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# **WHAT'S NEWS GOT TO DO WITH IT?:**

## **EXAMINING THE CONTRIBUTION OF TORONTO'S PRESS IN MAINTAINING AN ENVIRONMENTALLY-DETRIMENTAL SOCIAL PARADIGM, 2003-2006**

by

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presented to Ryerson University

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## **Abstract**

**What's News Got To Do With It?:  
Examining the contribution of Toronto's press in maintaining an environmentally-detrimental  
social paradigm, 2003-2006**

**Master of Applied Science, 2007**

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This content analysis examines print media coverage of Toronto's waterfront development to determine whether story frames perpetuate the dominant social paradigm. Articles from 8 newspapers are analyzed in two content dimensions, the sub-issues which surround waterfront development and the ways of understanding the environment presented as relevant to Toronto's waterfront development. Findings show presence of conflict, use of a non-routine information channel and broad source mix do not result in more diverse content. Likewise, characteristics such as a news organization's conventionality (i.e., alternative or mainstream), size and ownership (i.e., independent or group-owned) exert limited influence over story content. Organized around the competitive city concept described by Kipfer and Keil's (2002), this research examines whether media coverage aligns with the capitalist urbanization process, concluding story frames in news discourse de-emphasize the environment as an issue and rely on the least-progressive environmental management paradigms when reporting on Toronto's waterfront development.

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## CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

The greatest threat to the environment does not originate from any smokestack, effluent pipe or dump site, but it is a wholly anthropocentric creation: the dominant social paradigm. Any paradigm provides a specific view of the world, a model for understanding the environment. The most pervasive paradigm currently – the dominant social paradigm – is particularly threatening to the environment for it perpetuates a narrow view of only the financially commodifiable aspects of the environment. With its belief in “abundance and progress, over devotion to growth and prosperity or faith in science and technology, and [the] commitment to laissez-faire economy, limited government planning and private property rights” (Dunlap & van Liere, 1978, p. 10), the dominant social paradigm justifies continued exploitation of the environment for economic ends. Further, the individual’s role as a citizen is subordinated to his/her role as a consumer for the dominant social paradigm dictates a “rational” approach to development based on limited government planning and private property rights. In essence, the dominant social paradigm works to validate views that advance the capitalist ideology and delegitimize views that would challenge the status quo. Effectively removing non-economic considerations from development, the dominant social paradigm marginalizes ethical concerns that challenge the notion of continued capitalist “progress”. Social consequences resulting from environmental exploitation are beyond the bounds of the dominant social paradigm, and the intrinsic worth of the environment is ignored. The dominant social paradigm, when adopted by the public, fosters an understanding of the environment that inevitably leads to environmental degradation.

Gramsci’s (1971) concept of cultural hegemony provides a filter through which researchers can interpret the way society defines and seeks to resolve environmental degradation. Hegemony represents the process of constructing a consensus or communal “common-sense” which in turn legitimizes the dominant ideology, existing power structures and the elite leaders who are granted power (Dispensa & Brulle, 2003). Elite groups, or the “hegemonic bloc”, maintain their power by reproducing certain definitions of situations that appear to be serving the interests of the general public but which truly further their own interests as the elite (Dispensa & Brulle, 2003; McQuail, 2000). One such definition of “reality” that is taken for granted as

common-sense is the dominant social paradigm. The dominant social paradigm not only benefits the capitalist elite class by validating the economic structures that grant them their elite position – by casting government regulation and control as hindrances – but this paradigm also limits progress in solving the “environmental problem”. In reinforcing capitalistic hegemony, relying on market regulation is the most natural and common-sense way of dealing with environmental degradation. Other solutions, such as increased government control over the environment or preventing distribution of new technology until deemed harmless, are not reproduced as ways to address environmental degradation as these solutions contest the validity of the dominant social paradigm. Hence the construction of hegemony, including the perpetuation of the dominant social paradigm, limits what actions and agents are responsible for degradation of the environment that in turn limits the range of solutions proposed for its restoration and protection.

To aid in understanding the hegemonic portrayal of the environmental problem, instruments that reproduce and construct common-sense understandings of the human-environment relationship must be located. According to Hilgartner and Bosk, “the collective definition of social problems occurs not only in some vague location such as society or public opinion but in particular public arenas in which social problems are framed and grow” (1988, p. 58). One particularly pervasive public arena is the mass media, or specifically, the news media (Dispensa & Brulle, 2003; Burgess, 1990; Hansen, 1991). The media, in its role of disseminating information to the masses, is active in constructing the human-environment relationship on two levels. At the “pragmatic” level, media texts educate, alert, persuade and mobilize their readers by providing information (Cox, 2006). Simultaneously, at the “constitutive” level, the media construct reality and represent the environment in certain ways that shape their readers’ perception of the environment (Cox, 2006). The mass media reproduce the dominant ideology as both its pragmatic and constitutive content passively diffuse into social discourse: individuals discuss programs watched or articles read as a form of social exchange; media texts often form the basis of statements prefaced with “they say”; and information provided by media is ultimately incorporated into an individual’s own personal and social knowledge (Burgess, 1990). Operating in the public realm, therefore, media possess the opportunity to increase awareness of certain problem definitions, as well as constructing certain problems as important. The fundamental role of the media in disseminating environmental

information is unquestionable, as the media in large part both creates public opinion as to whether the environment is an important issue and also limits the understanding of the environment as a problem.

### 1.1 The Environment as an Issue in the Media

Each individual possesses his or her own personal beliefs and values. These beliefs and values are used to construct a ranking of importance in issues, where an individual believes some issues require immediate resolution and others are less urgent or important. Personal beliefs and values are dependent on knowledge gained from direct experience or interpersonal communication (Soroka, 2002; McQuail, 2000). On a broader scale, the media disseminate information and thus have a role in supplementing interpersonal communication. In constructing certain issues as important, the media influence public opinion by increasing the salience of an issue in the storage of an individual's personal ranking of beliefs and values. Cues such as space allotted to an issue, the prominent placement of an issue and the recurrence of an issue in media coverage all signal the media's construction of salience. Examples such as a newspaper story that takes up a full page, or a lead story in a televised newscast, or a recurring topic on a call-in radio show all exemplify the media's active construction of certain issues as important, making the media consumer more likely to not only remember but also believe in the importance of that issue. The ability to manipulate the salience of an issue enables the media to likewise influence public opinion.

Individual valuation of an issue becomes further entwined with the media agenda when the public agenda is influenced by interpersonal communication, as the individuals engaging in communication may be drawing their information from media texts (Salwen, 1987). This compounds the indirect influence of the media on the real world, as widely circulated texts such as news in the mass media may be consumed and/or reproduced by their readers, perpetuating a particular portrayal of an issue and leading to a subsequent ranking in importance of that issue. But the media do not have boundless power to control public opinion, as the media's degree of influence is controlled by characteristics of both the media institution and the issue itself. As certain media organizations are viewed as more credible than others (e.g., prestige "press" versus

tabloid “rags”) they have greater influence over the public agenda than their counterparts (McQuail, 2000). The issue itself is also a key controlling factor that limits the influence of the media on the public agenda, as individuals with direct experience with the issue in “the real world” will evaluate the issue based on their experience and not the media’s representation of the issue (Erbring and Goldenberg, 1980; Salwen, 1987). Before examining how the media represents the environmental problem, therefore, evidence is required of the extent to which public opinion relies on the media to inform its ranking of the environment as an issue.

Research has shown that the environment as an issue is particularly vulnerable to media constructions of salience. For example, Ader (1995) studied environmental coverage of air quality, water quality and waste disposal issues in the *New York Times* from 1970-1990 to determine whether public opinion mirrored actual environmental conditions or cycles in media coverage. Ader found that public opinion was more closely aligned with cycles in media coverage of environmental issues than the actual state of the environment: the public was more likely to view the environment as an issue when media coverage was greatest and not when the health of the environment was poorest. Another study by Soroka (2002) tracked real world indicators of environmental issues (i.e., the number of forests harvested, the emission of carbon dioxide and ozone depleting substances, and the number of species at risk) and compared these indicators to the coverage of environmental issues in seven Canadian English newspapers and one French-Canadian newspaper. Soroka found the media’s coverage of the environment was not linked to real-world conditions (e.g., coverage was not greatest when environmental conditions were at their worst) and moreover the public ranked the environment as an important problem when media coverage was highest. Like Ader, Soroka’s results confirm that an increase in volume of media coverage elicits a greater pressure on public opinion of the environmental problem than do worsening environmental conditions. In the case of the environment as a problem, therefore, it is critical that we “go beyond representation to the recognition that *media constitute reality*” (italics in original) (Angus, 1989, p. 339).

At the constitutive level of constructing the human-environment relationship, the media not only ranks certain issues as important but also provides certain definitions of an issue: the media are able to construct the way a problem is understood. The function of constructing a

problem definition is also referred to as framing, where key aspects of the problem are centered and made salient within a “frame” and other aspects are excluded as outside the bounds of the frame. Media texts inherently frame all issues they disseminate in their texts. Certain aspects of a situation are made “more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation for the items described” (Entman, 2002, p. 391). In framing issues and distributing these frames to the larger public, the media have the power to communicate not only “facts about the environment but also wider frameworks or guides for understanding and making sense of these facts” (Cox, 2006, p. 186). The media play a key role in contributing to environmental degradation when perpetuating frameworks that sanction the dominant social paradigm and align with capitalist hegemony.

Again, reproducing the dominant social paradigm within media texts not only lends a specific interpretation of the environmental problem, but also legitimizes and furthers the interests of the elite as well as the capitalist system that grants this elite their power. The potential for the news media to affect public opinion and understanding is a measure of its hegemonic potential: the more dependent the public agenda on the media for information on the “real-world” and the more narrowly the media frame an issue, the more likely consensus will be reached as to the definition of that issue. Ader (1995) and Soroka (2002) have demonstrated the dependence of the public on media to make the environment an “issue”; to extrapolate these findings, the public’s understanding of the environment as an issue is vulnerable to media framing. When reliant on only the official version of an issue, often a version that supports the dominant economic and social structures that benefit the hegemonic bloc, the media effectively limit the public perception of the environmental problem. Yet the media are also able to provide insurgent discourse that presents views and actors that challenge the dominant ideology. The news media offers a forum for debate in the public sphere. In allowing for a diversity of voices and viewpoints, the media create an opportunity to challenge the dominant social paradigm. The capacity for the media to foster insurgent environmental discourse is viewed optimistically by Burgess, who comments:

Growing numbers of people, living under very different political and economic systems, are beginning to challenge the dominant belief that continued economic growth with its inevitable exploration and degradation of both natural and human resources is the only way



forward. Possibilities for fundamental change are being explored, subverted and resisted and these are being communicated primarily through the media... (Burgess, 1990, p. 157)

Burgess' comments were made at the height of the most recent "environmental golden age" in the late 1980s, when radical environmental views were poised to become mainstream.

Unfortunately, more recent research belies Burgess' hopes for a less hegemonically-aligned media to disseminate more environmentally-progressive perspectives.

Two studies are particularly relevant to discussions of the media's support of capitalist hegemony. First, to gauge the diversity of viewpoints surrounding an ambiguous environmental concept, Lewis (2000) examined sustainable development stories in the US prestige press (i.e., *Los Angeles Times*, *New York Times*, *Wall Street Journal*, *Washington Post* and *Christian Science Monitor*) appearing between 1987-1997. Of the 71 articles studied by Lewis, only six questioned the paradigm's equation of economic growth with "development". Left out of the sustainable development articles were sources who questioned the viability of the underlying economic structure that systematically places less developed countries – especially the poor in those countries who are "forced" into environmentally degrading practices – at a disadvantage (Lewis, 2000). The overwhelming orientation of news discourse was one aligned with the dominant social paradigm. Positioned as challenging the dominant social paradigm are several environmental groups who subscribe to a new economic paradigm that acknowledges "the inevitability of 'limits to growth'...the importance of preserving the 'balance of nature' and the need to reject the anthropocentric notion that nature exists solely for human use" (Dunlap & van Liere, 1978, p. 10); yet these views did not enter the sustainable development articles studied by Lewis. Although environmental organizations were cited almost as often as official sources (e.g., cited in 60% and 67% of all articles, respectively), the environmental groups cited were drawn primarily from the "mainstream" environmental movement. These mainstream environmental groups view the solution to environmental problems as encompassing "formal population policies, good science and resource management", and they discount the political dimension of environmental degradation by relegating it to a mere technological problem (Lewis, 2000, p. 263). In essence, the diverse group of sources quoted in sustainable development articles all spoke from within the dominant social paradigm. Interestingly, these mainstream groups not only avoided criticizing the main tenets of the dominant social paradigm

but also avoided criticizing the capitalist elite, as problems with nuclear energy and the petrochemical industry were also ignored (Lewis, 2000).

A second study which illustrated the media support of capitalist hegemony is work done by Dispensa and Brulle (2003). Like sustainable development articles that exclude criticisms of the petrochemical industry, the media have also been shown to protect this elite group in articles that discuss global warming. Dispensa and Brulle examined newspaper coverage of global warming issues in New Zealand, Finland and the United States, to determine whether the problem was defined differently according to country of origin. Dispensa and Brulle found that papers in the US were much more likely to contain assertions that human activities were *not* a significant contributor to global warming. Attributing these coverage differences to the American media's support of the petrochemical industry, Dispensa and Brulle conclude:

Only the US has a significant fossil fuel industry.... The US economy would have to undergo a major transformation, a shift away from reliance on petroleum and coal as its major energy source. Therefore there is a vested interest on the part of the petrochemical industries to extend the debate and to sow uncertainty regarding the overwhelming scientific consensus regarding global warming. Without such a vested interest, New Zealand and Finland have a media that generally follow scientific consensus on this matter (Dispensa & Brulle, 2003, p. 98).

Hence the US media are clearly supporting the position of their hegemonic elite (i.e., those with heavy investment in fossil fuel extraction) when perpetuating a view that humans consuming fossil fuels are not contributing to the global warming problem.

The examples from Lewis and Dispensa and Brulle illustrate the importance of media in constructing the environmental problem. Lewis has shown that certain perspectives can be excluded from media discourse, even while maintaining a superficial commitment to diversity by including mainstream environmental voices. The exclusion of alternate perspectives is significant, for it can lead to "symbolic annihilation", a phenomenon where the media erases the importance of a theme or issue by de-emphasizing or excluding that theme or issue (Shanahan & McComas, 1999). In Lewis's example, the subordination of views that challenge the tenets of the dominant social paradigm will likely promote the symbolic annihilation of the new economic

paradigm, as public understanding of the environmental problem will exclude criticism of existing economic structures and the quest for economic development. The framing of sustainable development stories limits the discussion of sub-issues surrounding the environmental degradation problem, which in turn narrows the range of solutions to those compatible with the dominant social paradigm. The findings of Dispensa and Brulle also demonstrated how the media protects capitalist hegemony by reproducing the dominant social paradigm. In contrast to initiating symbolic annihilation of voices that challenge hegemony; however, Dispensa and Brulle observed how the media discourse in the US actively *prevented* annihilation of the idea that fossil fuel industries do not threaten environmental health by including assertions that solely natural factors are responsible for global warming. Even in the face of overwhelming scientific consensus as to the anthropocentric contribution to global warming, the US media shields the petrochemical industry (and its capitalist elite) by presenting the causes of global warming as controversial (Boykoff & Boykoff, 2004). The media both hinders insurgent voices and perpetuates hegemonic voices in its coverage of sustainable development and global warming issues. Although sustainable development and global warming are large-scale environmental issues, capitalist hegemony can also be found in local issues, such as urban planning and governance.

## 1.2 Hegemony and the City

In a phenomenon they term “glocalization”, Kipfer and Keil (2002) assert political and cultural elites within cities reproduce capitalist hegemony by orienting planning processes to attract investment and gain dominance in global economic markets. Whereas historically concerned with the promotion of social values, urban development policies are evolving in ways that alienate the citizen and elevate the capitalist elite. The increasingly capitalist urbanization process entrenches the need to foster continuous economic growth, a growth achieved by not only locating businesses in a city, but also attracting a certain type of urban resident – the new urban middle class. “Glocalization” has led to the formation of “competitive cities”, where the aim of planning in urban centres is to “out-compete” other cities in attracting certain privileged sectors of the economy, and certain privileged members of the public (Kipfer & Keil, 2002). With a focus on making urban spaces “safe, clean and secure for investors, real-estate capital and the new urban middle classes” (Kipfer & Keil, 2002, p. 237), planning in the competitive city

supports the capitalist hegemony. This competitive city is aligned with capitalist urban hegemony, as it not only emphasizes the tenets of the dominant social paradigm (e.g., drive for continued capitalist growth) but it also excludes the citizen from have a role in decision making by financializing planning processes. Further, urban development policies are presented as “environmentally progressive” to mollify those citizens who would otherwise protest the drive for economic growth resulting in intensified urban development. Essentially, the city itself becomes the locus for perpetuating capitalist hegemony, and several aspects of the competitive city are designed to build consensus as to the “naturalness” of capitalist goals.

The first way in which the competitive city builds hegemonic consensus is by perpetuating the dominant social paradigm. Positioning a city as being required to achieve “world-class” status, planning becomes an exercise in capitalist competition where the prize is the chance for an infinite press toward increasing economic growth. Financial incentives are offered to lure development, while money (and attention) allotted to issues such as public transit, affordable housing and environmental remediation is scarce (Kipfer & Keil, 2002). In its entrepreneurial orientation, the competitive city increasingly relies on the formation of public-private partnerships in urban planning to facilitate decision making processes and speed development. In essence, urban planning in this atmosphere reinforces the dominant social paradigm’s preoccupation with economic growth and this paradigm’s construction of private property rights as a more appropriate environmental regulator when compared to government planning. Privatization of planning also hinders public accessibility and accountability. The positive influence of citizen involvement in planning is illustrated by civic environmental groups who made the environment a priority on the urban planning agenda from the 1960s to the 1980s (Bradford, 2002), as well as the citizen action which eventually led to environmental reforms in mainstream planning (Kipfer & Keil, 2002). In alienating citizens from the planning process through privatization of decision making, there is decreased opportunity for citizens to voice social and environmental concerns not listed among the revenue priorities of privatized development. When the basis of decision making becomes concerned with only financial criteria, a “financialization” of the decision making process evident when planning is assigned to private companies with profit-driven motives, social and environmental costs and benefits arising from development are not assessed.

A second way in which the competitive city fosters hegemonic consensus is its validation of privileged positions. The city's entrepreneurial drive to attract investment does not focus on all capital equally, but instead seeks out knowledge-based industries and the new urban middle class. Planning focuses on alluring sectors already privileged on the global capitalist market (e.g., finance, information technology, biotechnology, media) by offering financial and other incentives to investors considering development opportunities within a city (Kipfer & Keil, 2002). By desperately seeking investment from specific industries, the competitive city validates the capitalist market that grants these companies their privileged status. Likewise, a competitive city priority in planning becomes wooing the new urban middle class employed in these privileged sectors (Kipfer & Keil, 2002). Flagship and signature projects that incorporate "beautiful design", high-brow cultural amenities and up-scale services are all intended to attract this urban elite to the competitive city (Kipfer & Keil, 2002). The orientation of urban planning to privileged industries and classes therefore legitimizes the position of these groups as "elite", and also reinforces the capitalist system which first granted them their status.

