcher found that many

publications also made the leap from the necessity of maintaining order to the reality of police crossing the line and escalating disorder, or in some cases even igniting it. This took form in scenes of a tense, militarized downtown and in actual police confrontations with both protesters and students, which often ended with what was considered more force than necessary.

Through the textual analysis, the researcher found that the deserted city scenes depicted throughout the sample, especially in left-leaning magazines, were often rendered as creating tension more than a sense of security. *The Nation* called it "a tightly controlled, heavily militarized city center with little sign of protest" (Eshelman, 2009). Some publications were disturbed by a downtown that was peppered with "ominous-looking unmarked black sedans" and "concrete barriers" (Eshelman, 2009). *The Christian Science Monitor* notes the deserted streets and extreme levels of security that its reporter had to navigate, as did *In These Times* in its description of the empty streets that turned Pittsburgh into something of a ghost town (Scherer, 2009; Moraff, 2009). This heavily militarized downtown indicates to the reader both the extreme lengths the city took to stop protesters from disrupting the order — which in some cases was successful and other were not — and also lends itself to a larger theme of protest being crushed in Pittsburgh.

The most forthright examples of publications framing police to be the cause of disorder were seen in accounts of the police and protester confrontations. *Bitch* offers a dramatic take on the typical scene of protester-police disorder: "the police in their outfits and with their rubber bullets and sound guns, showing the world how easily they are set off against the citizens they are supposed to serve" (McBee, 2009). Other

instances of publications framing police action as overreaction included the use of the LRAD, an alleged snatch-and-grab arrest, and harsh riot-control tactics at protester marches (Hambling, 2009; Balko, 2009; Eshelman, 2009).

Wired focuses on one case covered over two separate articles — that of Elliott Madison, a self-described anarchist who was arrested in a motel room for tweeting to protesters police locations, which he gathered from a police scanner (Singel, 2009). *Wired* describes the subsequent Joint Terrorism Task Force raid on Madison's house with a tone of ridiculousness and of horror, calling the law he is being prosecuted for "obscure" (Singel, 2009). The framing continues to lead its readers to question overall police behavior in this scenario by pointing out that Madison was "in jail during the most dramatic of the G-20 confrontations" — confrontations that were depicted as "hundreds of police officers chased protesters around Pittsburgh, using sonic weapons, pepper spray, batons, projectile weapons and tear gas, and arrested a reporter and bystanders" (Singel, 2009). The implicit pairing of Madison's negative experience with the police and other instances of extreme police tactics signals to the reader that there was a pattern of police overreaction and perhaps even abuse at the protests.

Reason took one of the longest and most serious looks at the disorder that the police were causing in its coverage "Scenes From a Crackdown," through detailed descriptions of police in "paramilitary garb," arrests, and overall evidence of police acting outside their power (Balko, 2009). Additionally, it sourced a University of Pittsburgh spokesperson saying that people could have been arrested for only having the "'potential'" to break laws (Balko, 2009). *Reason* provides the analysis that

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"police did not attempt to manage the protests, they simply suppressed them" (Balko, 2009). And though it finds that the "projection of overwhelming force at such events is becoming more common," it succinctly asserts what other publications were illustrating: that unruly protesters do not "give the police license to crack down on every young person in the general vicinity, nor should it give the city free rein to suppress all dissent" (Balko, 2009).

Disorder to Force Change

As *The Nation* states in its opening discussion of protesters, a few publications to a degree backed protester disorder, on account of their demands that "Another World Is Necessary" (Nichols, 2009). This kind of sentiment was met with both acceptance, such as *Mother Jones* praising protesters for their use of Twitter to "organize and raise hell," and also some acknowledgement of its extreme nature (Buchwalter, 2009). In these instances, protest acts as the largest challenger of the current, corrupted order.

Wired further justifies the importance of disorder to democracy, drawing the reader to remember Marin Luther King Jr., questioning how he would have fared in Pittsburgh (Singel, 2009). After all, *Wired* tells its readers, Dr. King was "writing letters urging people to support the direct-action program of sit-ins and marches" (Singel, 2009). And once again, *In These Times'* propensity for the movement shines through in its tracing of the global-liberation movement over the past 10 years and its favoritism for challenging the order on a more intellectual, policy-based level (Moraff, 2009). It calls out the movement's World Social Forum, which "brings

together a diverse group of individuals and global-justice organizations to debate

policy and build solidarity," all in the name of "resistance to neoliberal

globalization," or to directly challenge the current order (Moraff, 2009). The

magazine applauds the WSF for serving as a "model for similar gatherings" (Moraff,

2009).

Coverage of the G-20 protests epitomizes Gans' social order. The events that

transpired on the streets of Pittsburgh disrupted the order in a literal sense, and the

protesters were also attempting to upset the order from an ideological standpoint. The

other direction that social-order coverage took was in terms of the police — how they

were trying to maintain order and how they were creating disorder through their

riot-control tactics. The way these events transpired is precisely the reason that large-

scale protests receive so much media attention.

Climate Change as Natural Disorder

In addition to the social-disorder theme throughout the Pittsburgh, Pa., G-20

coverage, it should be noted that there was some discussion of the natural disorder

that was occurring on a global scale from climate change, and how that related to the

summit and to the protesters. *The Nation* gives the strongest example in its coverage,

"Climate Change Off the G-20 Agenda?" in which it focuses on Greenpeace and

other climate-change groups (Eshelman, 2009). It emphasized the weight of climate-

change policies as "climate scientists are issuing ever-more dire reports about the

pace at which global warming is occurring," and explains that the environmental

protesters would "occupy a central place among anti-G20 protests" (Eshelman, 2009).

The point of that is to express "'growing public concern over the inaction of the world's political elites in dealing with green house gas emissions … [and] demanding that they take strong positions on climate change'" (Eshelman, 2009). And activist Geoff Frost was sourced in another *Nation* story, calling out that the G-20 leaders are exactly the people who "engineered those [climate change and financial] problems" (Eshelman, 2009). The environmental issues surrounding climate change and the lack of lasting efforts to improve the situation is one of the most pervasive instances of natural disorder in the 21st century, and one that a large amount of global-liberation protesters focus on. And though the environmentalist message was not consistently conveyed over the sample, it still existed in relation to protester causes and G-20 inaction, and thematically as a picture of natural disorder.

In line with the importance that Gans placed on social order, so did the coverage of the protesters at the Pittsburgh, Pa., G-20 place special emphasis on order. In almost every instance, disorder was told through the lens of the protesters, the police, or both. The protesters were often immediately framed as conductors of disorder, and their actions and tactics became opportunities for publications to sensationalize disorder stories. On the opposite end of the spectrum, police were both appreciated for their efforts to maintain order, and vilified when the maintenance or restoration of order was interpreted to go too far. These two themes that ran through the disorder coverage ultimately influenced the protester framing and messaging for readers, in some instances blocking any chance for sympathy, and in others defending the protesters and their right to be at the summit against the police.

Leadership

As Gans (1979) stated, the basis for the leadership value is that leadership, whether its local, national, or international, shapes the very world citizens live in, and so leaders' policies, decisions, and day-to-day activities are always of interest to the media (p. 62). The researcher found that in the sample, leadership was evident through general interest in the G-20 and what leaders were doing. Additionally, the researcher found that several articles did not hold back from blaming the G-20 leaders for the problems the world at large is facing — such as the economic crash and climate change. On the municipal level, publications also took interest in the mayor of Pittsburgh, especially in how he would protect Pittsburgh from the impending disorder, and the relationship between protesters and the city leadership.