A third way in which the competitive city builds hegemonic consensus is by adopting the façade of environmentally-responsible development to mask its capitalist orientation. A clear example of an environmental ruse used by the competitive city is the planning commitment to "Smart Growth" principles. Presented as an antidote to environmental ills caused by low density, auto-oriented suburban sprawl, Smart Growth principles that focused on intensification of urban development were endorsed by several environmental groups (e.g., the Ontario chapter of the Sierra Club, the Federation of Ontario Naturalists) when adopted into Toronto's city plan (Bunce, 2004). Consequently, citizens who would otherwise criticize the "market driven thrust" of Toronto's planning vision felt ethically obligated to accept urban development plans (Bunce, 2004). In addition to presenting urban development as a cure to environmental degradation, the competitive city also presents economic growth as necessary to environmental protection. Development of flagship projects designed to attract investment and the new urban elite is often leveraged against environmental remediation to increase their acceptance and decrease the protest against development. For example, plans drawn up for Toronto's Olympic bid included the construction of a waterfront "Olympic Village" designed to house athletes and visitors.

Public outcry protesting taxpayer investment and resident disruption required by this Olympic development was somewhat dampened by positioning a successful Olympic Bid as a way to secure funding to improve the health of the local Don River (Bunce, 2004; Kipfer & Keil, 2002). Asserting the environment will benefit from the promotion of urban development not only prevents civic protest but also validates the ability of the dominant social paradigm to deal with environmental problems.

Through fabricating a particular urban planning rhetoric – for example, the environment will benefit from increased urban growth, specific industries and classes will bring economic prosperity in their wake, the best development decisions are those that arise from financial criteria – the competitive city itself becomes a hegemonic instrument promoting capitalist urbanization. While the competitive city has “annihilated” discourse that challenges the tenets of the dominant social paradigm, the role of the media in maintaining this “glocalized” hegemony has yet to be explored. In influencing public opinion and understanding of urban development issues, the media have the power to undermine the competitive city construct, thereby undermining the dominant social paradigm. The media also have the opportunity to further perpetuate capitalist hegemony and hamper environmentally progressive development. Correspondingly, this study aims to determine the specific role of the media in promoting “glocalization”. Building on the foundation provided by Kipfer and Keil’s study of Toronto as the quintessential competitive city, this study looks specifically at planning and development of Toronto’s waterfront to uncover whether local news media are supportive of capitalist hegemony as exemplified in the competitive city.

Objective: To determine whether media coverage of Toronto’s waterfront development frames issues in ways that perpetuate the dominant social paradigm and validate the capitalist urbanization process.

### 1.3 Study Framework

To begin this exploration of the media’s role in upholding the competitive city, Chapter 2 provides an examination of factors that control media content. Chapter 2 focuses on media research concerned with determining what factors influence the diversity of content in the print

media with a specific focus on newspaper media, as several authors have validated newspapers as a commonly accessed source of information on the environment (Salwen, 1987; Soroka, 2002; Hannigan, 1995; Wakefield & Elliot, 2003). Based on the literature reviewed, Chapter 2 formulates three hypotheses to account for the breadth of news content overall and three hypotheses to account for the vulnerability of news content to the balance of norms within a particular news organization.

Following the review of media studies presented in Chapter 2, Chapter 3 provides the context of this paper's particular research objective. Building on the theme of the competitive city, Chapter 3 provides a brief history of the development of Toronto's waterfront, emphasizing the post-amalgamation period when the City of Toronto underwent a shift from civic participation in planning to a more entrepreneurial orientation. Development issues and actors involved with planning Toronto's waterfront are described, and the various environmental management perspectives relevant to urban planning are presented.

Measuring the degree to which actors, issues and perspectives involved in Toronto's waterfront development were present in local media coverage forms the basis of the methodology presented in Chapter 4. This chapter outlines how a content analysis is used to test the six hypotheses posed in Chapter 2, and discusses quantitative indicators utilized to gauge content diversity within media texts.

The results of the content analysis are presented in Chapter 5, with specific reference to the hypotheses as well as the overall objective raised in this paper. Chapter 6 concludes with a discussion of how this study's results contribute to a greater understanding of the role of local media in supporting or subverting the hegemonic construct of the competitive city. The final chapter also outlines the limitations of this study and speculates on directions for future research.

## CHAPTER 2: NEWS MEDIA AND CONTENT

Diversity in media is a key concept, for when media content is uniform it typically presents only the “official” storyline, or a narrow perspective that serves the interests of the hegemonic bloc. Media messages that are heterogeneous, by comparison, allow for a range of voices and viewpoints to be circulated thereby increasing the opportunity for dissemination of insurgent voices. When voices that challenge traditional perspectives infiltrate media, the public has reason to question not only the official perspective of a particular issue but also the validity of the dominant social paradigm perpetuated by the hegemonic bloc. Although the term “diversity” can be interpreted in several ways, for the purposes of this paper it refers to variety in the issues and ideas presented within a media text – “content diversity”. Therefore, to be considered diverse, media coverage of an issue must contain a range of attributes and frames – including issues and ideas that may challenge hegemonic understandings – and not narrowly define situations and problems in accordance with “common-sense” assumptions.

This paper focuses on print media and research based on newspaper texts in its exploration of content diversity, as the public commonly accesses environmental information through this medium (Salwen, 1987; Soroka, 2002; Hannigan, 1995; Wakefield & Elliot, 2003). Circumstances and pressures that foster or hamper diversity in the media are the focus of this chapter. First, the characteristics believed to signal diversity are discussed. Attributes such as conflict in stories, channels of information providing news content and sources cited in news texts are examined in relation to diversity, leading to the formation of three hypotheses to be tested. Second, the norms which influence the selection and shaping of newspaper stories are presented to provide a foundation for the exploration of how differing reliance on various norms may result in different content among newspapers. A second set of three hypotheses speculate on the effects of newspaper conventionality, size and ownership on content diversity. In essence, this chapter provides background on factors which may exert control over what issues and perspectives are present in the Toronto print media’s representations of the waterfront development problem.



## 2.1 Defining the Determinants of Diversity

The press has a vital role in maintaining democracy, as it informs the populace of events and issues and can even assist in mobilizing citizens to act on particular issues. At a deeper level, the press also constitutes reality by widely disseminating a particular construction of a problem, a construction which is then incorporated into the public's understanding of the problem. This power to disseminate a particular view of reality is one of the facets of the media's hegemonic potential: as those who most often access the media are able to increase the credibility of their claims and ultimately define an issue or prescribe the solution to a problem (Carvalho & Burgess, 2005; McQuail, 2000; Hall, Critcher, Jefferson, Clarke & Roberts, 1978). Hence those whose claims are most prevalent in media discourse are the "primary definers" of an issue. A problem arises when official sources become exclusive definers of all situations.

Official sources are especially suited to being used in news stories, as they make themselves available and are viewed as credible, authoritative, articulate, central to power systems and representative of citizen's views (Brown, Bybee, Wearden, & Straughan, 1987; McQuail, 2000). Elite sources become over-accessed, however, as "get an official reaction" becomes institutionalized into news routines (Bennett, 1996). The overuse of these elite sources hinders those wishing to challenge hegemony, for elite sources define situations in ways that legitimize the dominant ideology which granted them power and elite status (Hall et al., 1978). According to Parenti (1970): "one of the most important aspects of power is the ability to not only prevail in a struggle, but to pre-determine the agenda of struggle...to determine whether certain questions ever reach the competition stage" (as cited in Brown et al., 1987: 54). By striving to "get an official reaction", journalists often surrender the power to frame issues as sources control information made available, therefore these elite sources are left to define decision-making options (Brown et al., 1987).

Wakefield and Elliot (2003) provide an example of how "get an official reaction" has become ingrained in news reporting. Researching newspaper coverage of risks associated with a proposed landfill, they found journalists had not reviewed the actual environmental assessment documents which contained detailed information on impacts and risks. Instead, journalists relied on official sources to summarize and critique the contents of the environmental assessment.

Defining landfill impacts according to comments from official sources results in journalists surrendering their story frames to official viewpoints.

The implication of official sources controlling story frames has been evidenced by Dunwoody and Griffin (1993). Examining press coverage of remediation efforts at three US Superfund sites, they found official sources downplayed the health risks posed by the three polluted sites. The one Superfund site (i.e., National Presto) that received the most coverage from the health risk angle posed the lowest health risk. The inclusion of health risk frames in the coverage of the National Presto site was largely due to the sources cited: instead of being reliant on only official sources, media stories concerning National Presto included commentary from local families with homes in close proximity to the Superfund site. Hence a wider diversity in sources led to a broader Superfund story frame, whereas stories drawn from solely official sources were more narrowly constructed to exclude discussions of health risks. Dunwoody and Griffin's results serve as a warning of how environmental issues can be marginalized by allowing official sources exclusive control over story frames.

Utilization of a homogenous set of official sources not only threatens the accuracy of information presented by the media, but it also limits the issues discussed: homogeneity in sources can often lead to homogeneity in content. The dominance of official sources in news texts is well documented. In studies of front page and news section stories, research has shown the overwhelming proportion of sources cited are official sources (Berkowitz & Beach, 1993; Kasoma & Maier, 2005; Brown et al., 1987). Focusing on environmental stories specifically, Major and Atwood (2004, p. 15) found 52% of the 841 environmental stories analyzed relied on government officials, whereas advocates were only cited in 17% of all stories. Likewise, Lewis (2000, p. 262) found 67% of sustainable development stories in five US newspapers cited national government sources. Although the prevalence of elite sources is undeniable, there are opportunities for non-official voices to gain access to news texts. The degree to which non-elite sources appear in news media is a measure of source diversity, and this source mix measure is often used as a proxy for content diversity (cf., Entman, 1985; Napoli, 1999). In reviewing this literature, two main determinants of source (as a proxy for content) diversity appear: channel of information and conflict.

Routine channels of information consist of news conferences, press releases and official proceedings – news events that are predictable, planned and which arrive with their own frame that furthers the goals of the source (McQuail, 2000; Berkowitz & Beach, 1993). Sigal's (1973) 20-year analysis of news content in the *New York Times* and *Washington Post* revealed that 60% of all news stories presented came through routine channels of information and, not surprisingly, more than three-quarters of all news sources were government officials. Brown et al. (1987) performed a similar analysis of news coverage for the period of 1979-1980 and found the *New York Times*, *Washington Post* and four North Carolina papers were all heavily reliant on routine reporting with many fewer stories originating from reporter-initiated interviews, background research and/or non-governmental meetings. Berkowitz and Beach (1993) examined the news sections of three local papers and found stories prompted by non-routine channels of information were more likely to contain unaffiliated sources (i.e., "ordinary" citizen sources) when compared to stories from routine channels. The press' over-dependence on routine channels has been attributed to the drive for efficiency: predictable planned events and news handouts are essentially information subsidies that are easy and inexpensive to integrate into the news of the day.

Berkowitz and Beach (1993) likened the uni-dimensional nature of routine channel news stories to the narrow frames of stories that do not contain conflict: without controversy, the journalist is not obligated to seek out alternate perspectives and can rely on official sources alone. Non-conflict stories allow the main source (usually an official or elite source) to select what is news and also select who can voice the news (Berkowitz & Beach, 1993). Stories that contain conflict, however, also contain at minimum two distinct viewpoints, and journalistic norms of "objectivity" and "balance" require a reporter to seek out sources to explain each side of the controversy (Berkowitz & Beach, 1993). Entman (1985) used conflict as a proxy for source diversity, employing the proportion of stories containing conflict as a direct measure of viewpoint diversity. Entman asserted the greater the number of conflict stories within a newspaper, the greater number of views presented and therefore the greater the diversity. The validity of this relationship was proven to a degree in the work of Berkowitz and Beach (1993)

as conflict news stories had greater proportion of unaffiliated (i.e., non-official) sources than non-conflict stories.

As conventional wisdom equates source diversity – controlled in part by the channel of news information and the controversy contained within a story – with diversity in news content, the degree to which Toronto’s waterfront development stories are supportive of the competitive city may be a function of the sources allowed voice in various newspaper stories. Correspondingly, the first layer of this analysis examines whether the channel of waterfront development news and the conflict represented in waterfront development stories truly do exert influence over the attributes and perspectives contained within news texts. The degree to which source mix mirrors content diversity in waterfront development stories is also an important variable. If source diversity is equivalent to content diversity and by extension the news channel and conflict within news stories as is suggested by the literature, the key to challenging hegemonic content in news is increasing the number of sources cited, non-routine events covered and constructing conflict around development issues.

To summarize the relationships discussed above, the following three hypotheses will be tested using Toronto’s waterfront development articles:

Hypothesis 1: Articles containing conflict will exhibit greater content diversity than non-conflict stories.

Hypothesis 2: Articles originating from non-routine channels exhibit greater content diversity than those from routine channels.

Hypothesis 3: Source diversity is an appropriate proxy for content diversity.

## 2.2 Influence of Norms

Deconstructing the pressures that control the sources cited, channels of information relied upon and the degree of conflict in reporting is complex, as a number of forces contribute to the shaping of any news story. News media do not report on all aspects of reality in an objective manner, as there are an infinite number of events that can be interpreted in an infinite number of ways occurring at any given point in time. Instead, the media selects from this infinite number

of events, interpreting them in certain ways and then representing these shaped stories as reality. McQuail (2000) terms the different forces at play in selecting and shaping news content “media logic”, a logic which encapsulates the news media protocol dictating which news events are deemed newsworthy and which individual elements of a story require greater emphasis (McQuail, 2000; Watson, 2003; Shoemaker, 2002). Within any given media organization a number of factors (or norms) have the potential to influence content, as journalistic, organizational, economic, and ideological norms all exert pressure in the selection and construction of story frames.

### 2.2.1 Journalistic Norms

Journalistic norms supply the “context of shared values” that shape how events are viewed and which events are identified as being important enough to form news (Sigal, 1973, p. 3). Although each reporter holds his/her own personal beliefs, formal training or on-the-job socialization become systematic influences that collectively define the values held by those in the profession (Hackett & Uzelman, 2003; Shoemaker & Reese, 1996). Thus norms influence what events are deemed newsworthy and how the resultant story will be shaped.

When deciding on which events are important enough to require coverage, journalists inherently rely on the “stable enduring craft norms” that value events based on assumptions about what the reader will rate as important (Shoemaker & Reese, 1996, p. 10). Real world events exhibiting one or more of these news values are more likely to be reported as journalists immediately perceive the event as significant and are able to fit the story into an existing framework. Two particularly enduring and relevant news values are controversy and prominent personalities: events that involve conflict or an “important” person are likely to be identified as newsworthy (Shoemaker & Reese, 1996; Bennett, 1996; Watson, 2003). As controversy often surrounds government officials, and certain officials are themselves prominent personalities, the journalistic norms that determine news value reinforce the dominance of official sources in the news.

Yet journalistic norms and news values apply to not only the selection of news but also the way news is presented. Professional norms such as objectivity, impartiality and balance are

ingrained among journalists (Boykoff & Boykoff, 2004; Bennett, 1996; Watson, 2003; McQuail, 2000). Objectivity and impartiality are related in that a journalist must not show personal commitment or values, for subjectivity or personal involvement prevents the story from being an “objective” retelling of events (Watson, 2003; McQuail, 2000). Balance addresses the need to discover and report different points of view when conflict appears, ensuring all perspectives are treated equally with similar space and time allotted to each opposing view (McQuail, 2000). Boykoff and Boykoff (2004) have shown how the journalistic norm of balance can also be a form of hegemonic bias. In their study comparing scientific discourse with media coverage of global warming, Boykoff and Boykoff concluded the need to provide balanced stories concerning global warming perpetuates the scientifically-invalid argument that human activities are not contributing to global warming. The relationship between content and journalistic norms is therefore capable of enhancing or subverting diversity in news content in ways that can both challenge or support hegemony. For example, conflict as news value together with the norms of objectivity and fairness may increase the number of viewpoints in an article. Conversely, the drive to feature prominent people sanctions the power of the elite, which in turn promotes the use of quotes from official sources. Essentially, the application of journalistic norms to the selection and representation of news events has the potential to reproduce consensus as to the validity of the status quo and the elevated position of the elite.

### 2.2.2 Organizational Norms

Going beyond socialization of an individual journalist and encompassing all processes operating to “produce” the news are organizational norms. These norms are present from the front line through to top management, as all levels of the news production machine influence news content. First, at the level of front line staff who gather news and package events into stories, certain practices become standardized in ways that affect story content. Sourcing hierarchies are among the most entrenched and bureaucratically-structured routines in any news organization (Shoemaker & Reese, 1996). The hierarchical set of sources used by the press places officials at the top, as reciprocal arrangements allow officials access to the media in return for providing the important “insider” information that forms the basis of news stories. Media routines that offer privilege to official viewpoints allow these powerful elites to increase their visibility and extend the reach of their perspective. Officials will therefore arrange news

conferences, issue press releases and develop relationships with reporters to ensure their version of “reality” reaches the mass audience (Shoemaker & Reese, 1996). Correspondingly, to manage the gathering of information from these official sources, media organizations assign reporters to beats (e.g., Provincial Affairs correspondents, City Hall bureaus), a highly bureaucratic form of gathering news by routinely visiting or otherwise accessing information from the same institutions and information sources (Bennett, 1996). Not only is a reliance on routine sources of information more likely to provide less diverse content, but expending resources on beats also means that the events reported by these journalists is used regardless of their relevance or newsworthiness, as “even when a reporter and editor agreed that nothing was happening on a beat, the reporter was still obliged to write something” (Shoemaker & Reese, 1996, p. 120). Official beat stories thus take up news space that could otherwise be allocated to other stories, as well as reinforcing the importance of official activities and views.

In addition to front line staff, editors and middle management at the second organizational level have a role in deciding which beats are necessary, as well as deciding whether to assign a reporter to a story or whether to run newswire copy complete with its own frame (Shoemaker & Reese, 1996). Ultimately, editors act as news gatekeepers, selecting which of many competing stories and competing versions of stories will be allotted space and which will be excluded (Cox, 2006). Editors can also directly shape content by correcting and modifying stories, either according to their own initiative or because of direction from “above”.

At the top level of the organization are the executives and owners, responsible first and foremost for setting the policy guidelines by which the organization is to be run. Owners allocate resources, which includes sanctioning the budget to be spent on “non-routine” reporting (Hackett & Uzelman, 2003). Owners hire senior personnel, such as the editors who monitor the activities of journalists (Hackett and Uzelman, 2003; Shoemaker & Reese, 1996). Owners, especially if media moguls, may even dictate the partisan editorial policies of the paper. For example, media mogul Rupert Murdoch exploited his position as owner of the London *Sun Times* and the *New York Post* to lend support to specific politically-conservative candidates (i.e., Margaret Thatcher and Ronald Reagan) (Bagikian, 1989). The possibility for direct influence is also illustrated by the case of Canadian media magnate Conrad Black. Hackett and Uzelman

(2003) found an increase in positive coverage of Hollinger Inc. (a Conrad Black company) following Black's takeover of the *Vancouver Sun*, while the same paper's coverage of other media corporations did not change. The owner of a newspaper organization is thus the final "gatekeeper", an actor with the power to select which events become news and shape the way news is presented. In the words of *Chicago Tribune* editor and vice-president James Squires (as quoted in Shoemaker & Reese, 1996, p. 157): "Today, with few exceptions, the final responsibility for newspaper content rests with the business executive in charge of the company, not the editor."

Systematic bias in favour of hegemonic power structures underlies sourcing and other organizational routines as well as providing the powerful "elite" who often own the media (and who hire the editors who are to embody corporate values) the opportunity to support the status quo. Although some organizational norms may be exploited to benefit one owner, a more intrinsic orientation supportive of hegemony is the aim to be successful in the capitalist economic system in which the newspaper organization is housed; that is, newspapers are vulnerable to economic norms.

### 2.2.3 Economic norms

Economic norms constitute an external pressure on media content, as business constraints require an organization to operate efficiently and profitably (Bennett, 1996). The bureaucratic sourcing routines and reliance on routine channels of information discussed above exemplify the reach of economic norms – to contain costs, media organizations often drop enterprise reporting and rely on routine channels and newswire services, and pressure on journalists to be efficient results in reliance on source opinion instead of seeking out information directly from documents and background information (Shoemaker & Reese, 1996; Wakefield & Elliot, 2003). Yet economic norms have a wider influence, as a media organization's orientation to profit influences media content.

Commercial newspapers operating in a capitalist market must generate revenue to ensure continued operation. Profit orientation not only leads to increased reliance on information subsidies such as handouts from routine channels (Fradgley & Niebauer, 1995), but also



positions advertisers as possessing power over newspaper content. The largest source of revenue to newspaper organizations is the space sold to advertisers (McQuail, 2000). Advertisers seek out target audiences according to either demographics (e.g., income, education, age) or psychographics (e.g., attitudes, lifestyles) and the newspapers promote their “capture” of these target audiences to attract advertising revenue (Shoemaker & Reese, 1996, p. 191). As the portion of households reading newspapers becomes smaller, newspapers must increasingly cultivate those few individuals with the greatest buying power to justify their value to advertisers (Shoemaker & Reese, 1996). The competition to capture advertising revenue has even infiltrated media organizations who typically serve marginalized groups: Kenix (2005) found coverage of air pollution issues in the *New York Times*, *Los Angeles Times*, seven African American and four low socioeconomic newspapers was monolithic. All pollution stories, regardless of the specific newspaper’s particular demographic, exhibited similar framing of the cause, effect and agents responsible for pollution. Also, terms such as “activist” and “environmentalist” were absent from coverage, and factors such as civil rights and socioeconomic class were not raised in the context of the pollution stories. Kenix attributed this monolithic coverage to economic norms surpassing all other expected differences in individual newspapers: reliance on advertiser support pressured all newspaper organizations to conform to the profile of a white, middle class reader resulting in similar pollution story frames least challenging to the status quo.

The infiltration of economic norms into news practice is perhaps best demonstrated by what Shoemaker and Reese term the “corporate MBA mentality” of editors (1996, p. 161). Whereas individuals were previously appointed based on journalistic experience, it is becoming more common to employ top level managers based on their ability to increase the profits of a media organization (Shoemaker & Reese, 1996). Thus managers who were often in opposition to business values in their dedication to the journalistic norm of serving the public interest are now being replaced by managers more concerned with profit and other economic indicators. Editors are responsible for both covering stories in the “public interest” and also for providing stories that will increase a paper’s circulation (Beam, 2003). Hence, not only consideration of newsworthiness but also the marketing value of a news event is evaluated when executing editorial decisions. News content is constrained by the need to be “profitable” and is part of, as well as perpetuating, the larger capitalist phenomenon.

#### 2.2.4 Ideological norms

Just as journalistic norms are nested within organizational norms, and organizational norms are interconnected with economic norms, so do ideological norms encapsulate all other levels of influence. Ideological values are not limited to only the politically partisan positions of the press, but to a wider and more fundamental set of beliefs and practices that comprise the structure of a capitalist society. These ideological norms go beyond a paper's particular political ideology; as Hackett and Uzelman remarked, Canadian newspapers from the "left liberal *Toronto Star* to the archly Conservative *National Post* . . . [all] rallied ideologically around the neo-liberal policies of trade liberalization, privatization, deregulation, public debt reduction, and social spending cutbacks since the 1980s" (2003, p. 332). Regardless of political affiliation, Toronto's press reflects the interests of the capitalist class in reproducing the tenets of a dominant social paradigm committed to economic growth. Ideological norms, in this sense, are the practices and values that reaffirm the legitimacy of the existing hegemonic bloc.

This brings us back to hegemony – in surrendering space and power to frame issues to elite sources, the media make certain values and practices seem "natural" or "common-sensical". Media content reflects the values of the dominant culture while at the same time the media sanction and reinforce their dominance by legitimizing ideological norms that grant status to those in power (Einsidel & Coughlan, 1993). Yet the content as defined by the sources, positions and ideas presented by news media is not always homogeneous, as norms do not exert consistent pressure across all media organizations. Each particular print media outlet has its own mix of influences, as various characteristics of the individual media organization may facilitate greater diversity. To explore the possibility for alternate perspectives to permeate media texts and increase the heterogeneity in media messages, the following section distills three hypotheses based on findings from literature concerned with tracing the influence of norms on news content.

### 2.3 Content Variation Among Newspapers

Just as the content of an individual newspaper story is determined by a mix of journalistic, organizational, economic and ideological norms, so does the mix of norms affect the

proportion of conflict appearing within stories, the reliance on routine channels of information and ultimately the diversity of sources cited by an individual news organization. Any individual media organization exhibits unique (and often dynamic) balancing of the various stories; however, there are three variables which may work to systematically influence the content of a media text: the conventionality, size and/or ownership of a particular newspaper can potentially influence its content. This section explores the ways in which media texts can be shaped by these three variables, with special focus on conflict, channels of information and source diversity dimensions of a story in addition to the balancing of various norms. Research on the effect of conventionality, size and ownership on content is mainly derived from studies of front page political news articles, leading to the formation of three hypotheses that specifically address whether different characteristics of Toronto newspapers affect the content appearing in waterfront development stories to address whether the pressures from conventionality, size and/or ownership systematically result in news content that is aligned or opposed to hegemonic support of the competitive city.

### 2.3.1 Alternative versus mainstream newspapers

Several studies ascribe monolithic news coverage afforded by papers in competitive markets to the prevalence of journalistic norms: if all journalists learn similar ways to construct news and are taught which sources should and should not be consulted, each journalist will produce a similar story (Kenix, 2005; McCombs, 1987; Entman, 1985). The standardization of news story production leads to recurring patterns of content, a uniform story of similar angles, leads, quotes, styles and vocabularies, regardless of the organization reporting an event (Hackett & Uzelman, 2003; Wahl-Jorgensen & Galperin, 2000). Yet not all media adhere to the same journalistic norms: alternative media defines itself as in opposition to mainstream media, not only in terms of the ideology supported in its stories but also in the standards applied to its reporting (Harcup, 2005). A distinguishing characteristic in alternative newspapers is that their journalists are not formally trained in the profession (Harcup, 2005). Workers in alternative media also tend to be differently motivated, as one journalist who worked in both mainstream and alternative journalism states:

In the alternative media, the attitude is “I’m doing this to change the world.” In the mainstream media it is “I’m doing this to pay the mortgage” (as cited in Harcup, 2005, p. 366)

The different motivations and lack of formal training results in alternative media stories that need not be impartial, blurring lines between reporter and participants in news events and making first person, subjective accounts prevalent (Harcup, 2005; Atton, 2002; Atton & Wickenden, 2005).

Essentially, alternative newspapers exist to serve readers “alienated” by mainstream news coverage (Harcup, 2005). As a result of serving a unique readership, these papers often raise new issues and new points of view not found in mainstream stories (Mathes & Pfetsch, 1991). When reporters with work experience in both mainstream and alternative media in the UK were surveyed by Harcup (2005), two fundamental characteristics emerged as distinguishing the differing work environments: the sources consulted and the events considered newsworthy. Journalists in alternative media employ a different range of sources when reporting on news events for alternative media, rejecting the mainstream sourcing structure that favours and routinizes the use of elite sources (Harcup, 2005; Atton, 2002; Atton & Wickenden, 2005). Further, the news values used to determine what events are selected to become news are different in alternative media. As another journalist responding to Harcup’s questionnaire remarked:

...working in the alternative media gives a journalist an outlook on things that is unusual, the things that capture the imagination are different from other journalists – you see stories others don’t and vice versa: there is a quirkiness of viewpoint (as cited in Harcup, 2005, p. 366)

What “makes a good story” is thus evaluated differently in alternative media, and the construction of the story relies on different sources of information. This leads to what Harcup (2005: 363) terms insurgent or “counter-hegemonic” journalism. Articles in alternative newspapers are more likely to present viewpoints that run counter to the accepted dominant social paradigm, as illustrated by Atton and Wickenden’s analysis of the alternative newspaper *SchNEWS*.

*SchNEWS* is an alternative, activist-based newspaper in the UK. Atton and Wickenden (2005) performed both a content and critical discourse analysis of the paper’s coverage over one year. The content analysis results provided evidence that sourcing hierarchies at the alternative

newspaper differ from the mainstream. Instead of being heavily dependent on only official sources, the alternative paper cited public institutions, protesters and interest groups equally (Atton & Wickenden, 2005, p. 354). Although the frequency of citing each of these three groups was equal, approximately two times more space was allocated to protesters over public institutions (Atton & Wickenden, 2005, p. 354). *SchNEWS* sourcing routines are thus balanced in terms of consulting different sources, but skewed in allowing ordinary sources more space to frame issues when compared to elite sources. A further difference between *SchNEWS* and mainstream newspaper coverage was found in the critical discourse analysis conducted by Atton and Wickenden. For example, a story recounting how a community was experiencing a problem with gangs was not framed according to the need for “authority” or “law” as is common in mainstream news stories, but was structured around how the community found a grassroots, collective solution to the problem “without the help of apathetic police, archaic laws, or an out-of-touch government” (Atton & Wickenden, 2005, p. 356). This viewpoint can certainly be termed “counter-hegemonic” as it does not construct existing power and social structures as “common sense” but questions the validity and effectiveness of traditional law-and-order solutions to crime.

The literature contrasting alternative to mainstream media suggests content differences arise from differing adherence to journalistic norms (e.g., objectivity, mainstream news values) and inverted sourcing hierarchies. Although alternative newspapers may initially provide different viewpoints than mainstream papers, issues raised in alternative press can also be adopted by mainstream press. In their study of news events not initially reported in the mainstream press (i.e., “counter-issues”), Mathes and Pfetsch (1991) found three issues first raised in alternative papers were eventually covered in the mainstream papers. Moreover, the more liberal mainstream papers even adopted the same points of view concerning the counter-issues that were first presented in the alternative papers. It is unclear, therefore, whether Toronto’s alternative press exhibit different story frames than their mainstream counterparts, or whether potentially divergent views found in the alternative press will be incorporated into mainstream coverage. Thus the fourth hypothesis to be tested is:

Hypothesis 4: Waterfront development stories in alternative newspapers differ in content from mainstream newspapers.

### 2.3.2 Small versus large newspapers

The most glaring difference between small and large newspapers are the economic resources available for hiring staff and covering stories. The economic norm of efficiency would be expected to constrain the range of events covered by small newspapers as well as limit the resources devoted to the events reported. Research findings, however, somewhat contradict this assumption as Brown et al. (1987) examined front page news stories in two large (i.e., *New York Times* and *Washington Post*) and four small newspapers, and found small papers were less reliant on the most inexpensive routine channels of information. Whereas local newspapers drew 39% of stories from routine channels of information (e.g., news conferences, press releases), the larger *New York Times* and *Washington Post* relied more heavily on routine channels (56% of all stories were based on routine channels of information) (Brown et al., 1987, p. 52). Extrapolating these results, it would be expected that smaller papers exhibit greater content diversity as they are less reliant on routine channels of information; however, Brown et al. also found small newspapers were less likely to report conflict which in turn hampers (to some degree) the variety of viewpoints presented.

Small newspapers are believed to avoid reporting conflict as they serve the community function of boosting local sources of power. Conventional wisdom posits that small communities have a lower degree of social pluralism and therefore are able to apply greater pressure on local media to limit the portrayal of conflict in their news coverage (Dunwoody & Griffin, 1993; Schweitzer & Smith, 1991). In avoiding controversy when reporting on community events, small newspapers lend support to the local economy (Janowitz, 1952; Dunwoody & Griffin, 1993; Berkowitz & Beach, 1993). In their analysis of the framing of US Superfund site remediation stories, Dunwoody and Griffin (1993) found small newspapers adopted the role of a community promoter, thus minimized the representation of conflict in their stories. Contrastingly, large papers viewed their role as a “watchdog” over official activities, seeking out and reporting on controversies that served to undermine the public faith in local officials (Dunwoody & Griffin, 1993). Yet most research surrounding conflict representation within small newspapers has

typically focused on small rural newspapers (c.f., Janowitz, 1952; Brown et al., 1987). In their survey of 141 *urban* community papers, Jeffers, Cutietta, Lee and Sekerka (1999, p. 91) found alerting residents of local problems and conflict - that is, acting as a watchdog - was ranked second among overall objectives of these newspapers. Hence small urban newspapers may exhibit different content behaviour than local rural newspapers. It may be that Toronto's small newspapers – as originating in an urban community – may be less likely to be constrained by the need to support the local economy and more likely to present controversy than the small newspapers studied by Brown et al.

The degree to which controversy is represented in small newspapers is also dependent on the source of controversy. Wakefield and Elliot (2003) compared press coverage of a proposed landfill siting decision among two newspapers, one circulated to the small community of Stoney Creek, Ontario and the second serving the greater metropolitan area of Hamilton (which includes the Stoney Creek community). Not only did the *Stoney Creek News* provide more diverse coverage (i.e., coverage included environmental, technological, and health issues whereas the *Hamilton Spectator* covered mainly business-related issues), but it also produced coverage that criticized a decision sanctioned by the provincial government and that would increase the community's economic resources. The stance of the *Stoney Creek News* was more aligned with the residents of Stoney Creek, who were opposed to the landfill, whereas the *Hamilton Spectator* (whose readers were drawn from a larger catchment area) provided more "balanced" coverage (Wakefield & Elliot, 2003). The small newspaper was willing to present conflict when threatened from the outside (i.e., a provincial landfill siting decision that did not originate from within the town). Evidence of small newspapers assuming the role of watchdog was also presented by Nicodemus. A discursive analysis of local newspaper coverage of a hazardous landfill decision revealed that small papers have the potential to not only present conflict but also reproduce mobilizing information that encourages readers to take action and protest against the decisions of the elite (Nicodemus, 2004). Nicodemus (2004) partially attributed the reproduction of conflict stories in local newspapers to the specific journalists reporting on events; that is, the journalists were also members of the community affected by the decision. This suggests reporters at small newspapers are less constrained by the journalistic norm of

impartiality, constructing stories differently from reporters at large papers concerned with presenting “objective” accounts of reality.

Staff at small community papers are more likely to be members of the community, thereby having a personal stake in events being reported on, than staff at larger papers (Akhavan-Majid, 1995). Not only do reporters at small, local papers allow their personal interests to weaken their adherence to impartiality, but the power to frame news stories also shifts as local citizens gain more and better access to the media. When staff are also members of the community, a greater variety of sources are used in reporting a given story (Martin, 1988; Nicodemus, 2004). But an increased reliance on citizen sources does not necessarily correspond with greater diversity in viewpoints, as Schweitzer and Smith (1991) found larger papers were able to provide more balanced stories that covered a wider range of perspectives when compared to small papers. Examining news coverage of impacts from a proposed landfill, Schweitzer and Smith observed the two regional papers were relatively free from community pressure but one of the editors at a small paper who was trying to provide balanced coverage of the proposed landfill impacts was forced to resign after her neighbours left a “mutilated chicken” with a threatening note criticizing her “pro” coverage of the issue (Schweitzer & Smith, 1991, p. 59). Another editor at a small paper admitted that coverage of the landfill issue was unbalanced, remarking that “she felt obligated to allow the paper to be used as a catalyst for the organizations that opposed the site” (Schweitzer & Smith, 1991, p. 59). Hence small papers may be willing to report on conflict and draw on a greater variety of sources; however, small papers are not necessarily bound by objectivity or balance and thus may not exhibit greater content diversity when compared to large papers.

According to the literature reviewed, it appears controversy and perspectives appearing in small newspapers stories vary with the proximity of staff to the issue, the type of threat (internal or external) and whether the newspaper originates in a rural or urban community. It is difficult to determine *if* differences in conflict reporting, information channel and staff proximity to events will result in different content among small and large newspapers; and, if so, which of the two will offer more diverse coverage. One particularly relevant study is that by Voakes, Kapfer, Kurpius and Chern. In their analysis of six Wisconsin newspapers covering the issue of the



state's legal drinking age Voakes et al. (1996) found the smallest papers (with a circulation of less than 10,000) were found to display the greatest diversity in sources cited and ideas represented, when compared to larger papers. Although the values for source and content diversity were greatest for the smallest newspapers, the range of variation between the small, medium and large newspapers was relatively narrow, thus Voakes et al. concluded that the diversity among all papers was relatively comparable (i.e., size does not affect content diversity). To test the applicability of Voakes et al.'s conclusions to Toronto's waterfront development stories, the fifth hypothesis is:

Hypothesis 5: Waterfront development stories in small urban newspapers differ in content from large urban newspapers.

### 2.3.3 Independent versus group-owned newspapers

As discussed in Section 2.2.2, the owners of a newspaper organization can form the organizational norms under which that paper operates. Yet the influence of ownership can filter down to the selection and presentation of news based on an altered set of values distilled not from journalistic norms but from a particular owner's personal set of criteria. Likewise, an editor may be more or less concerned with the profitability of the newspaper, and attribute more or less weight to economic norms. A review of literature on the influence of ownership on newspaper content is fairly inconclusive. (For the purposes of this study, "group-owned" newspapers include all newspapers owned by a corporation with multiple holdings and does not differentiate between companies with diversified or wholly publication-type holdings.)

Providing evidence that ownership does affect organizational aims of differently owned newspapers, Demers and Wackman (1988) survey of top level managers at various US papers indicated editors at independently owned papers were more likely to mention community service as their organization's aim, whereas editors at group-owned papers were more likely to emphasize profit as their paper's main objective. In turn, differing organizational aims lead to differing economic norms, as Fradgley and Niebauer (1995, p. 909) studied coverage in two independent and two conglomerate-owned papers in the UK and found the conglomerate-owned papers relied more heavily on the cheaper routine channels of information compared to the more

costly informal and enterprise channels. The drive for greater profit margins is also apparent in the agencies chosen by chain-owned papers to provide wire copy: both Romanow and Soderlund (1979) and Hackett and Uzelman (2003) have shown that a takeover of independent papers by a chain led to an increased use of the chain-owned news wire service Southam news. It is expected that a reliance on routine sources of information, and moreover an increased dependence on information sources under the same ownership umbrella, will decrease the diversity of content produced by group-owned newspapers when compared to the independently owned papers.

Not only has research been conducted that suggests ownership may affect content diversity, but also several studies have examined content directly. Wackman, Gillmor, Gaziano and Dennis (1975) found group-owned papers were more likely to endorse the same candidate in the 1960, 1964, 1968 and 1972 presidential elections. These findings were later confirmed by Gaziano (1989) who found that the majority of group-owned papers in the US endorsed the same candidate in the 1980, 1984, and 1988 elections. Akhavan-Majid, Rife, and Gopinath (1991) examined content similarities among group-owned papers more closely, discovering that newspapers owned by the Gannett chain were more likely to carry editorials on three specific themes and more likely to exhibit a consistent oppositional stance on these three themes when compared to 300 non-Gannett owned newspapers. In their study of papers owned by Knight Ridder, Glasser, Allen and Blanks (1989) also found the 29 chain-owned newspapers were more likely to report the scandal involving Democratic presidential candidate Gary Hart and more likely to give the Gary Hart story more prominent play on the front page when compared to 56 non-Knight Ridder owned papers.

Yet not all studies agree that ownership exerts influence on content. Adopting the work of Wackman et al. (1975) and Gaziano (1989) as a framework, Busterna and Hansen (1990) also analyzed presidential endorsements patterns among group-owned newspapers. Whereas previous researchers based commonality on an 85% agreement within a chain, Busterna and Hansen defined “homogeneity in endorsement patterns” as requiring 100% agreement among a chain. Busterna and Hansen found endorsement patterns were consistent among chain-owned papers in only one of the three years studied. Another study with findings that contradict the

belief in group ownership exerting influence over content was that of Wagenberg and Suderland (1975). Coding seven Canadian newspapers based on editorial themes during an election year, Wagenburg and Suderland found no uniformity in either the editorial issues discussed or editorial position taken within four group-owned papers when compared to three independent papers. Thus the impacts of organizational and economic norms among group-owned papers does not necessarily result in homogeneous content.