The G-20 as Leaders

Throughout the coverage of the G-20, publications looked at the leadership at the summit and what they were, or in some cases were not, doing. *Esquire*'s "Can Obama Save the Global Economy (and Globalization) at the G-20?" consistently displays the leadership value as it explains to the readers what will happen at the G-20 and the large economic and political repercussions the summit can have, all through the lens of Obama leading the way. The majority of the article is spent discussing the fundamental goals of this summit, as well as what is necessary to keep the economy afloat, focusing specifically on Obama's "framework," such as the need to rebalance the global economy in order to not rely so heavily on American consumerism (Barnett, 2009). The title immediately grants Obama the power to save

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the economy and positions him as its champion, in line with Gans' (1979) theory that the media frames the president, specifically, as "the ultimate protector of order" (p. 63). The article mirrors the title's sentiment saying that if Obama's Pittsburgh proposal is accepted, "Obama may have just saved globalization … again," further valuing his position as the leader (Barnett, 2009).

Esquire then expands the conversation to include the G-20, and while it does not give the most glowing review of the international body, it does applaud the leaders for taking action to at least attempt to remedy the economic crisis (Barnett, 2009). It begins the second paragraph, in which the G-20 is introduced, by saying:

> …The G-20 … deserves our deep appreciation. It's the third of these summits in less than a year — an unprecedented commitment to trade negotiations that actually managed to keep this summer's global recovery V-shaped rather than slipping into the W (as in, winter) of our discontent. (Barnett, 2009)

By directing the reader to feel appreciative toward the G-20, *Esquire* both praises the leaders' efforts and makes the assumption that leaders will succeed in providing lasting solutions that will benefit the masses, as they already have begun to do.

Non-mainstream publications that spent the majority of their space discussing protesters also touch on leaders and the far-reaching implications of the G-20. *Mother Jones'* "The G-20 Protests: Taking it to The Tweets" begins by explaining that the G-20 was meeting in Pittsburgh, Pa., to discuss "a climate treaty and banking regulations" before it delves into the demonstrators outside the convention hall, connecting the leaders to the issues that the story is most concerned with, and showing the overall influence of the G-20 (Buchwalter, 2009). *In These Times* describes the weight of the G-20 in its story "Protesting the G-20 Summit," saying the nations that comprise the G-20 "account for about 85 percent of the world economy"

(Moraff, 2009). *The Nation*'s coverage also describes the impact of the leaders

gathering in Pittsburgh, Pa., paying special attention in "The World and Pittsburgh"

to what they plan to do to remedy the economic situation (Nichols, 2009). In

"Remember the Real Villain — Wall Street," *The Nation* even goes as far as

defending Obama against accusations that the economic collapse was partially his

fault, reminding readers that Wall Street is truly to blame (Anderson & Cavanagh,

2009). It then goes on to use the protesters as a mouthpiece to speak to the G-20,

"calling on the world's most powerful leaders to follow through on their promises to

achieve a sustainable recovery for everyone," once again giving readers insight into

just how much influence the leaders have, and taking that power and framing it in a

way that shows its potential for creating the change that the protesters are calling for

(Anderson & Cavanagh, 2009). And *Reason*, which explored first-amendment right

violations at the G-20 summit, strengthened its argument that world gatherings

necessitate protest but do not always allow it, saying,

> The more high-profile the event, the more influential the players, and the more
> high-stakes the decision being made, the more determined police and political
> officials seem to be in making sure dissent is kept as far away from the
> decision makers as possible. (Balko, 2009)

Highlighting the bigness of the G-20 displays the pervasiveness of leadership

as a value, no matter what the framing of the content. And though much of the

coverage of the G-20 circled back to the protests, establishing the G-20 leaders as

powerful people with exceptional influence set the tone for the climate in Pittsburgh,

Pa., the demonstrations, and the importance of the summit overall.

Placing Blame: World Problems, Policies Failed

The leadership discourse was expanded in some publications by calling out instances of policy failure and leadership inaction. *The Nation* most consistently put the leaders on trial for the economic crisis and the lack of commitment to save the environment, among other grievances. "Climate Change Off the G-20 Agenda?" voices the concerns of activists, paraphrasing a Greenpeace director that, "the [banner drop] is an expression of the growing public concern over the inaction of the world's political elites in dealing with greenhouse gas emissions," linking demonstrations aimed at the G-20 to larger climate issues (Eshelman, 2009). Claiming Obama has shown a general "lack of commitment to ambitious emissions reductions" further emphasizes dissatisfaction with leadership action (Eshelman, 2009). This establishes an overall discontent with the leaders thus far regarding an issue that *The Nation* places high importance on, while also acknowledging it is the leadership's responsibility to preserve order for the greater population.

In other instances, *The Nation* continues to make clear its disapproval of the G-20, labeling it at one point "the architects of global corporate dominance" (Eshelman, 2009). *The Nation* emphasizes how the world's leaders have failed to protect the common person in an economic capacity, writing, "One year into a financial crisis … has seen governments — especially that of the United States — emerge as guarantors against risk for investors while remaining lax regulators of speculation and CEO greed" (Eshelman, 2009). In "The World and Pittsburgh," it explains how the activists are attempting to inspire change from the leaders, quoting a "muscular letter to President Obama" that claims "'remedying the current crisis,

avoiding future crises and achieving economic justice and stability will require a new approach to domestic and global economic governance'" (Eshelman, 2009). This too is in response to the failure that both the protesters and *The Nation* have seen in the leaders' reaction to the economic collapse, and their service of "multinational corporations over workers and communities" (Eshelman, 2009).

Further scrutiny is placed on the leaders at the G-20 in *The Progressive*'s "Banks Take Over the G20, and Their Own Bailout." In the second paragraph, it calls the G-20 "the most undemocratic forum in the world," one from which citizens should expect "watered-down pledges and hostility to regulation on investments and trade" (Conniff, 2009). Essentially, the leaders are framed as just as bad, if not worse, than the "banksters" *The Progressive* and its readership have come to blame for the crisis (Conniff, 2009). This lack of faith in the G-20 leaders to remedy the economic crisis, or even to act on behalf of the people at all, leads *The Progressive* contributor Howard Zinn to call on "everyday" citizens to "demand sane and just policies" from the G-20 (Conniff, 2009).

A similar message from the protesters to the leaders is delivered *In These Times*. "Ten Years After Seattle" opens with a message to the leaders from the protesters:

> They were not only putting the new administration in Washington on notice that "change" is more than a campaign slogan. They were reaffirming their commitment to a world that represents the interests of the poor and disadvantaged over that of the powered elite. (Moraff, 2009)

Immediately, the focus is placed on the leaders as the receivers of the protesters' messages, calling on them to create policies that benefit all citizens while implying this has not been the case in the past.

Alerting readers to issues with the leadership is one of the strongest ways the leadership value appears in the media. And stories that depicted protesters attempting to confront leaders with these issues exhibit that airing grievances is not only tantamount to protest, but also to democracy itself.

Leadership and Its Relationship With Protesters

The leadership's relationship with protesters was most commonly seen on the municipal level in the city's leaders' desire to maintain order throughout the G-20 and the protests. The researcher found that this was often displayed through the city's efforts to fortify Pittsburgh with fleets of police before protesters arrived. *The Economist*'s "The Revival of Pittsburgh: Lessons for the G20" reacts to the potential for protesters coming to the city by turning to Mayor Luke Ravenstahl and revealing his plan to quadruple the city's police force, explaining that this is meant to maintain order and protect Pittsburgh ("The revival of Pittsburgh: Lessons for the G20," 2009). *GOOD*'s "Police at the G20: How are Locals Faring?" also describes the heavy police presence through the frame of city officials' charge to maintain order. Though the article questions at first if such high police numbers were actually necessary, it sheds light through the leadership's deduction based on the amount of protesters at previous summits (Mock, 2009). *The Christian Science Monitor*'s "G-20 summit: how Pittsburgh plans to handle protesters" explains the mayor's goal to "show off the city's economic achievements" and simultaneously prove that the city can "host an orderly meeting of the world's leaders — while allowing protesters to march"

(Scherer, 2009). Looking to the mayor to answer how he is going to keep the city's peace places high value on both his authority and his ability to maintain order.