Just as the results from content studies concerned with group ownership of newspapers varies, so do the underlying motives for influence. Perhaps the most extreme example of how group ownership's drive for more profits affects media content is the case of the *Vancouver Sun*'s takeover by a media conglomerate. Before the takeover, Hollinger's holdings included the *National Post*, which covered mainly international politics, courts, crime, health and federal politics. Following the takeover of the *Sun* by Hollinger, coverage of international politics, courts, crime, health and federal politics decreased: the *Sun* was removed from direct competition with the *Post*, and readers would be required to purchase both papers to receive the same coverage (Hackett & Uzelman, 2003). The use of the *Vancouver Sun* for personal gains (to the group owner) is also illustrated by the coverage of its parent company, Hollinger Inc.: after the takeover, the *Sun*'s coverage of Hollinger Inc. was less critical (Hackett & Uzelman, 2003). In the case of the *Vancouver Sun* the specific media owner was insulated from negative coverage; however, as media companies diversify and increase their investment in other sectors such as oil, electricity and entertainment, the proportion of "no-go zones" in reporting where certain topics are avoided to promote the positive image of businesses, may increase (Murdock, 1995). Controls over content can thus be oriented to create a positive image of the parent company or sector (e.g., the *Sun*'s coverage of Hollinger Inc), a political candidate (e.g. as in Rupert Murdoch's use of London *Sun Times* and *New York Post* to support specific political candidates, as mentioned previously), or can even support the economic status quo generally. An instance of the latter is evidenced by the work of Browning, Grierson, and Howard (1984) who studied two Knoxville newspapers' coverage of the upcoming World Fair. In comparing newspaper content pre- and post- takeover, the number of positive assertions about the fair (e.g., discussion of economic benefits resulting from the Fair) increased following the takeover (Browning et al., 1984). As the newspaper's coverage was strongly anti-Fair when

independently owned and shifted to coverage more aligned with the local elite hosting the fair when group-owned, Browning et al. has documented how ownership changes work to maintain the perspectives of the hegemonic bloc (who decided to host the World Fair). Fradgley and Niebauer's (1995) study of four UK papers also found group-owned newspapers to be less likely to report conflict in their stories than independent papers, maintaining an atmosphere of consensus. It appears chain owned newspapers are expected to be more supportive of the status quo, especially in aspects that allow for an opportunity to increase their own corporation's status, when compared to the behaviour and content of independent newspapers.

To address the contradictory evidence that both supports and refutes the effect of ownership on media content, the final hypothesis to be tested is:

Hypothesis 6: Waterfront development stories in independent newspapers differ in content from those in group-owned newspapers.

## 2.4 Research Framework

This chapter has posed six hypotheses which assist in not only determining whether Toronto's print media presents homogeneous coverage supportive of the competitive city but also lend insight into processes that affect and influence the stories themselves. It is assumed that sources cited, channels forming the basis of media stories and the presence of conflict within media texts are indicators of content, and that variable adherence to different norms will influence the mix of sources, channels of information accessed and conflict portrayed among newspapers with different conventionality, size and ownership characteristics. Overall, determining whether content is truly controlled by source diversity, channels of information and conflict aids in accounting for the story frames present in Toronto's waterfront development stories. Further, examining differences in content according to conventionality, size and ownership provides evidence of whether diversity in organizational characteristics offers an opportunity for diversity in story content. Before measuring the behaviour of Toronto's media with respect to these hypotheses, however, the range of issue and perspectives surrounding waterfront development requires attention. The following chapter outlines a brief history of waterfront planning in Toronto, emphasizing planning features that correspond with the

competitive city concept. Also, the following chapter describes the issues and actors involved with waterfront planning as well as the variety of environmental management perspectives from which waterfront development can be viewed, to provide the context of this study.

### CHAPTER 3: THE ENVIRONMENT AND URBAN PLANNING IN TORONTO

The 1953 formation of Metropolitan Toronto served as a model for metropolitan governance throughout North America (Kipfer & Keil, 2002). While keeping the six individual local governments (i.e., Toronto, Etobicoke, York, North York, East York, Scarborough) mainly autonomous, Metropolitan Toronto facilitated the provision of services across local governments, bringing public transit and housing to suburban areas surrounding the downtown core (Kipfer & Keil, 2002). Not only did the creation of Metropolitan Toronto bring social services to suburban areas, but it did so in a way that did not remove citizens from democratic processes, as citizens were still granted access and voice at the smaller, individual city level. Citizen involvement in planning processes during the era of Metropolitan Toronto was apparent in specific victories ranging from the defeat of a proposal to build the intercity Spadina Expressway in the 1970s to the general introduction of social and environmental concerns in development priorities in the 1980s (Kipfer & Keil, 2002; Bradford, 2002). Kipfer and Keil (2002) cite how civic groups led to reforms in mainstream planning mandates, reforms that embraced ecological modernization sentiments such as facilitating urban intensification to prevent consumption of green fields for residential development. Part of this ecological revolution in planning included the 1988 Royal Commission on the Future of the Toronto waterfront, which made “ ‘ecosystem planning’ a household word in urban discourse” (Kipfer & Keil, 2002, p. 240).

Civic involvement in environmentally-focused planning in Metropolitan Toronto came to a hurdle when it met the “common-sense revolution”. An economic recession in the early 1990s shifted the focus from planning for environmental health and paved the way for the aggressive provincial Conservative party to win an election in 1995 (Kipfer & Keil, 2002). Under then-Premier Mike Harris, the provincial Conservatives led the ironically titled “common-sense revolution”, a set of policies that reinforced hegemony by incorporating pro-business principles into political governance. One particular set of common sense policies affected Metropolitan Toronto: to increase administrative efficiency, Metropolitan Toronto was amalgamated into one City of Toronto, provincial transfer payments that supported Toronto were cut off, the costs of transit and social housing were downloaded from the province to Toronto, and development controls were generally deregulated while municipally-owned utilities were privatized (Kipfer &

Keil, 2002). The common sense revolution took a toll on urban planning, as land development within the city was turned to as a way to boost the economic deficits left in the wake of administrative restructuring. It is at this point that the amalgamated city became what Kipfer and Keil term the “competitive city”: Toronto needed to out-compete other cities and attract much-needed investment to function as well as it did before the common-sense revolution.

Following the emergence of the competitive city in the 1990s, Toronto’s waterfront was likewise receiving attention. Although the Royal Commission on the Future of Toronto’s Waterfront released its report *Regeneration* in 1991, planning on Toronto’s waterfront was stagnant until the late 1990s with the bid for the 2008 Summer Olympics. Leading up to the Olympic bid decision, the federal, provincial and municipal leaders came together in November 1999 to announce the formation of a Toronto Waterfront Revitalization Task Force. This Task Force was formed to look at ways to “enhance the region’s economic vitality, social development, transportation system, housing stock and environmental sustainability” (City of Toronto, 2006b). In March 2000, the Task Force released its report that reviewed existing waterfront plans, prepared an inventory of waterfront assets held by the three levels of government, developed a marketing plan that provided open space, recreation, residential, commercial and entertainment spaces, and looked at infrastructure (e.g., transportation, parks, environmental remediation) needed to develop the waterfront (City of Toronto, 2000). Despite the International Olympic Committee’s decision to name Beijing as host to the 2008 Summer Olympics, Toronto’s waterfront development continued with the October 2001 release of the *Central Waterfront Part II Plan*, which incorporated the recommendations of the Task Force (City of Toronto, 2006b). October 2001 also marked the formation of the Toronto Waterfront Revitalization Corporation (TWRC), an agency enacted by provincial legislation to co-ordinate development of the waterfront among the three levels of government with jurisdiction over waterfront lands (City of Toronto, 2006b).

Waterfront plans commissioned by the TWRC have received several accolades, including the Congress for New Urbanism Charter Award, the Boston Society of Architects Award for Urban Design Excellence, and the Canadian Society of Landscape Architects’ Regional Award of Merit (City of Toronto, 2006b). Aside from awards for design, planning of Toronto’s

waterfront has also been the focus of criticism, as exemplified in the waterfront's induction into the Project for Public Space's Hall of Shame:

Private investment-led development threatens to turn the waterfront into a tourist spectacle; already this investment-led strategy has resulted in a curtain of high rise condos that visually and psychologically cut the waterfront off from the city (Project for Public Spaces, 2006)

The Hall of Shame nomination positions private investment as to blame for an unattractive waterfront, and Toronto's waterfront is particularly vulnerable to further private investment-led development as planning attention becomes increasingly aligned with the principles of a "competitive city".

### 3.1 Planning of the Waterfront in the Competitive City

In the competitive city, all decision making is oriented to attracting business development. The planning of Toronto's waterfront is no exception. First, proposals for flagship or "signature" projects are intended to brand the competitive city as an attractive and "world-class" city worthy of global investment. The flagship Olympic vision proposal certainly met this criterion, as the erection of Olympic facilities along Toronto's waterfront was constructed as vital to Toronto's economic well-being, serving to distinguish Toronto from other cities (Kipfer & Keil, 2002). Second, aesthetically progressive designs and amenities envisioned as part of the Olympic development were carried over into the Toronto Waterfront Revitalization Corporation's (TWRC) visions for proposed waterfront communities, with the aim of attracting a specific group of residents: the new urban middle class. With focus on "beautiful designs" and providing upscale restaurants and services, issues such as affordable housing and public transit become subordinated, and the intent to attract only wealthy residents to the planned waterfront neighbourhoods becomes clear (Kipfer & Keil, 2002). Third, waterfront development not only seeks investment from a particular class of citizens but also a specific type of industry; that is, incentives and plans are offered to attract finance, media, information technology, tourism and entertainment industries. In designing waterfront plans to accommodate these specific industries, the City of Toronto perpetuates hegemony by reinforcing the status of these already privileged sectors on the global capitalist market (Kipfer & Keil, 2002). Hence waterfront development boasting signature projects, amenities and other incentives signals support for



hegemonic capitalist urbanization processes that privilege certain industries and certain players, with the ultimate aim of facilitating continued economic growth. When planning becomes synonymous with facilitating economic growth, social and environmental considerations are marginalized.

Another characteristic of the competitive city described by Kipfer and Keil (2002) is the removal of citizens from decision making processes and the financialization of decision making criteria. Although the TWRC appears committed to citizen involvement as documented in its *Public Consultation Strategy*, the reality is that by setting up a quasi-government agency bureaucrats (with direct accountability to the citizen) have a diminished role in development. The TWRC relies on consultants to serve the public interest in planning, and relying on private companies instead of bureaucrats leads to a financialization of decision making where economic justification supersedes social objectives (Kipfer & Keil, 2002). Moreover, the effectiveness of civic groups wishing to challenge development plans is undermined by not only the amalgamation of Metropolitan Toronto that removed smaller suburban governments to form one centralized monolithic structure, but also the further removal of citizen accountability in the operation of the TWRC who out-sources its planning processes. Citizen involvement in waterfront development is therefore potentially hampered because of the City of Toronto's alignment with the competitive city ideal. Consequently, the decrease in opportunity for citizens to give "voice to social, aesthetic and environmental concerns not listed among the revenue and development priorities" (Bradford, 2002, p. 21) of those planning the waterfront bodes ill for progressive environmental management of Toronto's shoreline.

Aside from general planning issues coincident with the competitive city discussion above, the development of Toronto's waterfront poses a number of specific controversies or problems that can also be related to the capitalist urbanization process. The range of sub-issues – or attributes – surrounding waterfront development is broad, thus measuring the number of these attributes presented in Toronto's media stories is an ideal indicator of content diversity. Likewise, waterfront development involves a number of actors and a range of perspectives concerned with how the environment should be managed. The remainder of this chapter provides

an outline of the attributes, actors and environmental management paradigms characterizing the problem of planning of Toronto's waterfront.

### 3.2 Waterfront Development Attributes

#### 3.2.1 Business Spaces

Toronto's *Central Waterfront Part II Plan* subdivides waterfront lands into three planning areas or precincts: the West Don Lands, East Bayfront and Port Lands (the planned communities in each of these three precincts is discussed in more detail below in the section entitled "Neighbourhoods"). Of these three waterfront districts the Port Lands contain the most diverse business spaces, as it represents lands originally dedicated to industries reliant on the port. Much of the Port Lands are now barren because of a decreasing reliance on shipping transport. The poor economic performance of the port has prompted some municipal councillors to advocate the abandoning of industrial activities altogether to support tourism charters in Toronto's port (Moloney, 1999). The cargo handled in Toronto's port consists mainly of road salt, steel, and liquid asphalt, as well as general cargo – all of which can be handled by the more active port in Hamilton, Ontario (Moloney, 1999). An industry continuing to thrive in the Port Lands is concrete manufacturing, as the Port Lands house a "concrete campus" where four gravel and concrete producers were brought together by the City of Toronto (Lewington, 2004b; Nickle, 2004). In addition to active industries, the Port Lands are also home to abandoned oil, gas and coal "tank farm" facilities that have left a legacy of contaminated soil (Lewington, 2000). One of these contaminated areas is the contentious "Home Depot" site. An area of land formerly occupied by squatters who had erected a "tent city", Home Depot had these squatters evicted when the firm planned to build another of its big box stores (Hume, 2002c; Barber, 2006b). Arguing big box style development was incompatible with waterfront development, conflict erupted over these "prime waterfront lands" being turned into a suburban-style retail complex complete with expansive parking lot. This site continues to be abandoned as planning appeals are ongoing (Barber, 2006b; Wanagas, 2005; Moloney, 2003). Another contentious issue in the Port Lands was the development of a flea market: the adjoining St. Lawrence neighbourhood is renowned for its Farmers Market, and a great deal of local protest arose over entrepreneur Jerry Sprackman's plans to erect an indoor/outdoor flea market in the Port Lands (Lancione, 2003; Perry, 2003; Porter, 2003; Duncanson, 2003a; Moloney, 2003).

Beyond the Port Lands, a campaign of controversy initiated by the local newspaper the *Toronto Star* concerned plans for a film and television studio in the East Bayfront lands. The *Star* published several articles protesting the development of a CanWest Global television studio (CanWest Global is associated with a *Star* rival, the *National Post*), claiming that a spectacular “public venue” should be created at the waterfront location, instead of offering financial incentives to lure a film studio and blocking public access to the site (Benzie & Gillespie, 2005; “Waterfront facing build-or-fold year”, 2005; Hume, 2004a; Monsebraaten, 2004a; Gillespie, 2004a). Although CanWest Global did not relocate its headquarters to the waterfront, there is an ongoing push and assorted rumours concerning the migration and development of film studios to the East Bayfront lands. The fascination with attracting “Hollywood North” studios to the waterfront is an ongoing theme in Toronto’s development discourse, as the idea of media investment seems to hold enduring fascination for waterfront officials.

### 3.2.2 Neighbourhoods

The “convergence district” planned for the Port Lands is so named because it is envisioned as a place where residents, businesses and supportive services can “converge” allowing people to be “in close contact with each other through work, by being neighbours and by having nearby places to eat, drink and enjoy entertainment” (Fung, 2001). Yet not all citizens alike are privileged with equal opportunity to live in this utopia, as the Port Lands convergence district is envisioned for those specifically in the “film, sound, new media, music, software, biotechnology and high tech” industries being wooed by government agencies (City of Toronto, 2000).

The East Bayfront precinct represents a second neighbourhood development, offering housing and commercial space at the water’s edge. Unlike the Port Lands, however, a portion of the space and the importance of housing and industrial development in this precinct is overshadowed by the need for open access and public space at the water’s edge (Parsons, 2004; Rusk, 2002). Controversy over two rival plans – one commissioned by the TWRC (with the mandate to co-ordinate development of the waterfront among the three levels of government) and the other commissioned by a large municipal land holder (the Toronto Economic Development Committee, or TEDCO) – erupted over minor differences in planning (e.g., the

width of the public boardwalk) (Barber, 2005; Lorinc, 2004; Lewington, 2003b; Ouellette, 2005; Diebel, 2005a; Royson, 2005). In the end the TWRC plan (which had undergone extensive public scrutiny and consultation) was chosen (Diebel, 2005a), with its design to include landscaped streets and green intersections, an ecological water garden and various parks, high density residential and commercial development in addition to a waterfront promenade (Koetter, Kim & Associates, 2005).

A third planned neighbourhood is the West Don Lands precinct. This area, formerly known as Ataratiri, was the focus of municipal and provincial planning in the early 1990s, imagined as providing “shelter for some 14,000 people and a refreshed, sociable vision of life and work in Toronto” (Mays, 2003, p. G2). In 1992, because the costs of cleaning up the surrounding soil contaminated by industries and of protecting the community from flooding due to the nearby Don River were too great, the plans for Ataratiri were abandoned (Mays, 2003; Lewington, 2000; Gillespie, 2006; Urquhart, 2005). The land for the Ataratiri project was expropriated by the City of Toronto, but when the provincial government revoked the social housing plan, the land reverted to the province’s ownership (Urquhart, 2005; Urquhart, 2004). Building on the Ataratiri vision, the West Don Lands precinct plan commissioned by the TWRC includes provision for parks and public spaces; residential units including affordable rental housing; employment space; pedestrian and cycling connections within the neighbourhood and city; public transit within five-minute walk of all residences and schools; and recreational and child care centres (TWRC, 2003d). This West Don Lands community is the quintessential “Smart Growth” model of urban development. But before this community can arise from the ashes of Ataratiri, significant environmental management is required to protect the community from soil and ground water contamination as well as flooding.

### 3.2.3 Environment

The delay in developing waterfront lands in Toronto can in part be attributed to the persistent contamination in former industrial lands – “the largest brownfield site in any downtown in the developed capitalist world” (Mays, 2004b, p. G2). Contaminants in waterfront soil, ground water and sediment include arsenic, petroleum products, PCBs, lead, mercury and other heavy metals (McAndrew, 2000). The cleanup of brownfields for intensified uses is

another principle of “Smart Growth”, and brownfields legislation prevented the recurrence of both financial and liability risks that haunted and eventually defeated the Ataratiri plans (Kipfer & Keil, 2002; McAndrew, 2000; Duncanson, 2003b).

Another environmental issue on the waterfront is the health and threat from the Don River. The Don River runs along one side of the West Don Lands precinct and eventually empties into Toronto’s Central Harbour. Historically plagued by sewage, industrial effluent and runoff contamination, the Don River has captured the attention of environmental organizations (e.g., Pollution Probe held a “funeral” for the Don River in the 1970s) as well as official government agencies with mandates to manage water quality and other Don River issues (Adler, 2005). The most recent plans for Toronto’s waterfront development include two initiatives managed by the Toronto and Region Conservation Authority (TRCA, an agency responsible for managing watersheds in the greater Toronto area): an initial project to construct berms and provide flood protection on the Lower Don River, and a second project to renaturalize the mouth of the Don River. The flood protection project will allow 230 hectares of land to be “reclaimed” from the flood plain (thereby allowing development) and the renaturalization of the Don River mouth will transform the river into a “healthier, more natural river outlet” to Lake Ontario while also reducing the risk of flooding (TRCA, 2005). Although the need to control flood risk and make more land available for development is not contested, some Toronto municipal councillors raised objections to renaturalization and the TRCA’s vision of wetlands at the mouth of the Don River, citing the risk of creating a “mosquito breeding ground” leading to increased risk of West Nile virus (Cowan, 2003)<sup>1</sup>.

Toronto’s waterfront is also located in an “Area of Concern” as identified in the Great Lakes Water Quality Agreement. Located in the Toronto and Region Area of Concern, Toronto’s waterfront problems such as beach closings, loss of fish and wildlife habitat, and aesthetic degradation led to the creation of a Remedial Action Plan (RAP) that encompasses a number of Toronto watersheds (Environment Canada, 2005). The RAP outlines how restoration efforts will proceed, with the ultimate aim of “delisting” the region as an Area of Concern. In

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<sup>1</sup> The TRCA was later commissioned by the City of Toronto to study the issue and determined wetlands posed little to no risk of increasing the West Nile vector to humans (TRCA, 2006d).

essence, RAPs focus on protecting the water quality in the Great Lakes. The Toronto RAP is specifically concerned with protecting the water quality of Lake Ontario through addressing issues such as the collection of stormwater, the design and operation of sanitary sewers and sewage treatment plants, and the application of best management practices in land use planning (*Clean Waters, Clear Choices*, 1994), all of which potentially affect waterfront development.

#### 3.2.4 Energy

Along with environmental concerns surrounding the Port Lands' contaminated soil are energy concerns; specifically, the revival of the Richard L Hearn Generating Station. Located in the Port Lands, this natural gas power plant was decommissioned in 1983 and has been used as a film studio in recent years (SENES Consultants, 2003a; Adler, 2006b; Lewington, 2004h). Due to the current Provincial commitment to decommissioning coal-fired power plants, the Ontario Minister of Energy has been seeking alternatives to supply "reliable" forms of electrical power close to the City of Toronto, a large electricity consumer (Chin, 2006; Adler, 2006a; Ferguson & Spears, 2006; Sheuer, 2006b). After little debate but much fence-sitting, the Ontario government settled on a resurrection of a natural gas power plant in the Port Lands (Adler, 2006b; "Conflicting visions", 2006; Spears, 2006b). Conflict has arisen between proponents of the gas powered plant (e.g., the Ontario Power Authority and the Ontario Ministry of Energy), nearby residents who do not want the plant to reopen, parties who believe conservation efforts can decrease energy demand to the extent that no new plant investment is required, and parties (like the TWRC) who worry over the effects of the plant on development plans in the Port Lands (Sheuer, 2006b; Adler, 2006b; Ferguson & Spears, 2006).

The natural gas power plant is not the only energy feature on Toronto's waterfront. Exhibition Place is the site of the first wind turbine to be located in a North American city, producing enough electricity to power 250 homes and acting as an icon of renewable energy potential ("Exhibition Place a success story", 2003; McMurty, 2002; Reguly, 2002). This icon has sparked visions of large-scale offshore wind farms in Lake Ontario and inspired incorporation of smaller wind turbines in the design for a small urban park (Hamilton, 2006; Rochon, 2004a; Reguly, 2002). Another alternative energy source is solar panels, which are already being used by some waterfront residents (Ritchie, 2005). Discussions continue on the issue of whether to incorporate the use of solar panels at the Port Lands gas power plant

(Lewington, 2005b), and the waterfront Exhibition Place has begun work on Canada's "largest single solar photovoltaic installation" (City of Toronto, 2006a). Hydrogen fuel cells are another alternative energy source present in waterfront development discussions, as the TWRC is investigating their use in powering water shuttles, police patrol and boat fleets (Hamilton, 2004). The waterfront – especially Exhibition Place – appears to be a demonstration site for alternative, green technologies.

### 3.2.5 Transport

Transportation issues abound on Toronto's waterfront. The Toronto Island Airport (or City Centre Airport) is an enduringly controversial subject, where nearby residents and urban activists fight to control its expansion or even call for its shutdown and conversion into parklands (Cowan, 2002; Wanagas, 2002c; Hall, 2002b; Sheuer, 2004; Norvell, 2003). Aside from citing adverse health effects stemming from increases in airport traffic, many opposed to the Island airport feel it is not compatible with "clean and green" waterfront development (Barber, 2002a; Wanagas, 2003; Wanagas, 2002a; Hall, 2002). Mayor David Miller won his position due in a large part to his platform to stop the construction of a bridge to the Island Airport, a fixed link which was seen as the first step to airport expansion by airport opponents. Proponents of the airport expansion, such as the Toronto Port Authority (the federal agency controlling and deriving revenue from the operation of the airport) posit an airport in such close proximity to the downtown core is a key "selling" point in attracting business to invest in Toronto (Hume, 2006; Byes & Greenwood, 2000; Anderson, 2002), and unions (e.g., Universal Workers Union Local 183) support the jobs believed to be attendant on airport expansion due to increased demand for airplane manufacture (Nickle, 2003; Anderson, 2002). An alternative to expansion of the Island airport has been a high-speed rail link connecting Toronto's main Pearson International Airport to the downtown Union Station (Dickie, 2000; "Don't cover the waterfront", 1999; Crombie & Jacobs, 2003; Corcoran, 2003; Hall, 2002b).

In addition to being a railway hub for commuter trains and a possible link to Pearson airport, Union Station is also a public transit hub for the Toronto Transit Commission. The municipally-run light-rail transit station has been earmarked for improvements under the TWRC's development efforts, with money set aside for the expansion of the subway's platform

(McGran, 2006). The expansion of transit services is also integrated with the various precinct plans for East Bayfront, West Don Lands and Port Lands development to ensure access to transit is no more than a five minute walk.

A more controversial form of transit is the automobile – clear lines are drawn between urban and suburban factions when it comes to the elevated Gardiner Expressway. One of the earliest issues to emerge from the Task Force report, the demolition of the Gardiner Expressway which runs parallel to Toronto’s shoreline, has been the focus of much debate. Some parties believe that until the Gardiner is demolished and the roadway buried underground, citizens are permanently blocked from their waterfront (Lu, 2003; James, 2001; Lorinc, 2002). Others assert commercial development can be integrated with the existing structure and the expressway can be “beautified” in ways consistent with waterfront development (Gillespie, 2003b; Leong, 2003; Lorinc, 2002; Hume, 2002b). Still other parties are vocally adamant the commuter route must stay to ward off traffic chaos (Mays, 2004a; Monsebraaten, 2002). The demolition of the Gardiner Expressway has prompted the waterfront plans to encompass planning a new roadway to alleviate traffic congestion, the Front Street Extension, which is also highly contentious and has caused civic groups such as the Citizens Against the Front Expressway to organize in protest (Hume, 2002a; Hall, 2002s; Sewell, 2005a, 2004b). The decision to extend Front Street currently remains in limbo, as do plans to deal with the Gardiner.

Toronto boasts another form of travel – water travel. Toronto’s waterfront is home to shipping traffic and recreational traffic (e.g., boat cruises, private boating clubs). There are also ferries that run service to the Toronto Islands. In 1999, the City of Toronto agreed to run a ferry service to the City of Rochester, New York; a ferry service envisioned as providing benefits to both Toronto and Rochester by increasing tourist traffic between the two cities (Gillespie, 2003a; Hutchings, 2004). Without formal assessments of traffic or neighbourhood impacts, planning of the ferry service received widespread criticism (Lorinc, 2003). Another complication was the lack of a permanent ferry terminal – the Toronto Port Authority holding the jurisdiction to build the terminal and poised to gain revenue from the lease of the terminal to ferry services (Gillespie, 2003a) was reluctant to invest in an “iconic” structure and instead erected a “cheap metal shed” (Rochon, 2004b: R4). In the end, lack of investment by the Toronto Port Authority (TPA)



seemed justified as the ferry company declared bankruptcy, had a brief reincarnation in June 2005 only to be sold in May 2006 by the City of Rochester due to ongoing financial losses (Lorinc, 2006; Black, 2006). The ferry terminal – along with an outstanding 14 year lease for \$250,000 a year owed by the City of Toronto to the TPA – continues to stand, and officials are trying to lure cruise ships and charter boats to increase its use (Black, 2006; Lorinc, 2006).

### 3.2.6 Amenities

Classified as amenities for the purposes of this paper are features added to the waterfront to boost tourism, or attract visitors. These features comprise the most creative visions for the waterfront, and range in scale from a re-creation of an 1830s shipping village to an ice rink (Reinhart, 2005; Moore, 2006; Goar, 2004). Generally, amenities can be divided into two classifications: recreational and cultural features.

Toronto's waterfront has an active recreational boating presence (Joliffe, 1988). One of the first large, visible waterfront projects undertaken by the TWRC was the construction of a new watercourse to host the 2006 World Dragonboat competition (Daly, 2006; Moloney, 2005). The construction of the watercourse was an example of the influence of civic stakeholders, as the original site chosen for the watercourse was moved following the TWRC incorporating feedback from public meetings which criticized the unsuitability of the watercourse to facilitate boating events other than dragonboat racing (e.g., the course was unsuitable for rowing, canoeing or kayaking events) (Gillespie, 2005b; Touby, 2005). Recreational organizations such as the Argonaut Rowing Club as well as individual enthusiasts successfully campaigned for a change to the planned watercourse location to one more amenable to accommodating additional events (Ogilvie, 2005; Gillespie, 2005b). Beyond boating and water sports, the call for sports fields, skating rinks and stadiums are a common theme in the visions proposed for Toronto's waterfront (Lewington, 2004c; Moore, 2006; Whittington, 2004; "Second hand urban land", 2000; "Delusions of grandeur", 2001). Some planning visions are even optimistic that the health of the Don River and Lake Ontario can be remediated to the point where fishing becomes a viable recreational activity (Moore, 2006; Papp, 2005; Miller, 2002).

Aside from features designed to increase recreational use of Toronto's waterfront, a number of plans to boost general tourism have been proposed over time. According to the TWRC,

Cultural infrastructure and programming are integral parts of waterfront revitalization. Successful cities are focusing on culture as a catalyst for urban regeneration. They understand that culture is at the centre of successful economic and social development... (TWRC, 2003b)

Attractions such as museums, art galleries, aquariums and an aboriginal healing centre have been promoted by various official voices as possessing the potential to boost tourism revenue from Toronto's waterfront (Monsebraaten, 2004b; Gillespie, 2004c; Lewington, 2004g; Cosgrove, 2004; "Votes for sale", 2004). In one set of plans drafted by a federal Member of Parliament in 2004, a campus for a United Nations "University for Peace" was included and seems to have enduring resonance (Lu & Campion-Smith, 2004). Less highbrow attractions include plans for theme parks, casinos and outdoor concert venues (Lorinc, 2005; Miller, 2002; James, 2004). Currently, none of these large-scale amenities have successfully progressed beyond the "vision" stages of development.

### 3.2.7 Public Space

The idea of "public spaces" along the waterfront alluded to in Section 3.1 is a key aspect of Toronto's planning discourse. There is a crusade to open up the waterfront for "citizen access" (c.f., Diebel, 2005b; Anderson, 2000; Lewington, 2002; Bechard, 2003; Harvor, 2003), which has led to a design competition in 2006 to link various boardwalks, promenades and trails in ways that signal a "recognizable identity" for Toronto's waterfront (TWRC, 2003c). Access to the waterfront for pedestrians and cyclists is an ongoing concern, with the provincial government established a Waterfront Regeneration Trust established in 1992 to ensure the water's edge remains publicly accessible (Waterfront Regeneration Trust, 2006a).

Public spaces are not only areas that allow citizens to get to the water, but are also areas where enjoyment can be derived from the appreciation of "natural green space". A number of large parks are planned as part of the new West Don Lands and Port Lands neighbourhoods (e.g., Lake Ontario Park, Commissioners Park). An existing park, Tommy Thompson Park, is a unique area as it has sprung from a man-made peninsula (i.e. the "Leslie Street Spit") and has

since grown into a naturalized area with wetlands, meadows and forests that house a number of significant plant and animal species (TRCA, 2006c). Another notable green space along the waterfront is the Toronto Music Garden. The park was designed by cellist Yo-Yo Ma and a landscape design firm, and it is intended to “interpret in nature Bach’s First Suite for Unaccompanied Cello, with each dance movement within the suite corresponding to a different section in the garden” (City of Toronto, 2006d). The music garden is acknowledged by the local print media as one of the most successful public spaces on the waterfront (c.f., “Waterfront design concepts on display”, 2006; Lewington, 2006b; Alcoba, 2006).

In addition to gardens and parks, beaches are an important element of Toronto’s waterfront public space. Toronto has a number of beaches (e.g., Sunnyside Beach, Woodbine Beach, Ward’s Island Beach, Bluffer’s Park Beach) but Cherry Beach in the Port Lands was one of the first areas singled out for “visible improvements” by the TWRC. Cherry Beach improvements included the preservation of a heritage lifeguard station, as well as upgrading washroom and change room facilities and landscaping the parking lot (Nickle, 2005b, 2003; Barber, 2004; Hume, 2003b). H<sub>2</sub>O, dubbed the first “urban beach”, is a park planned for the central waterfront that combines grassy berms with concrete and is even furnished with the requisite beach umbrellas (Rochon, 2004a; Rochon, 2003; Hume, 2005; “The mayor dons a waterfront hat”, 2005).

### 3.3 Actors

A number of parties – both governmental and non-governmental – are involved in contributing to the evolving visions and plans for Toronto’s waterfront. Each group or individual may have differing priorities and values, culminating in a variety of perspectives as to what constitutes the best direction for waterfront development. These values and perspectives become explicit when decisions must be made, especially in the case of controversial decisions such as siting a power plant in the Port Lands or the demolition of the Gardiner Expressway. This section provides a brief overview of the various government and non-government groups active in waterfront development over the past few years.

### 3.3.1 Government Actors

All three levels of government – municipal, provincial and federal – own land and have some form of jurisdiction over the planning of Toronto’s waterfront. At the local level, the City of Toronto is responsible for compiling official planning and zoning regulations, providing and/or maintaining infrastructure services to new neighbourhoods (e.g., waste collection, water treatment), co-ordinating public transit services, and ensuring development and maintenance of parks. The City of Toronto is also a significant land owner and operator along Toronto’s waterfront. In addition to owning Exhibition Place, located at the western end of the central waterfront, the city owns more than one half of the waterfront lands under their agency the Toronto Economic Development Corporation (TEDCO). TEDCO’s mandate is to “explore, pilot and implement incentives and redevelopment tools” with special focus on brownfields and other “underutilized” sites that have potential to revitalize employment in Toronto (TEDCO, 2003).

Another actor is the province of Ontario. The provincial government owns and operates a waterfront amusement park adjacent to Exhibition Place (i.e., Ontario Place), and owns land under its agency the Ontario Realty Corporation (ORC). The focus of ORC is slightly different from the municipal landholder TEDCO in that it “strategically manages one of Canada’s largest real estate portfolios” and disposes of “surplus assets” in accordance with asset management objectives, as well as leases and manages property (ORC, 2006). The province is also ultimately responsible for an agency that figures prominently in controversy surrounding waterfront development: the provincial Ontario Power Authority (OPA). The decision of the Ontario Power Authority to begin operation of a natural gas power plant within the Port Lands has become the subject of many newspaper stories that contain conflict. The OPA is a provincial agency created to ensure a “sustainable competitive reliable electricity system” while encouraging conservation and a diverse source supply (OPA, 2005). Both the OPA and the Ministry of Energy that created it are posed as in opposition to residents and advocates of conservation who feel the power plant is not needed (Green, 2006; Nickle, 2005a; Spears, 2006a).

Like the other two levels of government, the federal government also owns lands in the waterfront. The government of Canada operates the Canada Lands Company as an agency with the mandate to purchase “surplus strategic properties at fair market value from the federal

government” to improve, manage or sell them in accordance with the aim of achieving “optimal financial and community value for both local communities ... [and] the Government of Canada” (Canada Lands Company, 2006). Also similar to the province’s OPA, the federal government is responsible for a locally-unpopular agency, the Toronto Port Authority (TPA). The TPA owns and operates the Toronto Island Airport, manages the development of the Leslie Street Spit lake fill, grants permits to recreational boaters, provides transportation and navigational controls and owns various ferry terminals (TPA, 2006). The TPA is often cast as the villain in newspaper stories surrounding the waterfront, a federal agency depicted as in conflict with residents protesting the expansion of the Island airport (Anderson, 2002; Nickle & Green, 2003; Hall, 2002b), as ill-prepared to accommodate the Toronto-Rochester ferry service (Harvor, 2004; Lewington, 2006a), and as gouging the City of Toronto (and therefore Toronto taxpayers) with lawsuits and lease payments for boardwalks, piers and parkland that jut out from the waters edge (Lilley, 2003; Scheuer, 2004; Touby, 2006, 2004).

In addition to owning and operating land along the waterfront, the three levels of government also share jurisdiction over various activities along the waterfront. For example, remediating contaminated soil in the Port Lands involves input from the Ontario Ministry of the Environment, Toronto Public Health and the federal institutions Environment Canada and the Canadian Environmental Assessment Agency (SENES Consultants Limited, 2003b: 2-3). One agency that has been formed to address intra-jurisdictional complexities is the Toronto Waterfront Revitalization Corporation (TWRC). This agency was created by the provincial government in 2001 to facilitate the development of Toronto’s waterfront by co-ordinating plans among municipal, provincial and federal stakeholders: the Toronto Waterfront Revitalization Corporation (TWRC). The TWRC’s board of directors is jointly appointed by the three levels of government, and its mission is to “put Toronto at the forefront of global cities in the 21<sup>st</sup> century by transforming the waterfront into beautiful, sustainable new communities, parks and public spaces, fostering economic growth in knowledge-based creative industries and ultimately: redefining how the city, province and country are perceived by the world” (TWRC, 2003a). The formation of the TWRC was based on models of development successful in other port cities with similar quasi-government agencies such as Sydney, New York, Beirut, Barcelona, Frankfurt and Saint John, New Brunswick (DeMara, 2000; Green, 2004; “Down on the waterfront”, 2004).

While trying to co-ordinate waterfront development, the TWRC has been plagued by a lack of authority and delay in funding (Lewington, 2004a, 2004e; Mallan, 2000; Wanagas, 2004; Gillespie, 2004b; Hume, 2002d). The TWRC has committed to public consultation in its planning, holding public forums, workshops and public information meetings at various stages of any given decision making process, from design to implementation of proposals. The TWRC is also committed to planning “sustainably”, as they have drafted a *Sustainability Framework* to specify “actions, strategies, objectives and targets” with respect to energy, land use, transportation, air quality, human communities, cultural resources, natural heritage, water and waste (TWRC, 2005).

Another agency created out of a complex set of jurisdictions is the Toronto Region and Conservation Authority (TRCA), which works closely with the City of Toronto on waterfront development and guides Remedial Action Plan activities. The TRCA’s responsibilities include protecting, enhancing and regenerating renewable resources within Toronto’s watersheds; providing environmental information and advice on management practices; fostering recreational opportunities; initiating conservation education and heritage programs; and assisting communities with local environmental projects (TRCA, 2006a). One of the lands protected and managed by the TRCA is Tommy Thompson Park on the Leslie Street Spit. The TRCA also oversees the Don Watershed Regeneration Council, an advisory committee made of officials, general public and environmental groups which was formed to implement recommendations for improving the health of the Don River (TRCA, 2006b). Similar to the Don Watershed Regeneration Council, the Task Force to Bring Back the Don is formed from a group of elected officials and citizens. This Task Force was originally organized by the City of Toronto with the aim of working with governmental and non-governmental agencies to restore the Don River’s health (City of Toronto, 2006c). The main objective of the Task Force is to “bring back a clean, green and accessible Don River watershed,” focusing on activities such as naturalizing the river mouth and decreasing stormwater runoff (City of Toronto, 2006c).

### 3.3.2 Non-governmental Actors

A variety of non-governmental actors are actively engaged with Toronto’s waterfront planning and management. A number of groups have organized around one particular waterfront

issue. Community AIR is one such group, a community organization dedicated to closing down the Island airport and advocating the lands be used for public recreational, beach and natural uses (Community AIR, 2006). Organizations such as Citizens Against the Front Expressway and front&centre have formed to fight the proposed Front Street extension (Mayhue, 2002; Mackay, 2002; Sewell, 2005b). The protection of green spaces are a major concern with groups such as the Friends of the Spit (an advocacy group concerned with ensuring the Leslie Street spit remains an “urban wilderness”) and protecting the health of the Don River is the goal of organizations such as Friends of the Don East (a group dedicated to protecting and enhancing the Don River as well as encouraging healthy and sustainable communities within the Don watershed) and RiverSides (a group formed to address non-point source pollution along the Don River by educating and encouraging best practices among individual homeowners) (Friends of the Spit, 1998; Friends of the Don East, 2004; RiverSides, 2005).