Non-mainstream magazines took a different approach to the leadership's attempt to maintain order, framing it instead as overkill and restrictive of free speech. *The Nation*'s "Climate Change Off the G-20 Agenda?" quotes Witold Walczak, state director of the ACLU, in response to the police presence at the G-20, saying, "It's hard to believe the City of Pittsburgh is deploying this much firepower against a peaceful group" (Eshelman, 2009). And in "The World and Pittsburgh," *The Nation* responds to the roadblocks protesters are having, asserting that:

> Pittsburgh Mayor Luke Ravenstahl and his aides, in their determination to promote their city as a global economic center, have imposed restrictions on dissent so wide-ranging that peace activist Cecilia Wheeler had to remind an early September city council meeting, "We are not terrorists." (Nichols, 2009)

This framing gives readers a different take on the city's control tactics, questioning the mayor's methods and to some degree his authority to control protesters and citizens so strictly.

Though the focus of this study is not on the leaders of the G-20 but rather on the protesters outside the convention hall, understanding the relationship and misgivings between the protesters and the G-20 leaders helps to provide a more complete picture and understanding of the event. By illustrating the influence of the G-20 leaders, along with instances of when they have not done what is best for the greater population, publications give validity to the protesters being at the G-20 and taking up issue with the leaders there. And the direct relationship between the city leadership and the protesters further exposes the issues protesters had with bringing their grievances to the G-20.

CHAPTER V:
VALUES IN THE MEDIA KEEPING PROTESTERS ON THE FRINGE

This research was fueled by a desire to discover how dissent was framed in modern American magazines, specifically with the global-liberation movement as the actors and the Pittsburgh, Pa., G-20 their stage. The research question asked: Through the lens of Gans' eight enduring values, how were the 2009 Pittsburgh, Pa., G-20 protests and dissent framed in magazines? To attempt to answer this question, the researcher chose to employ an in-depth textual analysis because it "seeks to understand the social implications of how journalists organize their representations of the world" (Watkins, 2001, p. 83).

At its core, the examination expected to provide a better understanding of how global-liberation protesters are represented in the mainstream media. In order to help make sense of how the protesters were being interpreted, a framework relying on Gans' eight enduring values was applied. Gans' enduring values were effective in dissecting the protester coverage because they represent fundamentals not only of the media, but also of American society. In many ways, the global-liberation movement seeks the realization of these values — for example a truly responsible economic system or an altruistic form of democracy. But because they are deemed to be on the fringe, and because they are making extreme demands and tend to engage in forms of direct action, the researcher found that the values worked against the protesters throughout the magazine coverage.

Gans' enduring values have helped to illuminate when and where dissent was happening. It was through searching for the values that deviations were found. And it

is in these deviations that dissent largely exists. However, the researcher found that in most cases, the examination of the protesters stopped there without any significant explanation of protester causes or what they were trying to accomplish by demonstrating at the G-20.

The researcher hypothesized that the nature of the protests would affect the way the activists' issues were covered, and maybe even overshadow the issues. This was found to be true in some cases, while in elsewhere magazines took some space to inform the readership of a sampling of protester causes. But in other instances of protester coverage, it was not the content of the protests that blocked the messaging, but the police reaction that took over the discussion. This gave way to the second major theme of the Pittsburgh, Pa., G-20: restrictions on dissent and first-amendment right violations.

The G-20 protests "offer the enticing mix of popular protest, police brutality, and a deeper ideological background, which these often violent conflicts symbolize" (Thomas, 2007, pp. 45-46). Both protest and police brutality were consistently covered, and the implications of that were exposed through the values. What was left is how these themes affected the possible interpretation of protesters by the reader and how the global-liberation protester messaging was disseminated to the wider public.

The Portrayal of Protesters

As expected, the researcher found that in most cases, protesters were framed negatively. From the ultra conservative such as *The Weekly Standard* to the moderate such as *Businessweek* to the leftist such as *Mother Jones*, protesters were consistently described in some capacity with panic-inciting prose — associating them with anarchists, black blocs, property destruction, and public safety. The researcher found that even in instances where protester messaging was disseminated, there was generally an underlying current that portrayed protesters as dangerous and outsiders and thus not to be taken seriously. When protesters were not framed negatively, it is arguable if effects were lasting. Positive framing came in the form of valuing individualism in protesters and providing space to quote them, such as *Time*'s sourcing of a protester at an anti-authoritarian meeting and inserting his viewpoints into the pre-summit rhetoric. Positive framing also came indirectly by disseminating the grievances protesters had with the G-20 and the economy, such as describing the protesters' messaging with positive connotations, as in *In These Times*' description of protester goals as "a world that represents the interests of the poor and disadvantaged over that of the powered elite" (Moraff, 2009). In the case of exposing the failures of the G-20 and capitalism, this helped to educate the reader on some protester causes, but it did little to change their overall characterization as anti-authoritarians with high potential for violence.

This thesis found that the relationship between the enduring values and the protester is more complex than simply using the values to frame the protester negatively. Instead, it is *because* of the values that the protester can never fully be

shown in a productive light, explained, and understood. Specifically, the boundaries of social order, moderatism, and in some regards responsible capitalism and altruistic democracy create blockades for the protester in nearly every context.

Gans' enduring values rests on ideals that are indicative of the normative way of thinking and are entirely American. One of the values that most represents how the country should or should not function is altruistic democracy, as it stands for "how American democracy should perform by its frequent attention to deviations from an unstated ideal, evident in stories about corruption, conflict, protest, and bureaucratic malfunctioning" (Gans, 1979, p. 43). Clearly, protest can be interpreted as a deviation from the established norm, and a danger to the order (Gans, 1979, p. 53). And causes as radical as the global-liberation movement fall outside those established, yet unmentioned ideals.

In some instances, altruistic democracy did help the protester interpretation as a result of the negative framing it placed on the police force. This is because the media tends to be concerned with "freedom of press and related civil liberties," and so the police "crackdown" was of special interest to the media (Gans, 1979, p. 44; Balko, 2009).

Gans' altruistic democracy places importance on citizen participation and grassroots efforts (Gans, 1979, p. 44). However, some publications used this to draw the line between "good" and "bad" political speech. This was best evidenced in *GOOD*'s story on the public art project that was meant to welcome the leaders, and "'get positive energy out there and show that people can work together,'" which was juxtaposed with the activists who sojourned to the G-20 to protest and whose "actions

will draw aggressive police force" (Mock, 2009). This illustrates that when aspects of altruistic democracy could have benefited a protest group, global-liberation protesters were too extreme be accepted under the value.

As it has been established, while the news defends "democratic theory against an almost inevitably inferior democratic practice," it labels those who strive for the realization of these values as "extremists or militants" (Gans, 1979, p. 45). It can be said that global-liberation protesters are the most idyllic of all, but because their demands regarding human rights, environmental preservation, and other progressive causes would require such radical policy changes, they are placed on the fringe and were largely not defended by the media in its coverage of the Pittsburgh, Pa., G-20. This was made evident through labeling such as "anarchists" and "anti-authoritarians" (Associated Press, 2009; Levine, 2009). This type of framing robbed protesters of the chance to be relatable, and interpreted what could have been seen as trying to work toward the greater good as extreme and unacceptable.