A second category of non-governmental actors are local groups with a mandate that extends beyond one specific waterfront issue. For example, the West Don Lands Committee is a coalition of residents, businesses, environmental and heritage organizations dedicated to promoting “timely and positive development” in the West Don Lands (Lewington, 2006a, 2005a; Monsebraaten, 2004a; SEDERI 2006). Neighbourhood associations such as the Harbourfront Community Association and the Port Lands Action Committee are involved with the waterfront planning processes, actively consulting with the TWRC, as development is occurring in their neighbourhoods (St-Pierre, 2005; Wanagas, 2002b; Nickle, 2005b). The Toronto Bay Initiative is another organization with a focus on Toronto’s waterfront, formed to address concerns regarding the “loss of natural green spaces around the Toronto Bay, the degradation of land and water and impacts on wildlife” (Toronto Bay Initiative, 2006). The Toronto Bay Initiative is a volunteer-based organization that restores natural habitats through planting events, acts as a steward for urban green space and provides educational tours to reconnect people to the Toronto waterfront and emphasize its ecological importance (Toronto Bay Initiative, 2006).

A third category of non-governmental actors include organizations with a broad mandate that extends not only beyond one specific waterfront issue but also beyond the physical

limits of Toronto's waterfront. For example, the Ontario Clean Air Alliance (OCAA) is an environmental organization dedicated to phasing out the province's coal-fired power plants and working toward achieving an electricity mix based on ecologically sustainable and renewable resources (Ontario Clean Air Alliance, 2006). One of the OCAA's aims is to advocate the use of natural gas as a "transition fuel" for the phase-out of coal and thus the organization is supportive of plans for a natural power plan in the Port Lands (Ontario Clean Air Alliance, 2006; Sewell, 2004a; Scheuer, 2006a). The Sierra Club has a general environmental mandate to pursue and advocate for sustainable development, while at the same time organizing specific campaigns to protest against developing the Front Street extension and to promote the transformation of the Toronto Island Airport into an ecological park with renewable wind energy turbines (Sierra Club of Canada Ontario Chapter, 2006). A "non-environmental" group involved with Toronto's waterfront is the Canadian Automobile Association (CAA), a general advocate for the upkeep of roads and highways, involved with lobbying to prevent the demolition of the Gardiner Expressway (CAA, 2006; Sewell, 2002; Lewington & Ghafour, 2000; Benzie, 200b). A local heritage association formed to protect historic Fort York from the Gardiner Expressway, the Friends of Fort York, is concerned with the operation and preservation of the Fort as well as being involved in protesting against the Front Street extension (Mayhue, 2002; Lewington, 2005c; Barber, 2002b).

Private enterprise with vested interests in waterfront development, such as REGCO holdings (an airline service operating out of the Island Airport), Canadian-American Transportation Systems (the original operator of the Toronto-Rochester ferry service) and other businesses operating in the central waterfront are also involved with waterfront development. Although these businesses are not described in detail, the author acknowledges that private companies participate and often have an integral role in waterfront planning.

Also not discussed above are the unorganized participants in waterfront development; that is, individual citizens are also engaged with waterfront planning. Certain individuals are "high profile" citizens, such as David Crombie (who sat on the Royal Commission on the Future of Toronto's Waterfront when mayor of Toronto, and who is now president of the Canadian Urban Institute) and the renowned urban theorist, the late Jane Jacobs; whereas other individuals



are “ordinary” citizens attending public meetings and participating in the planning process. The development of Toronto’s waterfront is an issue that truly provides a wide range of actors – both official and ordinary – and subsequently offers a wide range of possible perspectives on how best to manage the natural environment.

### 3.4 Perspective on “Environmental” Development

To illustrate the range of varying perspectives that surround the issue of land development, Colby’s (1991) classification of five environmental management paradigms is useful. Concerned with the theoretical constructs on which rest practices and planning in environmental management, Colby identified five main categories of environmental management which differ from each other in terms of the way the human-nature relationship is viewed (Colby, 1991: 194). Colby describes these paradigms using “development” at its broadest definition where the idea of development is measured according to economic and quality of life indicators on a global scale; however, the paradigms are also capable of reduction to the local scale and thus applicable to the case of Toronto’s waterfront development. Table 1 provides an overview of some of the distinctions between the five environmental management paradigms described by Colby, and the next section expands on these concepts drawing examples from the actors involved with Toronto’s waterfront to provide tangible evidence of these five perspectives in urban planning.

#### 3.4.1 Frontier Economics

The implicit value of the environment embodied by this perspective is that the environment is a means to increase economic wealth. This paradigm rejects the need to directly manage the environment, as it asserts economic market forces are capable of regulating resource prices to correspond with their availability. In terms of land development, this perspective recommends the privatization of all property, as market forces would subsequently dictate the appropriate use. Government agencies that hold land on Toronto’s waterfront denote a frontier economic perspective, as their mandates are to generate wealth through the development (and eventual sale) of the lands held. The Canada Lands Company discusses its mandate in terms of “fair market value” and achieving “financial and community value” (Canada Lands Company, 2006); the Ontario Realty Corporation’s mandate is to “optimize the value and utility” of their land holdings (Ontario Realty Corporation, 2006) and TEDCO’s mandate is to “encourage

Table 3.1 : Characteristics of five environmental management paradigms  
(adapted from Colby, 1991, pp. 196-197)

Paradigm:	<i>Frontier Economics</i>	<i>Environmental Protection</i>	<i>Resource Management</i>	<i>Eco-development</i>	<i>Deep Ecology</i>
Dimension					
<i>Dominant Imperative</i>	"Progress" as infinite economic growth and Prosperity	"Tradeoffs" as in ecology versus economic growth	"Sustainability" as necessary constraint for "green growth"	Co-developing humans and nature; redefine "security"	"Eco-topia"; anti-growth, constrained harmony with nature
<i>Human-Nature Relationship</i>	Very strong anthropocentric	Strong anthropocentric	Modified anthropocentric	Ecocentric	Biocentric
<i>Responsibility for Development and Management</i>	Property owners: individual or State	Fragmentation: development decentralized, management centralized	Toward integration – across multiple levels of government (federal/state/local)	Private/Public institutional innovations and redefinition of roles	Largely decentralized but integrated design and management
<i>Analytic/Modeling and Planning Methodologies</i>	Neoclassical or Marxist: closed economic systems, reversible equilibria, production limited by man-made factors, natural factors not accounted for. Net present value maximization, cost-benefit analysis of tangible goods and services	Neoclassical Plus: environmental impact assessment after design; optimal pollution levels; equation of willingness to pay and compensation principles	Neoclassical Plus: include natural capital. Increased, freer trade, ecosystem and social health monitoring, linkages between population, poverty and environment.	Ecological Economics: bio-physical-economic open systems dynamics, socio-technical and ecosystem process design; integration of social, economic and ecological criteria for technology, trade and capital flow regulated based on community goals and management, equity in land distribution	Grassroots Bioregional Planning: multiple cultural systems, conservation of cultural and biological diversity, autonomy
<i>Fundamental Flaws</i>	Creative but mechanistic; no awareness of reliance on ecological balance	Defined by frontier economics in reaction to deep ecology, lacks vision of abundance	Downplays social factors; subtly mechanistic; doesn't handle uncertainty	May generate false security; magnitude of changes require new consciousness	Defined in reaction to frontier economics; organic but not creative

industrial development” while attracting and retaining jobs in the City of Toronto (Toronto Economic Development Corporation, 2003). These government agencies do not acknowledge the “environment” or the need to manage it beyond the land as real-estate asset. In essence, this paradigm encompasses the dominant social paradigm at its most literal translation, where the environment is valued as an asset to be sacrificed for economic growth.

#### 3.4.2 Environmental Protection

The second paradigm described by Colby (1991) recognizes market regulation alone as insufficient, and pushes for the protection of the environment through administrative regulation; that is, legislation and government intervention in land development and use activities. The environmental protection paradigm views the setting of limits to harmful activities that compromise human health or the aesthetics of the environment as necessary, while at the same time acknowledging the free market system and push for economic growth are unquestionable. Affording environmental protection thus becomes a trade off between environmental and economic prosperity, where development must proceed in accordance with explicit guidelines and standards that encompass acceptable pollution or disruption levels. In addition to command-and-control regulations, the environmental protection perspective also recognizes the need to set aside land for preservation or conservation purposes.

Legislative bodies established to draft and enforce environmental regulations such as the provincial Ministry of Energy and federal Environment Canada represent this perspective at their most superficial level; however, organizations such as Community AIR also exhibit characteristics of the environmental protection perspective. Community AIR focuses on the health impacts resulting from airport operation in their fight to stop expansion, advocating the “right” to have good air quality and calling for the establishment of green recreational spaces to replace the “polluted airport lands” (Community Air, 2006). Friends of the Spit is another environmental organization that draws on the environmental protection paradigm in their campaigns to protect and create local, regional and natural parkland (Friends of the Spit, 1998).

Like frontier economics, this paradigm is highly anthropocentric, as the impacts of development and/or protection of green spaces are viewed from the human perspective, as in the case of Community AIR's focus on health impacts or Friends of the Spit's concerns over public

access to parkland. Also, the health of the environment and the economy are viewed as incompatible, where economic growth is “threatened” by actions taken to protect the environment and vice versa. Hence Robert Deluce of REGCO Holdings, wishing to increase revenue from an expanded island airport, is “fighting” with Community AIR wishing to decrease air pollution from airport operations (c.f., Community AIR, 2006). Likewise, TEDCO wishing to lease lands at the Leslie Street spit to a golf academy is poised against the Friends of the Spit wishing to preserve the ecological integrity of parklands on the spit (c.f., Carley, 1998). Although this paradigm views regulation as necessary and to some degree disputes the effectiveness of private property rights in solving environmental problems, the environmental protection perspective does not challenge the dominant social paradigm in that economic growth continues to be a resounding goal.

### 3.4.3 Resource Management

Unlike the environmental protection paradigm, resource management asserts environmental and economic prosperity are not only compatible with a healthy environment, but in achieving a maximum environmental health, a maximum economic health will also result: a win-win situation that defines what is also termed the “ecological modernization” perspective. Drawing on the interconnection of natural systems, this perspective deems the sustainability of development activities should be the constraint to growth, and managing for conservation of resources and increased efficiency in utilization of resources is key to development. A common term in the resource management lexicon is “sustainable development”, and tools that aim to minimize environmental effects and maximize long-term health of ecosystems often signal this paradigm. In the case of Toronto’s waterfront, the Toronto and Region Conservation Authority (TRCA) is aligned with this paradigm, as its vision is to create “sustainable communities where human settlement can flourish forever” by conserving and managing renewable resources (TRCA, 2006a). The Ontario Clean Air Alliance is also an organization that exhibits a resource management perspective, as it constructs the problem of air quality as related to coal-fired electricity generation and advocates for better “management” of electricity resources by focusing on conservation and “ecologically sustainable” renewable sources of power (Ontario Clean Air Alliance, 2006).

Again, like frontier economics and environmental protection, the resource management perspective does not question the validity of the dominant social paradigm. Resource management perpetuates the need for economic growth, equating a healthy economy and increased development with a healthy environment.

#### 3.4.4 Eco-development

Building on the resource management “win-win” solution, the eco-development paradigm is characterized by a push toward technologies that can assist in achieving sustainability, as well as the recognition that environmental problems often correspond with persistent social problems. Eco-development focuses on environmental management strategies that are synergetic with ecosystems, where development is a “positive sum game” and “pollution prevention pays” (Colby, 1991). Like resource management, economic and environmental health are viewed as compatible; this paradigm, however, acknowledges that economic disparities lead to not only social problems but also environmental problems. The eco-development perspective thus encompasses the need to address root social inequalities that underlie environmental problems, and subsequently draws on indigenous knowledge and experience to devise regulation based on community goals and the equitable distribution of land and resources.

The extensive public consultation of the Toronto Waterfront Revitalization Corporation (TWRC) as well as its commitment to a *Sustainability Framework* reflects aspects of the eco-development paradigm’s commitment to decision-making processes that incorporate local knowledge. Friends of the Don East also displays elements of this perspective, as it acknowledges the commitment to “all aspects of sustainable development, including energy efficiency and *social equity*” [emphasis added] (Friends of the Don East, 2004). The integration of social systems to economic and ecological systems management is the central defining characteristic differentiating resource management and eco-development. More so than any environmental management paradigm presented thus far, eco-development challenges the dominant social perspective in that it recognizes social disparities have environmental consequences; yet the belief in science, technology and economic processes as providing solutions to environmental problems aligns with the dominant social paradigm.

### 3.4.5 Deep Ecology

The paradigm of deep ecology focuses on the ethical, social and spiritual aspects of the human-nature relationship, and is the antithesis of the frontier economic perspective. Far from the anthropocentric orientation of frontier economics and environmental protection, this paradigm is biocentric in promoting non-hierarchical biological and cultural diversity in ways that are not limited by political boundaries but are in alignment with “natural” boundaries. Looking beyond the environment as a financial asset, deep ecology emphasizes fostering a spiritual connection with nature, often decrying technology as erecting a barrier between humans and nature. This paradigm views the preservation and protection of wilderness as paramount, foregoing development and its associated costs by promoting simple, naturally unobtrusive lifestyles.

Although it is difficult to pinpoint waterfront actors that fully promote the deep ecology perspective, both the TRCA and Waterfront Regeneration Trust focus their efforts to manage the environment according to natural not political boundaries (TRCA, 2006a; Waterfront Regeneration Trust, 2006), one of the elements of the deep ecology paradigm. The romantic description of the Leslie Street spit provided by the Friends of the Spit also evidences a deep ecology perspective for it exalts the value of “wild nature” and paints the city disparagingly:

Now, the Spit...has been transformed by nature into an extraordinary wildlife reserve, where humans can find a car-free refuge from the hustle and bustle of the city and enjoy a quiet time amid unmanicured vegetation” (Friends of the Spit, 1999).

Although elements of the deep ecology paradigm (such as valuing “wilderness” or amalgamating administrative bodies to manage according to “natural” boundaries) may be espoused by various actors, the more radical elements such as interacting with the environment to gain spiritual fulfillment and the criticism of technology and development itself as being counter-productive to environmental remediation are difficult to trace in Toronto’s waterfront development discourse. This is perhaps because deep ecology is the most insurgent environmental management perspective, rejecting all aspects of the dominant social paradigm by questioning the sustainability of a constant drive for growth, positing that as nature does not exist solely for

human exploitation and should therefore be managed in ways that restore balance to all of its (human and non-human) functions.

### 3.5 Summary

This section has highlighted the recent alignment of urban thinking and planning with the concept of the competitive city, a city where the power of capitalist forces is maintained through the drive to increase and intensify local development with the conspicuous aim of compensating for economic funding shortfalls. The recent history of the Toronto waterfront reflects this shift where civic groups and official parties began to adopt ecosystem principles in planning, to the post-1995 preoccupation with development intensification. To foster the competitive city ideal, Toronto waterfront planning has focused on not only building neighbourhoods but also increasing tourism revenue through creating “signature” or flagship projects believed to increase the number of people visiting the waterfront. Infrastructure to meet the increased tourism, housing and business demand (e.g., a flood protection berm along the Don River, the Front Street extension, a natural gas power plant in the Port Lands) figure prominently in discussion of the Toronto waterfront’s future. A number of official and civic organizations have taken an interest in Toronto’s waterfront, with the most vocal non-official voices evident in the context of specific controversial issues (e.g., airport expansion, extension of Front St). The arguments and values held by various groups can be classified according to a set of five environmental management paradigms, as the way various groups envision waterfront development aligns with elements of one or more of these five perspectives. In essence, Toronto’s waterfront development provides a forum for innately diverse voices, perspectives and attributes concerning land development to be reproduced in local media, and is thus an ideal case study to determine the varying levels of heterogeneity or homogeneity in media coverage of an environmental issue. The following chapter outlines how this study set out to collect and analyze data taken from Toronto’s print media to address the six hypotheses formed Chapter 2, with the aim of exploring the relation between waterfront development articles and the hegemonic construct of a competitive city.

## CHAPTER 4: METHODOLOGY

This study's approach is threefold: hypotheses are tested and ultimately all findings are amalgamated to analyze the degree to which Toronto's media supports or challenges the hegemonic construct of the competitive city. To re-iterate, the three hypotheses to be tested are:

Hypothesis 1: Articles containing conflict will exhibit greater content diversity than non-conflict stories.

Hypothesis 2: Articles originating from non-routine channels exhibit greater content diversity than those from routine channels.

Hypothesis 3: Source diversity is an appropriate proxy for content diversity.

Conventional wisdom asserts the presence of conflict and the use of non-routine information channels allow for wider story frames. Confirmation of whether these trends appear in waterfront development stories is required in order to determine whether story characteristics control the content presented by Toronto's media. Also, as the evidence produced by Voakes et al. (1996) suggests the variation in sources cited does not necessarily mirror the variation of perspectives presented in news stories, the validity of assuming source diversity in waterfront development stories translates into content diversity requires confirmation.

The second level of analysis examines the influence of norms on news production. The next three hypotheses focus on how different balancing of norms among alternative/mainstream, small/large and independent/group-owned newspapers affects content diversity in their stories. The effect of conventionality, size and ownership of a particular newspaper is expected to result in different content, and the next set of hypotheses are:

Hypothesis 4: Waterfront development stories in alternative newspapers differ in content from mainstream newspapers.

Hypothesis 5: Waterfront development stories in small urban newspapers differ in content from large urban newspapers.

Hypothesis 6: Waterfront development stories in independent newspapers differ in content from those in group-owned newspapers.

The third layer of this examination synthesizes the results from the hypotheses tested to determine the alignment of Toronto's print media with the hegemonic orientation of capitalist



urbanization processes: do waterfront development stories support the idea of a competitive city? As Chapter 2 touches on the ways hegemony infiltrates journalistic, organizational, economic and ultimately ideological norms, this study is concerned with how these norms may influence news content in ways that sanction (and even construct) the idea of the competitive city. Essentially, Toronto's print media would be considered an instrument of hegemonic support if there is no significant difference in content between stories in terms of issues and perspectives presented, and the issues and perspectives presented in waterfront development stories authenticate the hegemonic construct of the competitive city.

Therefore, a content analysis of eight newspapers is undertaken to quantitatively explore waterfront development and examine if Toronto's print media adopts the hegemonic role of building consensus as to the "natural state" of a competitive city. This chapter outlines the methods used to code and analyze news articles concerned with Toronto's waterfront development, beginning with a description of what newspapers and articles were selected as the basis of this study.

#### 4.1 Data Sources and Collection

Toronto is served by a wide range of print media, from dailies to monthlies, tabloid to quality papers, distributed at the community to national level, available free-of-charge or by subscription. As a representative sample, the eight newspapers selected for study all serve a segment of waterfront residents in their readership, as well as each displaying various size, conventionality and ownership characteristics (the characteristics of each newspaper are summarized in Table 5.1, presented in the following chapter). The newspapers are:

*Beach/Riverdale Crier* ("Crier") – An independently owned local paper, the *Crier* is distributed to 213,900 residents (Gale Research Inc, 2006) but its breadth of coverage is narrowly confined to local issues. The *Crier* is mailed to residents in its distribution area free-of-charge, on a monthly basis. Overall, this paper is classified as a small, mainstream, independent newspaper.

*Beach/South Riverdale Mirror* ("Mirror") – This community newspaper is affiliated with the Torstar Corporation through Metroland, a wholly-owned subsidiary of Torstar, and hence shares

ownership with *Eye Weekly* and the *Toronto Star* (described below). According to the Metroland website [www.metroland.com](http://www.metroland.com), this paper is delivered free-of-charge to 21,850 residents on a weekly basis. The *Mirror* is classified as a small, mainstream, group-owned paper for the purposes of this study.