The value that most directly worked against protesters in the sample was social order. Social order is established through disorder news, "activities which disturb the public peace" (Gans, 1979, p. 53). As Gans (1979) wrote, "Marches and demonstrations are … protest activities, but the news almost always treated them as potential or actual dangers to the social order" (p. 53). The very core of protest is to cause some kind of change in the current order, if not disrupt it completely. The researcher found that this type of thinking was almost immediately labeled as radical in most publications. And beyond that, there is the direct-action aspect of global-liberation protest — such as the black blocs and broken windows that epitomize

disorder, though in reality the tactics of the movement are varied. However, through selective sourcing, some magazines fostered an internal discourse among the global-liberation protesters who said they in fact do not approve of aggressive direct action, that the movement has evolved past such extremes. Nonetheless, this was the type of protest and demonstration that was most consistently covered in the sample.

Magazines painted scenes of wild nights that epitomized social disorder, filled with pepper spray, arrests, property damage, and Dumpsters pushed toward police (Singel, 2009; Levine, 2009). Amidst this kind of chaos, it is nearly impossible to see how protester messaging could get through, let alone any credibility or positive framing. Without a solid description of protester motives, the actions are interpreted as "anger without direction" — assuming original goals and direction were in place by the protesters (McBee, 2009).

When protester causes did surface in publications, they were often directly overshadowed by descriptions of disorder. *Businessweek* illustrates this concept by opening with a chaotic scene filled with pepper spray and protesters lashing out against police (Associated Press, 2009). It is only after this extreme action and disorder that some description of cause is presented, saying the protesters were "advocating against capitalism" and chanting, "'Ain't no power like the power like the power of the people, 'cause the power of the people don't stop'" (Associated Press, 2009). And immediately after that, a subsection begins titled "'Unlawful Assembly'" (Associated Press, 2009). This kind of framing, both through tacit placement and directly describing the protesters as violent, inhibits the possibility for protester messaging to get across.

In addition to protester actions causing social disorder, the very characterization of protesters could be interpreted to be a source of disorder. Visual descriptions such as "black-clad" place protesters on the edge; ideological descriptions such as anarchists pushes them over. Characterizations in the sample included "destructive" and "a bunch of angsty college kids hellbent on causing a ruckus" (Paul, 2009). "To love democracy and to love the earth is to be a radical now," proclaimed a protester in *Businessweek*, summing up the type of classification protesters faced (Associated Press, 2009). Because the protester does not by nature fit into the norm that the social-order value dictates, the weirdness becomes the focus and the message is lost.

That is not to say that protesters were solely victims at the G-20. As it was widely reported, damage to storefronts did occur, protesters did engage in clashes with the police, and unpermitted marches took place (Levine, 2009). However, it is an imbalance of coverage of these aspects of disorder that diminishes any other peaceful, positive action that might have occurred.

Like social order, moderatism also worked to block protester acceptance through the media. Moderatism seeks to find the middle ground, the neutral, and the balanced. By way of this value, too little or too much are both unacceptable. However, being neutral was never the global-liberation protester's style.

From the beginning of the summit, the media appeared to be almost overwhelmed with the extreme nature of protesters. Protesters were immediately framed and criticized time and again for being too much — too large, too violent, and ideologically, too far from the norm. The imagery of an "onslaught of protesters"

invading the city is played over and over, followed by either threats of destruction or

actual instances of broken windows and clashes with police ("The revival of

Pittsburgh: Lessons for the G20," 2009). Magazine coverage was often absorbed with

this idea of "riot culture" (Mock, 2009). And because of this, and because of the

actions and ideals of the protesters who lack moderation, many publications ended

their coverage with that, not diving further into the reasons behind the tactics, nor the

messaging itself.

Responsible capitalism was the value that worked both for and against the

protester in different regards. The researcher found that responsible capitalism has

shifted the most in the media since Gans first conceived it in 1979. In light of the

economic collapse, this thesis discovered a pattern of storytelling that reflected the

broken promise of responsible capitalism. This existed in stories related to the G-20

that not only placed blame on Wall Street for crashing the economy, but also looked

at how capitalism has failed the average person to create increased "prosperity for all"

(Gans, 1979, p. 46). There appeared to be disillusionment with the capitalistic system,

and in many publications that came through in discussion of the G-20 in general, and

also through voicing actual protester causes. *The Nation* writes that activists were

demanding "a paradigm-shifting response to the crisis, one that recognizes that the

neoliberal policies that got us into this mess are not going to get us out" (Nichols,

2009). And *In These Times* seeks an expert to assess the relevance of the global-

liberation movement's call for change, saying: "There is definitely a tremendous

amount of public outrage around the world about … neoliberal capitalism's failure to

support working people" (Moraff, 2009). Selecting to describe and put into focus

protester viewpoints that the publications nearly endorse — that Wall Street should be held accountable and that there should be an overall return to responsible capitalism — works to the protester advantage.

However, responsible capitalism also blocked full-on protester support and comprehension. A portion of the G-20 narrative looked at how Pittsburgh had revitalized itself economically, a narrative the researcher characterized as a story of triumphant capitalism. This was contrasted with the fear that the protesters would come to Pittsburgh and overshadow that transformation, or worse cause actual damage to the economy through property destruction, once again contributing to the idea of wild protesters coming to the city to create disorder.

By studying examples of individualism in the text, the researcher was able to find instances of publications positively framing protesters as individuals. This was seen in stories of protesters standing up against powerful forces, participating in society on his or her own terms, and advocating for socially productive change. This occurred in profiles of the protester, such as *Wired*'s profile of Elliott Madison, the anarchist who was arrested for tweeting the location of police to protesters (Singel, 2009). This narrow look at one person is precisely what blocked this positive framing from being translated to protesters as a whole — because as Gans (1979) theorized, "what is valued in the individual is discouraged in groups" (p. 53). So while in some ways appreciating the individualism of the protesters helped to balance the negative framing they faced on a larger scale, it is questionable if it really made enough of an impact to change the global-liberation protesters' framing overall.

Similarly, when the leadership value came into play, the researcher interpreted it to in some ways improve protester framing. This was found through a pattern of focusing on the importance of the G-20 and the influence it carries. Through that, the researcher believes that protesters were granted a level of legitimacy for wanting to be at the G-20 to air their grievances. This was taken a step further in some publications that shed light on the failures of the leaders regarding issues such as climate change, which fell in line with the issues some demonstrators were there to protest (Eshelman, 2009). These subtle indicators did make some impact, the researcher believes, on the overall framing of protest and dissent.

It is also worth noting that because the researcher experienced the protests at the Pittsburgh, Pa., G-20 firsthand, it was evident that framing by omission did occur in the sample. The People's March that took place in downtown Pittsburgh on Friday was quite colorful — the event was filled with music and peaceful messaging, and even children were present. This kind of peaceful action did not translate into the coverage. Additionally, there was little coverage of the trouble protesters were having in obtaining permits for the marches — protesters had such issues gaining permits from the city that six activist groups, represented by American Civil Liberties Union and the Center for Constitutional Rights, sued the city of Pittsburgh for denying permits and denying first-amendment rights (Hamil, 2009). However, the roadblocks protesters faced gaining permits only appeared a few times in the sample, while the lawsuit was not covered at all. Had the publications decided to include this storyline, it would have resulted in more complete presentation of protesters and possibly could

have had an effect on some of the negative connotations that surrounded the protest activity.

In an attempt to make sense of the media coverage of the global-liberation protesters, Gans' enduring values shed light on the types of stories that were, and were not, being told. The thesis found that ultimately the values worked more to block explanation of protester messaging, issue dissemination, or positive protester framing. Through the values, the researcher found that because protesters were framed to be so extreme and so on the fringe, not much else regarding their missions or their organizations got through to the public.