*The Bulletin* (“*Bulletin*”) – With a circulation of 53,000 (as per the company’s website at [www.thebulletin.ca](http://www.thebulletin.ca)), this community newspaper is considered “small” for the purposes of this study. This newspaper services the central waterfront area, and is mailed free-of-charge to waterfront residents on a monthly basis. The *Bulletin* is independently owned, mainstream local paper.

*Eye Weekly* (“*Eye*”) – This newspaper is also owned by the Torstar Corporation, through its subsidiary Metroland, and is the Torstar’s competitor in the “alternative news and entertainment” market. Published weekly and distributed via free newspaper boxes around Toronto, the circulation of the *Eye* is classified as small, reaching 102,484 people (Gale Research Inc, 2006)

*Globe and Mail* (“*Globe*”) – The first of the subscription-based dailies, the *Globe* has a weekday circulation of 354,574 and a Saturday circulation of 416,457 with no Sunday edition (Gale Research Inc, 2006). The *Globe* is one of the holdings of Bell Globemedia, and is thus a group-owned, mainstream, large newspaper.

*National Post* (“*Post*”) – Another daily newspaper available by subscription, the *Post* has a weekday circulation of 336,150 and a Saturday circulation of 399,032 with no Sunday edition (Gale Research Inc, 2006). This large, mainstream paper is owned by CanWest Global Communications Corporation, a multi-media corporation formerly under the control of Conrad Black and now headed by the Asper Family.

*Now* – Like *Eye*, this newspaper labels itself an “alternative” paper, circulated to 106,103 Torontonians through free-of-charge boxes located throughout Toronto (Gale Research Inc, 2006). *Now* is independently owned and published on a weekly basis, thus it is classed as a small, alternative, independent newspaper for this analysis.

*Toronto Star* (“*Star*”) – Published daily, the *Star* has the largest circulation: 462,985 (weekday), 673,633 (Saturday) and 430,089 (Sunday) (Gale Research Inc, 2006). Like the *Post* and *Globe*, distribution of the *Star* is based on subscriptions. This paper is owned by the Torstar corporation, with ownership common among the *Star*, *Eye* and *Mirror*. This paper is thus a large, mainstream, group-owned newspaper.

Individual waterfront development articles were collected from these eight newspapers for a three year time period, beginning with May 2003 through to April 2006. May 2003 was chosen as the start date of the analysis, as it was the earliest date all papers were available online (library holdings of print copies were sporadic for the *Mirror*, *Bulletin* and *Crier* community newspapers before May 2003). The periodical index Proquest Newsstand was used to search for the adjacent terms “Toronto waterfront” in the keyword or subject area fields for the newspapers the *Globe*, *Post* and *Star*. As the smaller papers the *Bulletin*, *Crier*, *Eye*, *Now* and *Mirror* were not available through a periodical index, their individual website archives were searched using the less-sensitive terms “Toronto” and “waterfront”. Although editorial and opinion-editorial pieces were included, letters to the editor were excluded from the analysis. All articles returned through various searches were first scanned to ensure relevance before being included in this analysis.

A Microsoft Access database was created by the author to manage the articles collected, a database which increases the ease of content analysis for a number of reasons. First, as online formatting (e.g., font size, column width) varies with the index/website providing the newspaper articles, a common template of uniform width and font size was required to allow for consistent collection of line counts. Second, a database allows for the coding manual to be interactive and coding to be done directly online, decreasing paper waste. Third, statistical formulas programmed into the database facilitate quantitative analysis while providing a record of data analysis methods. Thus, to take advantage of the benefits afforded by the Access database, the text from each article identified as relevant was manually copied and pasted into the database. Each article was assigned a unique ID, and a number of descriptors were catalogued (such as the newspaper name, article title, author, date, section, page, etc.). Not included in the database was

text accompanying illustrations, for periodical indexes and website archives inconsistently catalogued illustrative texts. Once all articles were entered into the database, coding began.

## 4.2 Coding

First, the following aspects of each article were coded:

- Conflict – If a news article presented at least two parties in opposition to each other, it was coded as a “conflict” story (Berkowitz and Beach, 1993).
- Information Channel – The information channel was coded as routine if the story originated from a news release, public announcement, news conference or political meeting or campaign. The article was coded as originating from non-routine channel if it originated from a non-official source, such as a non-governmental group meeting, investigative reporting or background research.
- Sources – The presence of various sources were also coded. Each source cited within an article was categorized into one of nine source types (i.e., advocacy group, alternative media, citizen, expert, government, mainstream media, document, private institution or unnamed). Source mix measures were then tabulated to determine the number of different types of sources within an article.

Second, after the general characteristics of the story were coded (e.g., the presence/absence of conflict, the information channel and the types of sources cited), the content of the article was coded according to two dimensions: attributes and perspectives contained in story frames. Not only was the occurrence of attributes and perspectives coded, but salience cues were also identified. Salience is the means by which the media make a “piece of information more noticeable, meaningful or memorable to its audience” (Entman, 2002, p. 293). Thus attributes and perspectives were coded on the basis of the frequency of their occurrence and the degree to which they were constructed as salient.

Attributes represent the sub-issues constructed as relevant to the overall waterfront development problem. Each time a waterfront development sub-issue appeared in article, it was

coded as belonging to one of seven attribute categories discussed in Section 3.2 (i.e., business spaces, neighbourhoods, environment, energy transport, amenities, public spaces). In addition to coding attribute type, the placement of a sub-issue in a prominent position (i.e., within the first few paragraphs of an article) was also coded. The position of a sub-issue is important in newspaper stories, as sub-issues placed at the top of an article are more salient than those buried at its end (van Dijk, 1988). Space is another indicator of salience, for the greater space allocated to an issue, the more salient the sub-issue (van Dijk, 1988; Dunwoody and Griffin, 1993; Kiouisis, 2004; Mathes and Pfetsch, 1991). Correspondingly, the number of lines of text devoted to a particular sub-issue was counted. Attribute coding, therefore, consisted of categorizing sub-issues according to seven categories, determining whether a particular attribute occurred in a prominent position within the article, and counting the number of lines of text devoted to the attribute.

The second dimension of content, perspective, refers to the viewpoints presented as ways of understanding the waterfront development problem. Colby's (1991) five environmental management paradigms were used as a classification framework to code perspectives occurring within an article. Whenever elements of the frontier economics, environmental protection, resource management, eco-development or deep ecology paradigms were present within an article, their occurrence was coded. Also, the salience of a particular perspective also required coding. Unlike attribute salience, identifying the prominence and counting the lines of text allocated to a perspective were not viable measures of perspective salience. The boundaries of ideas and viewpoints are much more ambiguous than the boundaries of attributes, as viewpoints are not as easily delimited in a text. Instead of using prominence and space to signify salience, therefore, the degree to which different perspectives were balanced within an article was coded. Each article containing only one paradigm was coded as "monopoly", and the paradigm was coded as "dominant" within the article. For texts containing more than one paradigm, the article was coded as either "balanced" (where all perspectives are given roughly equal attention), "unbalanced" (where one perspective is more pervasive than others) or "very unbalanced" (where one paradigm is much more pervasive than others). If the article was classified as either unbalanced or very unbalanced, the most pervasive paradigm was coded as dominant. Articles that did not contain any paradigms were coded as "absent". Hence perspective content was

coded according to the frequency of a paradigm's occurrence, the balance of various paradigms within an article and the dominance of a particular paradigm in unbalanced articles.

In summary, each newspaper text was coded according to the presence of conflict; the information channel (i.e., routine or non-routine); the types of sources cited; the occurrence and space allocated to a particular attribute and its prominence; the occurrence of a paradigm; the balance of paradigms presented within an article and the dominance of a particular paradigm within an article. The complete Coding Manual is contained in Appendix A.

#### 4.3 Analysis

As attribute and perspective diversity measures consist of multiple variables, indexes were devised to amalgamate multiple variables into one measure. First, the foundational comparative measure is the diversity index. This index is used to determine the degree of heterogeneity in both the attributes and perspectives presented in media stories. According to McDonald and Dominick (2003), Shannon's H is the statistic most suited to measuring both the number of classes and the concentration in distribution among classes. Adopting the modifications to normalize H as used by Voakes et al. (1996), the following formula was used to calculate the "diversity" index (D):

$$\text{Formula 1: } D = [1 - \sum x_i^2] * [n/(n-1)]$$

where  $x_i$  has a four connotations,

$D_a$  – a measure of attribute diversity, where  $x_i$  is the percent frequency of a specific attribute class

$D_s$  – a measure of salience diversity, where  $x_i$  is the salience index value for a specific attribute class (the salience index is described in Formula 2, below)

$D_p$  – a measure of perspective diversity, where  $x_i$  is the percent frequency of a paradigm category

$D_b$  – a measure of bias diversity, where  $x_i$  is the bias index value for a specific paradigm category (the bias index is describe in Formula 3, below)

and where n is the number of classes (i.e., for attributes,  $n=7$ ; for paradigms,  $n=5$ ).

Diversity provides a measure of the degree to which all classes are mentioned within a population, and describes how evenly these mentions are distributed across all classes. The maximum diversity value of 1 denotes a perfectly even distribution of frequency across all classes.

A second index is used to combine the three measures of frequency, prominence and space allocation into one measure of attribute salience. Although Kiousis (2004) validated the role of frequency and placement (i.e., prominence) in constructing salience and several authors have relied on space allocation to gauge salience (c.f., Atton & Wickenden, 2005; Mathes & Pfetsch, 1991), the literature does not comment on the relative importance of these three characteristics in constructing salience. Because of this lack of empirical evidence, frequency, space and prominence were assumed to be equally important in the construction of salience, and each were assigned an equal weight of 1. The “salience” index (S) is then calculated by:

$$\text{Formula 2: } S = \left( \frac{f_i}{\sum f} + \frac{s_i}{\sum s} + \frac{p_i}{\sum p} \right) / 3$$

where

$f_i$  – the number of times a particular attribute class appeared within a population

$\sum f$  – the total number of attributes (among all classes) within a population

$s_i$  – the number of lines devoted to a particular attribute class within a population

$\sum s$  – the total number of lines devoted to all attributes within a population

$p_i$  – the number of times an attribute class appeared in a prominent position within a population

$\sum p$  – the total number of attributes (among all classes) appearing in a prominent position within a population

When calculated, this salience index value provides a comparative measure of how each newspaper constructed the importance of any one attribute. The closer the salience value to 1, the more salient the class.

The third index value characterizes the relative dominance of a perspective. Paradigms appearing in “balanced” articles are assigned a weight of 1 ( $W_i = 1$ ), those in an article coded as “monopoly” are assigned a weight of 4 ( $W_i = 4$ ), the most pervasive paradigms in “unbalanced” articles are assigned a weight of 2 ( $W_i = 2$ ), and paradigms most pervasive in “very unbalanced” articles are assigned a weight of 3 ( $W_i = 3$ ). The “bias” index (B) is calculated according to:

$$\text{Formula 3: } B = \left( W_i \left( \frac{M_i}{\sum M} \right) + W_i \left( \frac{B_i}{\sum B} \right) + W_i \left( \frac{U_i}{\sum U} \right) + W_i \left( \frac{V_i}{\sum V} \right) \right) / \sum W_i$$

where

$M_i$  – number of times one of five paradigm types appears in monopoly articles

$\sum M$  – total number of monopoly articles

$B_i$  – number of times one of five paradigm types appears in balanced articles

$\sum B$  – total number of paradigms in balanced articles

$U_i$  – number of times one of five paradigm types dominates in unbalanced articles

$\sum U$  – total number of unbalanced articles

$V_i$  – number of times one of five paradigm types dominates in very unbalanced articles

$\sum V$  – total number of very unbalanced articles

$\sum W_i$  – sum of weights

The bias index measures the pervasiveness of a perspective in news discourse, as the closer the bias index to 1, the more dominant the paradigm within waterfront development discourse.

#### 4.4 Reliability

Although required for content analysis coded by more than one researcher, Riffe, Lacy and Fico (2005) assert that inter-coder reliability tests are not needed when one individual is coding all texts. Instead, the most appropriate reliability test for a single coder is the measurement of coding differences at two points in time to determine the stability of coding, measuring the degree to which slippage in understanding coding definitions occurred.

To measure the robustness of the coding categories and the subsequent results extracted from coded data, a random sample of 78 articles were recoded more than a month after initial coding. The number of recoded articles was recommended by Riffe et al. (2005) based on a minimal 85% level of agreement and confidence level of 90% for 339 articles. For example, if there is 90% agreement between the originally coded and 78 recoded articles, chances are 95 out of 100 that at least 85% or better agreement would exist if all 339 articles were recoded (Riffe et al., 2005, pp. 145-146). The simple agreement is as follows:



- Attribute category: 0.93
- Position: 0.94
- Attribute space: 0.70 (overall), 0.89 (with a 1 line margin of error)
- Paradigm category: 0.91 (average)
- Bias: 0.72 (balance); 0.93 (dominating paradigm)
- Conflict: 0.95
- Channel: 0.95
- Source category: 0.97

As the simple agreement values are high, there appears to be a base level of reliability in coding the data at two different points in time. But simple agreement is not a full assessment of reliability, as agreement may also be due to chance. To measure the degree of reliability when chance is taken into account, Krippendorff's Alpha was also calculated as recommended by Riffe et al. (2005). The alpha reliability (i.e., the observed disagreement divided by the expected disagreement due to chance) for each of the variables are as follows:

- Attribute category: 0.92
- Position: 0.91
- Paradigm category: 0.67 (average, excludes deep ecology due to lack of occurrence)
- Paradigm bias: 0.57 (balance); 0.51 (dominating paradigm)
- Conflict: 0.88
- Channel: 0.88
- Source category: 0.93

According to Riffe et al. (2005), values of Krippendorff's alpha that exceed 0.8 are strongly reliable. Values of Alpha that are as low as 0.667 have also been found to be acceptable for "concepts that are rich in analytical value" (Riffe et al., 2005: 151). Coding paradigms do exhibit a low alpha value, but only paradigm bias is below the 0.667 threshold.

Although paradigm coding (both frequency of occurrence and bias measures) appears poor, reviewing the raw re-coding data reveals the majority of disagreement errors are due to omission. Only four of the recoded articles (5%) changed the classification of viewpoints contained within an article to a different paradigm. The remaining majority of recoded articles

omitted to capture the presence of viewpoints; that is, the originally coded articles contained a greater number of paradigm categories that were excluded in the second round of coding. Further, when articles were originally coded, the occurrence of a paradigm within an article was accompanied by a brief rationalization of why the viewpoint was classed into a certain category. After the reliability scores were tabulated, an examination of these descriptions validated the presence of the additional paradigms not captured in the recoded articles. In essence, because the originally coded articles contained a greater number of perspectives and coding choices were validated following the review of rationalization documentation, the occurrence of paradigms within an article is a relatively reliable measure of perspective content, despite its low Alpha score. Moreover, the majority of paradigm bias errors (77%) are in direct consequence of the paradigm “omission” errors: with a decrease in paradigms coded, the balance of articles is differently classified. Of the 22 errors identified in paradigm bias, 17 errors were associated with the “monopoly” classification, where the recoded article was either classed as absent when the original article was coded as monopoly, or where the recoded article was classed as monopoly when the original article was coded as containing more than one paradigm. Again, the low Alpha score is not reflective of the true quality of the data. Because paradigm frequency was proven as more accurately represented in the original coding (through rationalization documentation), the originally coded bias classifications are reflective of the presence of added paradigms and should not be rejected because of disagreement with recoded articles.



## CHAPTER 5: RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

An exploration of media content is required to develop an understanding of the media's role in constructing the competitive city in Toronto. Correspondingly, this section first examines whether content is more diverse in non-routine and conflict stories, and tests the relationship between source and content diversity. After results from the first three hypotheses are presented, this section then addresses the second set of three hypotheses to determine if conventionality, size or ownership result in statistically different story frames among the eight newspapers. Finally, findings related to the hypotheses are analyzed to further the understanding of the news media's role in supporting (or subverting) the capitalist urbanization process represented by the competitive city ideal. The general characteristics of the data collected from each newspaper, along with each newspaper's classification according to conventionality, size and ownership, are contained in Table 5.1.

### 5.1 Results – Hypotheses Concerning Story Characteristics

The first three hypotheses are based on media studies research concerned with mainly front page content in newspapers. These three hypotheses test whether findings from literature (based mainly on research of front page, general news stories) are applicable to waterfront development stories. Also, these hypotheses examine the degree to which conflict, channel of information and source mix correspond to attribute and perspective diversity, providing insight into why and how the media may support hegemony. The following section describes the results of each hypotheses tested, with Figures 5.1-5.4 and Table 5.2 presenting attribute, salience, perspective and bias data collected and sorted according to conflict, channel of information and source mix categories.

#### 5.1.1 Hypothesis 1: Articles containing conflict will exhibit greater content diversity than non-conflict stories

Examining the attribute dimension of content, both conflict and non-conflict stories exhibit relatively high  $D_a$  and  $D_s$  scores (Table 5.2). Conflict and non-conflict stories are fairly representative of all attributes; however, conflict stories do exhibit slightly higher

Table 5.1: Newspaper Profiles

	<i>Bulletin</i>	<i>Crier</i>	<i>Eye</i>	<i>Globe</i>	<i>Mirror</i>	<i>Now</i>	<i>Post</i>	<i>Star</i>
Conventionality	Mainstream	Mainstream	Alternative	Mainstream	Mainstream	Alternative	Mainstream	Mainstream
Size	Small	Small	Small	Large	Small	Small	Large	Large
Ownership - General	Independent	Independent	Group	Group	Group	Independent	Group	Group
Ownership - Torstar <sup>1</sup>	Non-Torstar	Non-Torstar	Torstar	Non-Torstar	Torstar	Non-Torstar	Non-Torstar	Torstar
Number of articles	22	11	11	95	19	15	31	135
Number of attributes described	68	15	26	228	33	35	66	369
Number of paradigms represented	40	17	18	93	29	23	30	183

<sup>1</sup>: Torstar was chosen as three newspapers distributed in Toronto are owned by this corporation

attribute and salience diversity values when compared to non-conflict stories. This finding agrees with the literature, as conflict stories require journalists to report on all sides of an issue, increasing the opportunity for a wider range of content to be presented within an article.

In addition to overall diversity scores, Figure 5.1 and 5.2 also present individual attribute and salience values for conflict and non-conflict stories. Noticeable differences between conflict and non-conflict stories are apparent with respect to business, energy, environment and public space attributes. Conflict stories are more likely to include business and energy issues, as well as much more likely to construct these two issues as salient when compared to their non-conflict counterparts. Non-conflict stories, on the other hand, are more likely to mention environmental and public space issues and are more likely to construct these issues as salient when compared to their conflict counterparts. Despite the relatively high attribute and salience diversity scores for conflict and non-conflict stories there are differences between the two types of stories in terms of what specific attributes are constructed as important in waterfront development stories.

Discussion of business or energy concerns more frequently occur in conflict stories compared to non-conflict stories (Figure 5.1). While the strong relationship of conflict and energy attributes can be explained by the controversy over the resurrection of a power plant in the Port Lands, there is no single “controversial” issue that accounts for the association of conflict stories with business attributes. Instead, the conflict in articles that contain business attributes originates from journalists citing the opinions of those opposed to a specific

Table 5.2: Diversity ( $D^*$ ) and source values for conflict and non-conflict stories

Characteristics	Conflict	No Conflict	N**
Number of articles	103	236	339
$D_a$ - Diversity of attribute classes	0.97	0.94	840
$D_s$ - Diversity of salience among attribute classes	0.98	0.93	n/a
$D_p$ - Diversity of perspective classes	0.93	0.95	433
$D_b$ - Diversity of bias among perspective classes	0.92	0.92	n/a
Source mix (number of source types per article)***	1.8	1.3	339

\*:  $D$  is a measure of diversity

\*\* : N refers to the population of each characteristic; i.e., number of articles analyzed, attributes described, or times a perspective was identified.