Police Overreaction

Through a study of the enduring values — specifically leadership, social order, moderatism, and altruistic democracy — a pattern emerged regarding the police force at the Pittsburgh, Pa., G-20, specifically in regards to the police reaction to and confrontations with the protesters. The researcher found that publications were alarmed with both the tightly controlled downtown, as well as the police clashes with protesters, framing it as too extreme and bordering on militaristic. This was then translated to reveal violations and suppression of civil rights — specifically free speech. This topic of discussion was touched on in nearly every article, and it arose purely out of the events that transpired. Furthermore, the most common interpretation was that these actions were "disturbing" and "controversial," and even indicative of larger issues regarding how dissent is handled in this country (Balko, 2009; Singel, 2009).

It was through a deep look at the values that the media's issues with the police were understood. This discourse often followed a sequence of events that began with the leadership, who before the summit began, set the tone for how the protesters would be greeted — or kept out. As Gans (1979) described, competent leadership is necessary to maintain the social order (p. 52). This was reflected in the city's attempts to maintain the peace during the summit. Multiple stories explained how Pittsburgh, Pa., leadership planned to "quadruple the police force," and that the city had "acted quickly to limit demonstrators' mobility" (Scherer, 2009). *The Christian Science Monitor* sources Mayor Luke Ravenstahl's goal to make sure people have the "ability to protest and talk about the issues" but also made the distinction that "those who are here to destroy property, cause harm, threaten individuals — that's where the line is crossed" (Scherer, 2009). This interpretation is representative of the more moderate magazines that accepted the leadership's role in creating a structure to maintain order, while left-leaning magazines such as *The Nation* early on framed the mayor's actions as "restrictions on dissent" (Eshelman, 2009).

The leadership's plans came to fruition on the streets of Pittsburgh, both before the summit began and throughout the demonstrations that took place. It is in this arena that the researcher found social order most manifested, through police maintaining order, restoring order, and ultimately — through the lens of some magazines — causing more disorder.

The original police objective was to maintain the social order, as told by magazines that emphasized how the police were prepared to do so through various tactics such as zoning and fortification (Scherer, 2009). However, the end result was a

city "quite deserted" and "tightly controlled, heavily militarized … with little signs of protest" (Eshelman, 2009). The eerie, militaristic feel of downtown Pittsburgh was reflected in different instances throughout the sample, almost as a calm before the storm. And when the storm hit, publications were quick to cover the chaotic and sensational details of police and protester confrontations. Litanies of police tactics were common among publications, such as *GOOD*'s list that included "tear gas, loud orders, rubber pellets, batons and handcuffs" (Mock, 2009). Other descriptions of the chaos highlighted the LRAD, as well as the number of total arrests (Singel, 2009; Ham, 2009). And while some publications stuck with the interpretation that police action was meant to restore the order that the protesters upset, many left-leaning and moderate magazines found that the police ultimately created more disorder — a landscape where the police feel as though they can "crack down on every young person in the general vicinity," and the city has "free rein to suppress all dissent" (Balko, 2009).

With this kind of extreme police reaction and escalated events, a lack of moderatism was easy to find. At different points, many articles asserted that the police were stepping outside of their boundaries of maintaining order and were acting too extremely. These stories surrounded police trying to shut down protests, arresting indiscriminately, and even "harassing" one protest group in the days leading up to the summit (Eshelman, 2009). The sheer numbers of the police force was enough to alarm some magazines, as *GOOD* quoted a local saying, "'It's like trying to kill ants with a sledgehammer'" (Mock, 2009). Special attention was paid to police who were

dressed in "paramilitary garb" — suggesting a complete overstep into a military state (Balko, 2009).

Descriptive words such as "crackdown," "overkill," and "snatch-and-grab" arrests alerted readers to the heightened police action, largely interpreted to be too much (Balko, 2009). Obviously, these violations of moderatism were not limited to the police — as mentioned earlier, protesters were also criticized for being too extreme. However, the amount of coverage given to the police lacking moderate behavior and how that led to more disorder than it squashed was so prevalent as a theme that it changed the tone of a significant amount of coverage — showing the reader that the protesters are not the only actors who are going too far. In fact, a few of these stories even spent a portion of space framing the protester as the victim.

Finally, all these values that exposed police misconduct culminated to an ultimate suppression of civil rights and a violation of altruistic democracy. The researcher found evidence of this trend across all publications, regardless of their mission. This falls in line with Gans' (1979) version of altruistic democracy, "Over the years, the news has been perhaps most concerned with freedom of the press and related civil liberties" (p. 44). At the G-20 summit, the media reported on multiple instances of police crackdowns that resulted in the denial of free speech and the right to assemble, a repercussion of the fact that "police didn't attempt to manage the protests, they simply suppressed them" (Balko, 2009). Across publications, this kind of behavior was often characterized as systematic and even targeted, framed with an alarmist tone, alerting the readers to the serious implications that this kind of free-speech repression can have. This translated to the possibility of suppression of dissent

on a larger scale, as a part of "the government's nasty, post-9/11 habit of considering political dissidents to be threats to national security" (Singel, 2009).

Through this kind of framing, the issue of the police reaction is not just limited to Pittsburgh, but extended to the entire country. It does not necessarily defend the G-20 protesters, but protest in general as a necessary democratic institution and a basic civil right that the law enforcement and leadership are trying to at the least inhibit, at the most extreme deny.

The Whole World May Not Be Watching

It has been established that, simply put, movements rely on the media. The media has the potential to provide mobilization through inspiring discussion, validation, and scope enlargement (Gamson & Wolfsfeld, 1993, p. 116). Furthermore, Gans (1979) wrote, "Movements are generally much more dependent on media than the reverse, and the fundamental asymmetry implies greater power of the media system in the transaction" — essentially, the protester is at the media's mercy to get the message out (p. 116).

The researcher originally set out to discover how the global-liberation movement was being reported with the assumption that the media is the main avenue for the movement's messaging to reach the public. Through an in-depth study using Gans' enduring values, the researcher was able to identify in what ways the global-liberation message was being communicated to the public. Because these mainstream values acted as an undercurrent running through the articles, the majority of the time spent discussing protesters focused on their extreme characteristics and resulting

disorderly conduct, and as a result the messaging suffered. With the exception of the progressive magazines, stories left the reader with impressions of the protesters themselves being wild anti-authoritarians without real direction, and it was even unclear sometimes on why they were at the G-20 to begin with. The repercussions of this could be harmful to the movement if the goal was to get their message out and make an impact. Additionally, it makes it harder to garner support and educate the public on the issues for which the protesters are fighting.

However, when looking at the coverage of the police reaction to the protesters, a very different message reached audiences. Using Gans' values, this thesis identified that the majority of media coverage found that through police attempts at order restoration equated to police acting too extremely, more disorder was created, and most significantly, civil rights were denied. This exposed an entirely different issue to readers — how protest in this country is handled. For the most part, magazines took serious issue with how protest was suppressed, in line with Gans' (1979) theory that the media is concerned with violations of civil liberties (p. 43). Portraying that to readers not only alerted them of police wrongdoings, but it also placed high importance on protest as a part of the democratic system. And while the specific messages of the protest still did not get across, the very fact that the media communicated that protest is still important and relevant and that it needs to be protected is significant.

In relation to the coverage of dissent, the researcher translates this to mean that that magazines mostly were not invested in looking into the specific causes that brought the protesters to the G-20. In that regard, the movement did not get pushed

forward at all, and for the most part, the readership was not made more aware of what global-liberation even really means. But on the other hand, the magazine coverage of the protests themselves and the resistance met by the police indicated that overall, the media values protest as a part of democracy, and is willing to defend it when it is threatened. This translated to the public that dissent as an action is still important and must be protected from being stomped out.

The values that Gans' asserted in 1979 were those that he found to be historically embedded in the media, and beyond that they were meant to be enduring — relevant no matter the media or situation. What this research has shown is that while evidence of all eight of the values can be found, some values are more evident than others. Depending on the movement and the media, the enduring values might be more or less relevant. So while the presence of Gans' values in social-movement coverage is inescapable altogether, not all of the values are completely enduring.

Outside of Gans

As Gans (1979) identified, there are more values that can be identified in the news outside of the eight he analyzed (p. 41). Similarly, there were more stories and themes that appeared throughout the coverage outside of these values, and thus were not covered in the findings. A few of note include the issue of student arrests, the underrepresentation of the poor and disadvantaged in relation to the G-20 and the protester causes, and poor protest showing compared to other summits.

Throughout the course of the summit, especially during the confrontations on the night of Thursday, Sept. 24, near the University of Pittsburgh, students were

mixed in with protesters and swept up in the law enforcement's attempt to control and restore order. As a result, students were among those arrested (Greer, 2009). A few publications, such as *U.S. News and World Report* and *Reason* found this notable, as it exhibited instances of police arresting people indiscriminately. *Reason* provides this analysis of indiscriminate arrests:

> Note that a group of people needn't have actually broken any laws, only possessed the "potential" to do so, at which point not moving quickly enough for the liking of the police on the scene could result in an arrest. That standard is essentially a license for the police to arrest anyone, anywhere in the city at any time, regardless of whether those under arrest have actually done anything wrong (Balko, 2009).

Analyses like this were apart of an overall concern with how police handle these kind of large events and the people who are drawn to them, protester or otherwise. The implication of students and citizens being arrested along with protesters without actually first participating in any action is grave — police can take extreme measures to control a situation and a crowd, not only suppressing the rights of those there to protest, but also failing to target individuals and arresting all those in the line of fire, so to speak. Taking the effort to point out the student-arrest aspect of the police response exhibited concern by publications over the police action and over the impediments on protest.

In an attempt to understand the G-20 and its influence, as well as the protesters at the summit, some publications drew the conclusion that the majority of the world is underrepresented by the G-20 and that that largely relates to protester causes. This was most often seen through quantifying the amount of wealth that the G-20 represents juxtaposed with the small amount of countries it is comprised of (e.g. Barnett, 2009). *Time* draws the connection between the G-20 policies and the greater

world population, calling the group's actions as "running roughshod, in the anarchists' view, over the 6.7 billion people not invited to this week's meeting" (Levine, 2009). In a few instances in the coverage, the line was drawn between the social-justice causes that the global-liberation protesters championed and the portion of the world's population that is unrepresented at these summits, yet largely affected by the decisions the leaders make. Dealing with the interests, rights, and well being of the disadvantaged on a global scale did not fall under Gans' enduring values. Nonetheless, the way the G-20 influences and shapes the livelihood of the international community is incredibly pertinent to the discussion of the G-20 and the global-liberation protests. Though the it has been established that specific causes and issues that the global-liberation protesters advocated for did not make it into the coverage of the Pittsburgh, Pa., G-20, acknowledging the existence of these issues, how they relate to the G-20, and the larger population that is affected by the G-20's policies is an important facet to the global-liberation examination by the publications.

Traditionally, international summits draw tens of thousands of protesters from around the world to speak out to the world leaders. While it is unknown exactly how many protesters came to Pittsburgh, a few magazines pointed out that the protest showing was significantly smaller than other events. *Newsweek* brought attention to the smaller showing in the title of its story "G20 Protests, Underappreciated or Underwhelming?" and *Mother Jones* drew the comparison between the protest showing at Pittsburgh to the Battle in Seattle, saying, "The protests paled in comparison to the 1999 WTO melee in Seattle" (Buchwalter, 2009). What smaller numbers of participants could possibly mean for the movement is a topic of analysis

that falls outside of Gans' values, but is still highly relevant to the global-liberation movement. The publications that took note of the smaller protest numbers offered little explanation as to why this might be happening — whether it was a result of the location, the city's efforts to preemptively control protests, or a general disengagement in the global-liberation movement in the U.S.

While these themes did not make necessarily fit under Gans' enduring values, they are still of note in the coverage of the Pittsburgh, Pa., G-20 protests. Student arrests are a facet of a larger issue of indiscriminate arrests by police. The very acknowledgement of the existence of the poor and disadvantaged and how that relates to the G-20 itself enlightens the scope of the G-20's policies, as well as the causes the protesters at the G-20 champion. And questioning if this protester turnout was perhaps smaller than pervious summits also contributes to analysis of where the global-liberation movement stands in this country. While Gans' enduring values have proven to be effective in understanding the global-liberation protesters' coverage at the G-20 in Pittsburgh, Pa., it is still important to understand there is more information to analyze, and more assessment of the stories that could be told.

Future Coverage

Moving forward, it is the researcher's hope that this thesis could contribute to improved protester coverage at large summits. This may occur through several methods. First, the researcher suggests journalists engage in thorough storytelling that connects the dots between activist issues and the event at hand. Helping the reader understand why the protester is at the summit will overall contribute to a better

understanding and investigation into the events and the protests. Secondly, journalists should work toward more in-depth representation of activists. What it is exactly that protesters are fighting against or working toward will ultimately make for a more complete picture of a certain event. Finally, the researcher urges journalists to not settle for presumed characterizations of global-liberation protesters as radical and violent, but instead gain an understanding of protester motivations and even interview protesters present. Following these guidelines will ensure more well-rounded coverage of protesters and overall better storytelling.

CHAPTER VI:
CONCLUSION

The 21st century has been punctuated with grassroots movements, some young and others long-standing. The global-liberation movement is just one of the many, but because it encompasses such a wide range of causes, and because the underlying themes can be so radical, it is important to study how the news media handles it. Additionally, the global-liberation protests are significant to the modern discourse because of the space they occupy — the largest gatherings of world leaders, where often some of the most expansively influential decisions are made. That juxtaposition makes the media coverage unique because readers are introduced to the most extreme protesters alongside the biggest world players. With all this in mind, how the movement is then translated to the public is largely informative of to what degree Americans are aware of global liberation, protest, and dissent in general.

This thesis set out to discover how the global-liberation protesters at the 2009 Pittsburgh, Pa., G-20 were portrayed by the magazines through the lens of Gans' eight enduring values of the media. Through an in-depth textual analysis, the researcher looked for evidence of each value to guide the study and understanding of the framing of protesters, the movement, and ultimately dissent. Using Gans' values proved to be successful, as it informed both the framing of the protests and the stark deviations of the protesters from American values. Each value enlightened a different aspect of how the protesters and the movement were presented, though some were more prevalent than others. The researcher found that the strongest values as they relate to the protests were altruistic democracy, moderatism, responsible capitalism,

and social order, while leadership, individualism, ethnocentrism, and small-town pastoralism took a less important role in the discussion. Nonetheless, at least some piece of each value was found in the coverage, creating a complete picture for what the G-20 protests meant in the media, and ultimately to Americans.

The content of the G-20 protest coverage did not provide much opportunity for ethnocentrism. The instances it did appear were connected to the larger theme of the police being too harsh in suppressing dissent. The suppression was so extreme, that some magazines illustrated this point through comparisons to countries that are understood to be wholly un-American. This fundamentally represented ethnocentrism in that the shock to the reader is that a place with an inferior government is placed on the same level of what was happening in Pittsburgh, Pa.

Altruistic democracy is found in identifying democracy in its truest form, and calls out any deviations from that ideal (Gans, 1979, p. 44). Freedom of speech and the right to protest and present grievances to the government is tantamount to democracy, which lends itself to altruistic democracy being especially pertinent in the coverage of the protests at the G-20 in Pittsburgh, Pa. Altruistic democracy was illuminated through a number of patterns in the text, such as an appreciation of the grassroots efforts of protesters as a sign of citizen participation. But this also led to a differentiation between what was considered "good" protest and "bad" protest. This is indicative of Gans' (1979) theory that protest action can sometimes be condemned for being too extreme (p. 53). But what was equally concerning for a lot of publications was the possible restriction and even denial of civil rights by the police, a direct assault on democracy. This then was expanded by some publications to start a larger

discourse on the implications for both free speech and for protest in the country —

expanding the events beyond the immediate global-liberation protests and into an

ideological discussion on democracy in America.

Responsible capitalism was evident in the sample through the triumphant tale

of Pittsburgh's transformation — an indication of the value at work — and through

negative framing of protesters who were shown as trying to destroy that progress. But

on a deeper level, the researcher found that responsible capitalism appears to have

transformed the most since Gans' study. This can be easily attributed to the financial

collapse of 2008 and an overall loss of faith that in the free market, businessmen and

women will act responsibly to the benefit of the greater population. But despite this

disillusionment with the capitalistic system — as sometimes spoken through protester

voices — the researcher found that there still was an underlying theme that advocated

a return to the responsible capitalistic system. So although capitalism has largely

failed Americans, the media still values it as a system and trusts that an ultimate

return to responsible capitalism will solve the devastation the country and global

economy have faced.

Small-town pastoralism was also largely under-represented in the sample, the

researcher found. Because the core of this value relies on idealizing the traditional

small-town, American life, it was mostly irrelevant to coverage of the G-20 protests.

The researcher did find some examples of small-town pastoralism in the actual

description of Pittsburgh. This came from both the perspectives of the G-20

disrupting and the protesters invading Pittsburgh, and mostly came about through

local reaction. The few times this value was evident, it framed either the G-20 having a negative effect on the city or the protesters taking over and destroying Pittsburgh.

In the right context, the protester is a sincere illustration of what Gans (1979) describes as individualism: He or she is acting against the norm, participating in society on his or her own terms, advocating for change that is socially productive, and often chooses to stand up against powerful forces (pp. 50-51). Framing the protester as an individual happened most often in magazines that valued the individuals participating in protest and trying to create change. The instances when this kind of positive framing of protesters occurred helped to neutralize the stereotypes that protesters were reckless and dangerous, and in some ways endorsed them being at the G-20 to protest, if not endorsing the messaging.

Protesters are the epitome of the non-moderate action and therefore so much of the coverage included the moderatism value. Both their tactics and their messaging is far from middle-ground — advocating for complete changes to the neoliberal capitalistic system, and doing so through protests that were large and sometimes violent shows no semblance of moderatism. But as the events transpired, the police too acted in non-moderate ways. This included building Pittsburgh into what looked like a police state, as well as the harsh treatment of protesters during confrontations. Finally, the intergovernmental body itself was seen as extreme simply through what the G-20 represented — enormous amounts of wealth and power.

Social order was definitely the most prevalent of Gans' values in the coverage of the G-20 protests. Just the content matter of the event is enough to constitute social-order themes appearing in publications. Because the protesters set out to

disrupt order — both in a literal and ideological sense — and because the police took such extreme measures in order to maintain and restore order, social order was especially relevant to the content. Furthermore, the instances of social order in the sample became the best opportunities to frame the protesters to the readership in either a positive or negative light. By showing them as creators of disorder, they lost the opportunity to be taken seriously by readers, and their messaging was lost. And conversely, if the protesters were seen as victims of the disorder caused by the police, or if the transformation of order that they were advocating was framed positively, the goals of their activism stood a better chance of reaching the average American. Regardless of the outcome, social disorder was the most important factor in the coverage of the protests for the mere fact that at its core protest is disorder.

Drawing leadership attention to grievances is not only essential to the leadership value, but it is also essential to democracy itself. While the focus of this study has not been on the leaders at the G-20 but rather on the protesters outside of the convention-hall walls, studying the way leadership was valued in the sample shed light on protester causes, and also the level of legitimacy a publication gave to the protester. This took form in showing the reader the importance and influence of the G-20 as a way of validating the protesters' right to be at the G-20, and through exposing a small portion of the misconduct of the G-20, it legitimized the protesters' causes. The direct relationship between the protesters and the city's leadership showed the suppression of protest at the G-20. All of this gives a more complete explanation of the G-20 to readers and the protesters' determination to be there.

Through the lens of Gans' eight enduring values, this thesis sought to understand how protesters at the Pittsburgh, Pa., G-20 were being portrayed to the public. And with that study, two themes emerged: that stories spent more time on protesters' fringe characteristics and tactics to focus on their messaging, and that the police reaction to protesters was too extreme and in some instances resulted in first-amendment rights violations. This then affected the way that the global-liberation movement was transmitted to the public, as these themes overtook the majority of the coverage.

In nearly every publication, protesters faced negative framing, and the researcher believes that it was because of the values found in the stories that the fringe and extreme attributes of protesters took a major role in the coverage, and the messaging was often left unsaid. Moderatism and social order largely served as the way that the issues the global-liberation movement was trying to gather attention for were blocked. This is because of a focus on protester characteristics and action that were framed as too extreme and too disruptive to the order. And while in other instances, values such as leadership, individualism, and altruistic democracy helped to create a more positive discussion of protesters, ultimately the messaging still suffered as stories focused on the events and not the ideals.

While most magazines appreciated the implicit need for police to maintain order at such an event as important and that drew as many protesters as the G-20, publications soon found that police overstepped the boundaries and even became conductors of disorder. This theme derived from the events that transpired and occupied a large portion of the Pittsburgh, Pa., G-20 coverage. Police tactics in

maintaining and restoring order were framed as too extreme by the media through the social order value, and also through moderatism and altruistic democracy. Furthermore, some magazines took the police action a step further to analyze what this kind of repression meant for the protesters' civil rights and for protest in general.

What was ultimately transmitted to the public, the researcher believes, are two separate themes regarding the global-liberation movement. The first was that the protesters were too extreme in their messaging and their tactics. And while there were instances where some protester causes did earn explanation by the publications, the global-liberation message was not delivered to readers across the board. However, the theme of police cracking down too harshly on protesters signified a different triumph for activists: that the media still supports protest as an essential fundament of democracy and should be protected. While directly this mostly does not result in the expansion or progression of the movement, it still communicates to Americans that dissent is an important part of democracy — one that is worth fighting for. Finally, regarding the endurance of Gans' values, the researcher found that while all values were accounted for in some small way, a few such as small-town pastoralism and ethnocentrism were largely unrepresented. This signifies that the pervasiveness of the values in coverage of today's social movements is not guaranteed, but instead fluctuates based on the content of the movement and the media itself.

Future Research

Throughout the course of this study, a number of ideas emerged, some of which the researcher had the opportunity to pursue, while others could not be covered

in the capacity of this thesis. By their very nature, these values are not singular, in that they constantly overlap and interweave with one another. The researcher noted that in the sample, multiple values would appear side by side — for example, moderatism and altruistic democracy often worked with each other in coverage that criticized the police reaction. An in-depth look at the values' complex relationship with one another and how they interact would deepen the understanding of what these values mean to the news media.

The Battle in Seattle was called on multiple times throughout the sample, specifically in the discussion of protesters. The researcher noted the use of the Battle in Seattle throughout social order coverage used as a metric to make sense of the protesters, both in terms of their destruction and their effectiveness. However, because of the positioning of the 2009 Pittsburgh, Pa., G-20 protests in relation to the Battle in Seattle — they were 10 years after Seattle and in line with one of the largest hits capitalism has taken to date — a study that compares the protester coverage at the two events would be an interesting academic pursuit. This study could inform the way that both the media perception of protesters has evolved, as well as provide insight into how the movement has changed.

Given the restrictions of this thesis, only the text of the stories was analyzed. However, a number of articles were accompanied by images of both the protesters and the police. If these images affected the perception of both parties would be a worthwhile study. Global-liberation protests can appear to be both colorful and violent, and because of this have the potential to be visually impactful. How publications used these images to strengthen or supplement their stories would further

enlighten the framing of the protests and the movement. The same can be said for the police presence at the Pittsburgh, Pa., G-20 — were images used to depict maintaining order and protecting the peace, or did they present police as a threat to the order and oppressive toward protesters?

Finally, the researcher suggests a study that uses the media framing of protesters to inform the much broader question of where protesters fit into today's media landscape. *The New Yorker* rather eloquently posed this question:

> Do the marches on the streets of Pittsburgh belong in a time capsule of the past (protesters compared the police response to Kent State, though this time no one was shot or died), the present (this is what happens at G-anything conferences these days) or the future (police used a "sonic weapon" to disperse the crowd)?   (Davidson, 2009).

Looking at coverage of American global-liberation protests from a quantitative standpoint could help to inform the likelihood that protests would be covered, and the perceived importance of the protests, and possibly the movements. An even grander study could choose another movement to focus on from a different time period, such as the environmental movement of the 1970s, which was not the most visible movement of the time, but still an active one. This could additionally shed light on how the media has evolved to value protest, either more or less.

Afterword

The 2009 Pittsburgh, Pa., G-20 protests were significant for a number of reasons. They came at a time when joblessness soared, climate change was becoming more and more evident, and the United States was losing its foothold as the global economic leader. Additionally, the summit was 10 years after the infamous Battle in

Seattle, and only five months after large-scale protests took place at the G-20 in London. Furthermore, the summit and protests played out in the heart of America's rustbelt, where only 25 years earlier, the free marked failed the city so badly that the collapse of the steel industry cost roughly half of the city's manufacturing jobs ("The revival of Pittsburgh: Lessons for the G-20," 2009). Arguably, the protests had all the elements to be meaningful.

This thesis set out to understand the dissent to an intergovernmental body that represents abstract thoughts and ideas such as globalization, the world economy, and capitalism, as well as very tangible issues, such as ecological destruction, labor rights and wages, unemployment, poverty, and world health. Calling for a radical change to order is not something that is easily digestible to the average citizen, especially when related to economic systems such as the neoliberal free market, or when it involves placing the health of the environment above industry. These are ideas and institutions that are so engrained in the American way of life that they feel non-negotiable. But as Gans (1979) said, "order is a meaningless term unless one specifies what order and whose order is being valued" (p. 59). Fundamentally, the order defined by the media is the order that the protesters are advocating against.

Gans (1979) wrote that "underlying the news, a picture of nation and society as it ought to be" (p. 39). The advocates of the global-liberation movement seek an entirely different order, a different nation, a different society — one that protects the Earth and the larger population. But without issue dissemination, is another world possible?

Publication	Article Title	Date	Print/Online
Bitch	"The Body Electric – Bodies as Weapons: When the G20 comes to your hometown"	Sept. 25, 2009	Online only
Businessweek	"Protesters Clash with Police as G-20 Opens: Rock-throwing protesters are tear gassed as world leaders assemble to discuss economic policy"	Sept. 24, 2009	Online only
The Christian Science Monitor	"G-20 summit: how Pittsburgh plans to handle protesters: Pittsburgh will import police from surrounding areas and cordon off the downtown area to ensure the G-20 summit will run smoothly"	Sept. 23, 2009	Print and online
	"Our reporter will cover the G-20 leaders — if he can navigate security: Security tight at the G-20 meeting in Pittsburgh"	Sept. 24, 2009	Online only

Esquire	"Can Obama save the Global Economy (and Globalization) at the G-20?: After a tepid UN Week, the White House takes to Pittsburgh with a humble plan: Convince China and the rest of the world that we'll stop consuming enough to take them down with us one more time."	Sept. 24, 2009	Online only
GOOD	"Can Art Redeem the G20?"	Sept. 24, 2009	Online only
	"Police at the G-20: How Are Locals Faring?"	Sept. 25, 2009	Online only
In These Times	"Global Unions Tell G20: Create Jobs, Reduce Inequality"	Sept. 22, 2009	Online only
	"Protesting the G-20 Summit: A Photo Essay from Pittsburgh Streets"	Sept. 26, 2009	Online only
	"Ten Years After Seattle: The global justice movement	Oct. 19, 2009	Online only

	evolves"		
Mother Jones	"The G-20 Protests: Taking it to the Tweets"	Sept. 25, 2009	
	"Protesting the G-20 Summit: A Photo Essay from Pittsburgh Streets"	Sept. 26, 2009	Online only
	"Global Unions Tell G20: Create Jobs, Reduce Inequality"	Sept. 22, 2009	
The Nation	"Remember the Real Villain — Wall Street"	Sept. 9, 2009 (online) Sept. 21, 2009 (print edition)	Print and online
	"Climate Change: Off the G-20 Agenda?"	Sept. 23, 2009 (online) Oct. 5, 2009 (print edition)	Print and online
	"Fortress Pittsburgh"	Sept. 25, 2009 (online) Oct. 12, 2009 (print edition)	Print and online
	"The World and Pittsburgh"	Sept. 16, 2009 (online) Oct. 5, 2009 (print edition)	Print and online
The New Yorker	"Close Read:	Aug. 27, 2009	Online only

	Postcard from Pittsburgh"		
	"Close Read: The Men in the Penguin Jerseys"	Sept. 25, 2009	Online only
Newsweek	"G20 Protests, Underappreciated or Underwhelming?"	Sept. 24, 2009	Online only
The Progressive	"Banks Take Over the G20, and their own Bailout"	Sept. 23, 2009	Online only
Time	"Why is the G-20 Summit Being Held in Pittsburgh?"	Sept. 23, 2009	Online only
	"Will Anarchists Reign in Pittsburgh at the G-20?"	Sept. 24, 2009	Online only
	"Cops and Anarchists Clash at G-20"	Sept. 25, 2009	Online only
U.S. News and World Report	"Pittsburgh City Council to 'Briefly Consider' Pitt Students Accounts of G-20 Events"	Oct. 6, 2009	Online only
	"With G-20 Summit Over, Pitt Students Describe Experience"	Sept. 28, 2009	Online only

The Weekly Standard	"Lefty Protesters Get Violent at G20, No One Frets About State of the Republic"	Sept. 25, 2009	Online only
Wired	"Sonic Warfare Erupts in Pittsburgh, Honduras"	Sept. 25, 2009	Online only
	"Ruling Expected on Twittering Anarchist Raided Under 'Rioting' Laws"	Oct. 23, 2009	Online only
	"Fed's Search of Twittering Anarchist Upheld"	Nov. 4, 2009	Online only
Reason	"Scenes From a Crackdown: Police overkill at G20 summit in Pittsburgh"	Oct. 5, 2009	Print and online
	"Civil Disobedience is Not Terrorism"	Oct. 28, 2009	Online only
	"Chicago Cops Vacation at Pittsburgh G20 Summit, Snap Souvenir Photo"	Oct. 19, 2009	Online only

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