\*\*\*: Source mix excludes unnamed sources

Figure 5.1: Attribute Comparison of Conflict vs. Non-conflict Articles

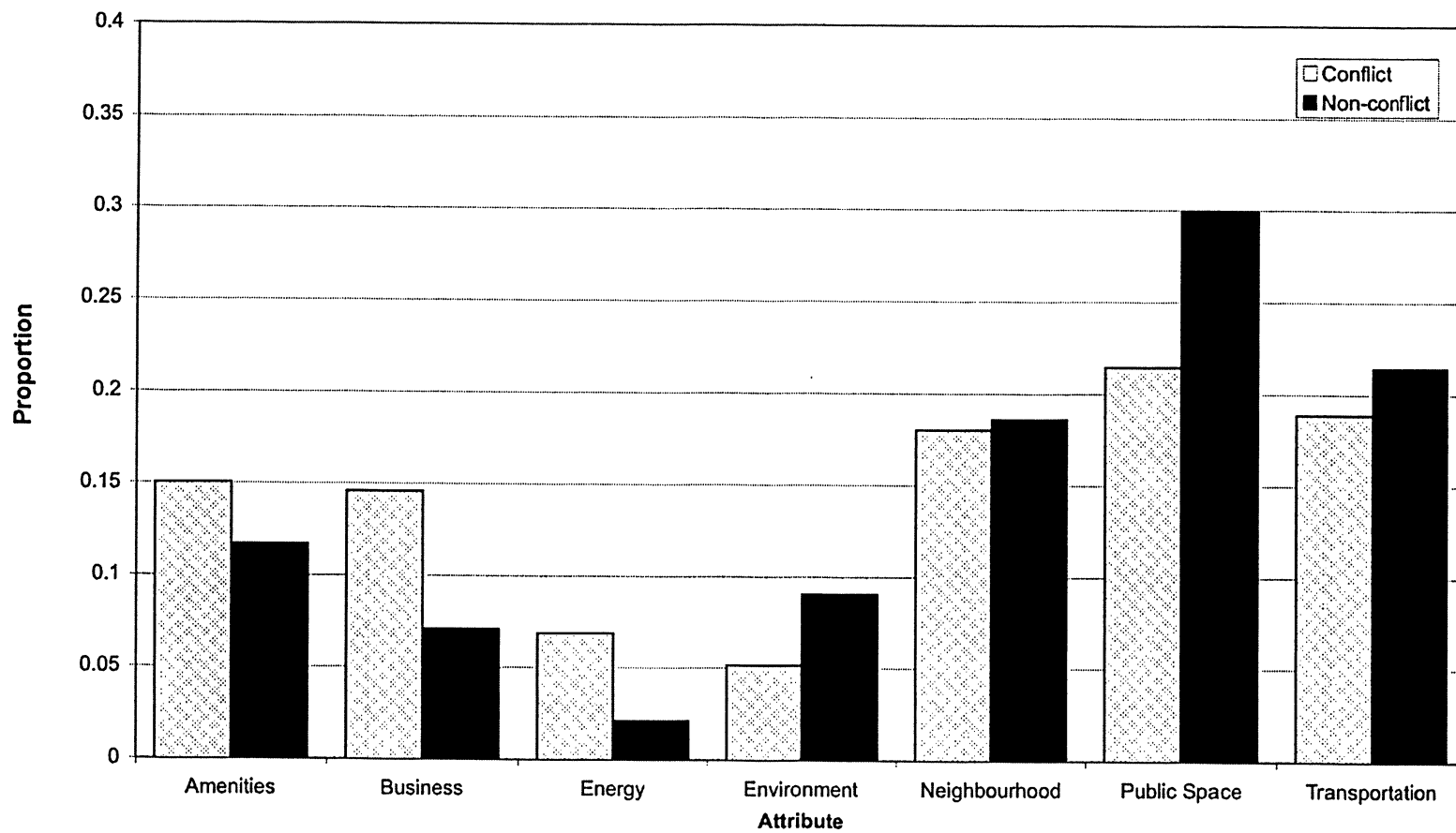
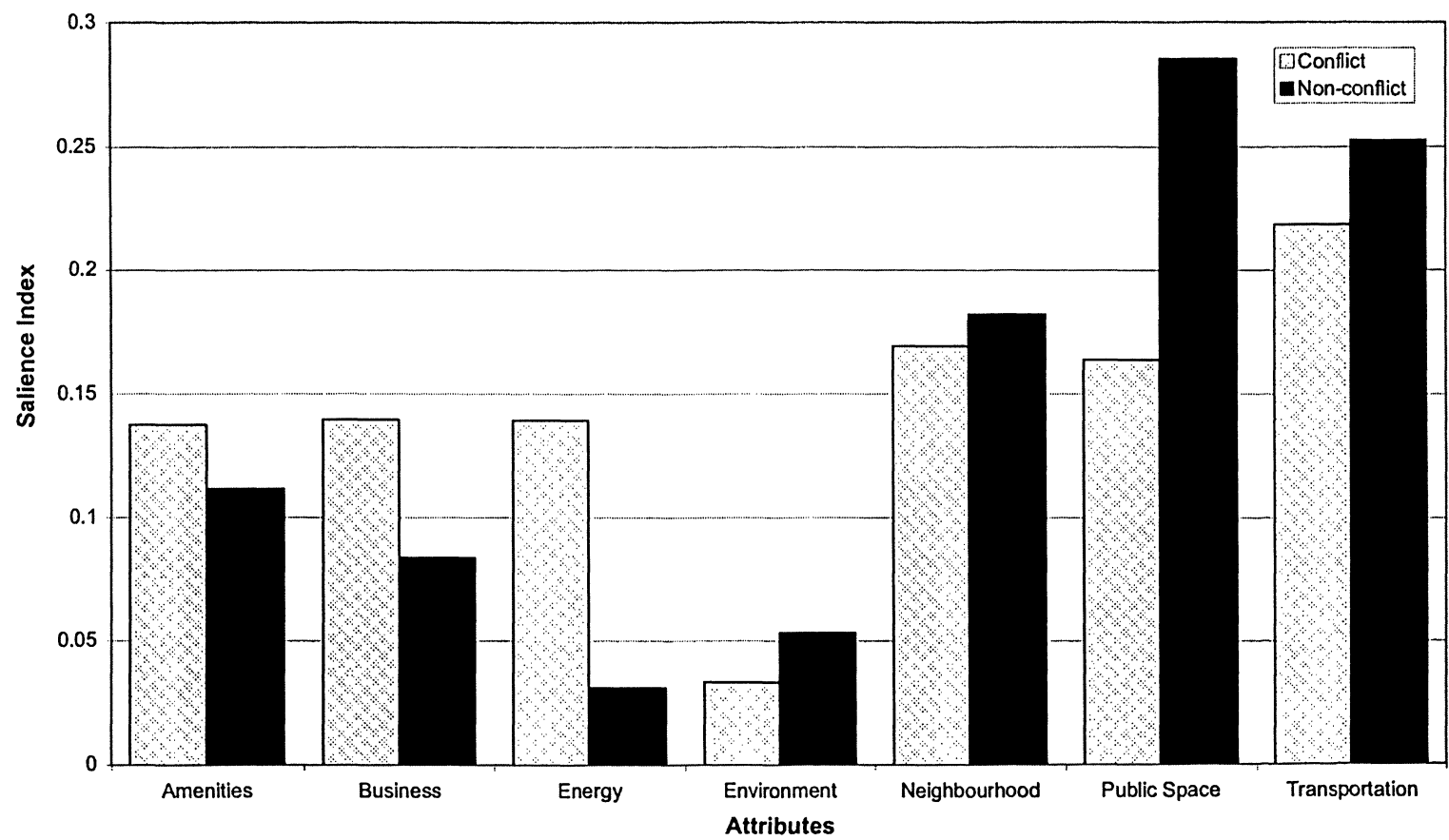


Figure 5.2: Salience Comparison of Conflict vs. Non-conflict Articles





development; for example, those opposed to the construction of a Home Depot, the opening of a new Farmers Market, or plans for a waterfront film studio. While only one aspect of energy attributes (albeit the most frequently occurring aspect) is portrayed as controversial, a much wider range of business attributes is presented as controversial.

It is interesting to note that public space and environment attributes appeared more often and were constructed as more salient in non-conflict stories (Figure 5.2). Not only do discussions of the “controversial” aspects of waterfront development exclude consideration of public space and the environment, but it can be inferred that the voices brought in by the journalists reporting on conflict did not discuss public space or environmental issues. In other words, the journalist himself/herself was more likely to construct public space or environmental issues as important to the waterfront development problem than outside sources in conflict over waterfront development. The role of journalists is important, therefore, as they introduce the environment into waterfront development story frames in addition to constructing a key characteristic of the competitive city – public space – into their waterfront planning discourse.

Although Table 5.2 provides evidence that conflict stories do have higher content diversity in terms of attributes, this does not hold true for the perspective dimension of content. Both  $D_p$  and  $D_b$  values reflect a similar degree of diversity, thus conflict does not enhance the range of viewpoints presented in waterfront development stories. Conflict and non-conflict stories do exhibit similar perspective diversity scores overall; however, the two story types diverge when examining the individual paradigm profiles as depicted in Figures 5.3 and 5.4.

Figure 5.3 illustrates the occurrence of each of the five paradigms in conflict and non-conflict stories, and Figure 5.4 depicts the paradigm bias of each story type. As indicated in Figure 5.3, resource management perspectives are more likely to be found in conflict stories than their counterpart. Conflict stories are also more likely to be biased toward resource management perspectives when this paradigm appears, in comparison to non-conflict stories. The tendency for conflict stories to contain resource management perspectives is explicable when reviewing the most common element of this paradigm found in conflict stories: discussions of

Figure 5.3: Paradigm Comparison of Conflict vs. Non-conflict Articles

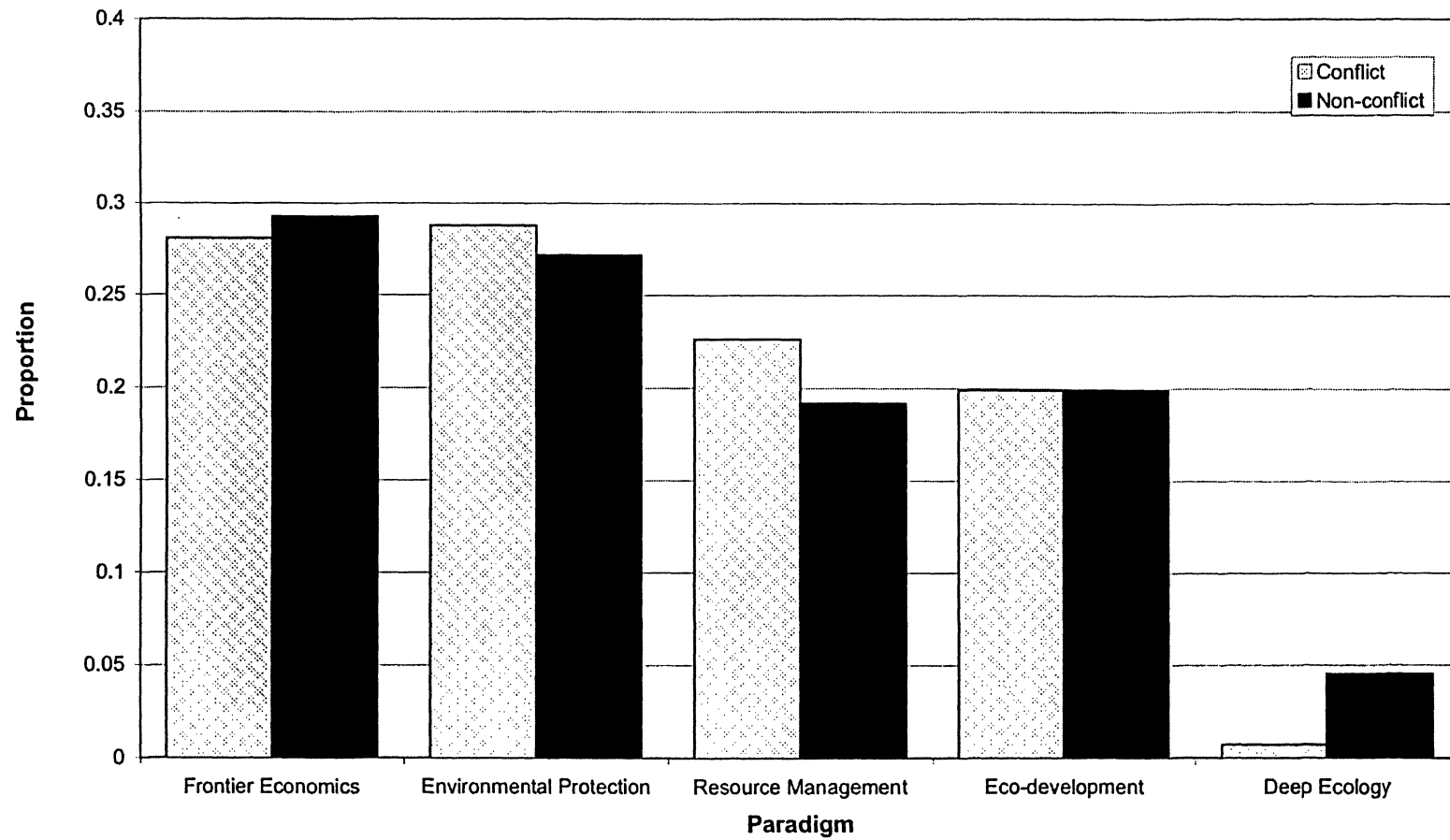
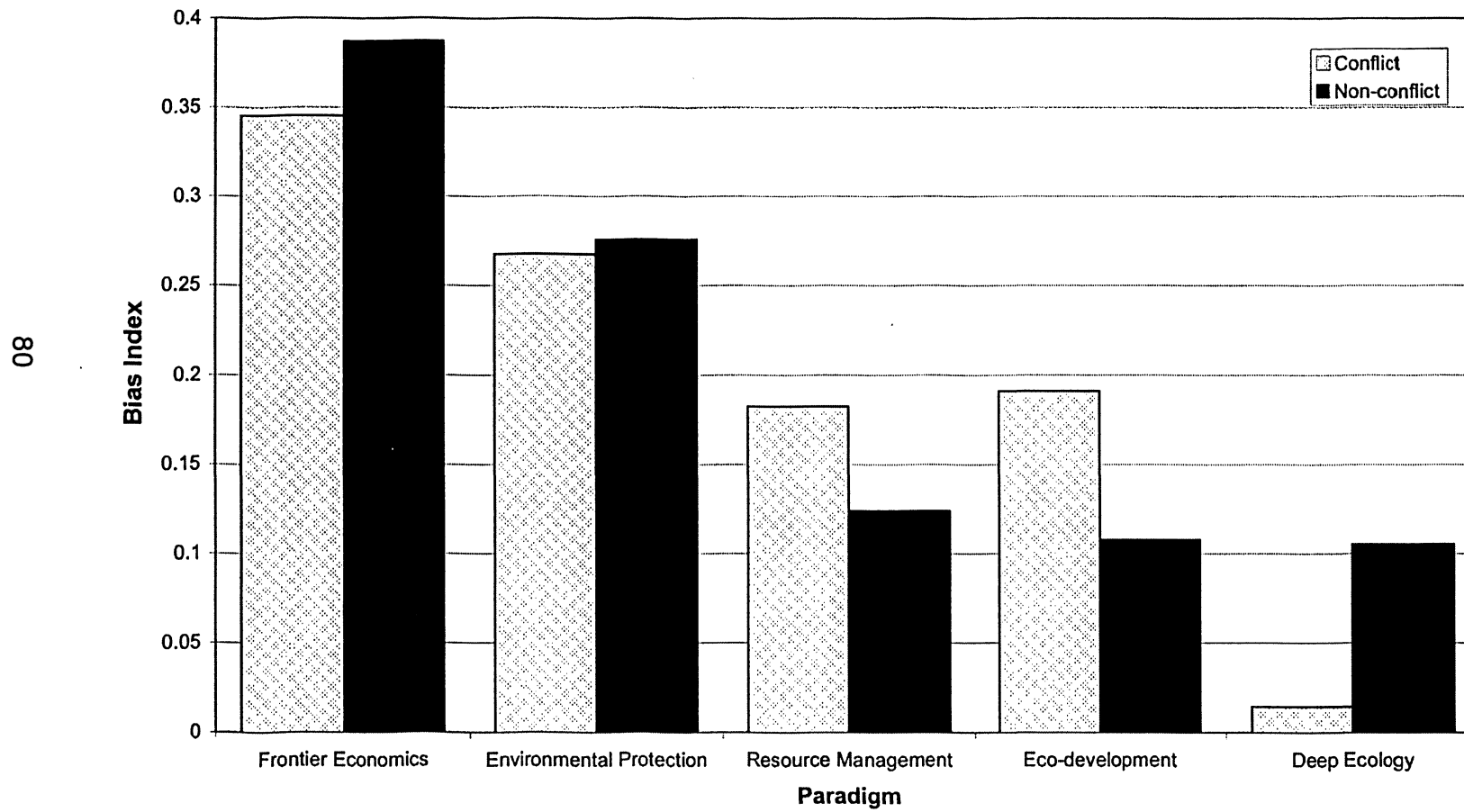


Figure 5.4: Bias Comparison of Conflict vs. Non-conflict Articles



environmental assessments are the most prevalent resource management element in waterfront development stories, a process often marked by controversy. Several waterfront development attributes required environmental assessments, including the expansion of the Toronto Island Airport, the demolition of the Gardiner Expressway, and the re-opening of the Port Land's power plant. The environmental assessment process often becomes a forum through which those who disagree with a development proposal are able to voice their views, and thus the process is likely to contain "conflict" between those who support and those who oppose development. As the resource management paradigm encompasses the concept of environmental impact assessments, it is not surprising that the paradigm is more strongly associated with conflict stories.

Another paradigm worthy of mention is eco-development. Although Figure 5.3 depicts a relatively equal occurrence of this paradigm in both conflict and non-conflict stories, Figure 5.4 provides evidence eco-development is more likely to be constructed as dominant in conflict stories. The elements of the eco-development paradigm appearing in waterfront development stories are varied; unlike the pervasiveness of the environmental assessment element of the resource management perspective, eco-development elements are wider in scope. It is therefore difficult to account for why the eco-development paradigm is constructed as more important in conflict stories than their counterpart, especially as a review of the raw data sources are not responsible for a greater occurrence of the eco-development elements within conflict story frames. As the increased bias toward eco-development exhibited by conflict stories is not due to the increased use of sources speaking from this perspective, of necessity the difference in eco-development bias must stem from the journalists' construction of news texts. It can be speculated that the range of voices allowed into conflict stories provides an opportunity for a stronger representation of the eco-development perspective, where the journalist may feel more freedom to insert their own viewpoint under the guise of reporting one side of a controversial issue. The presence of a variety of viewpoints allows the journalist to insert their personal opinion without seeming to compromise objectivity, as any opposing viewpoints are also presented. In contrast, journalists reporting on non-conflict stories may "soften" aspects of the eco-development paradigm to ensure their article seems objective.

It is also interesting to note that the most environmentally progressive environmental management paradigm is more commonly found in non-conflict stories. As shown in Figure 5.3, the deep ecology paradigm is more likely to occur in non-conflict articles, and the difference between the two story types is even more pronounced in terms of bias (Figure 5.4). The relative absence of deep ecology elements in conflict stories may be due to the absence of those arguing from this perspective – it may be that not many citizens voice deep ecology concerns or not many groups embody deep ecology principles. Thus, even though a journalist may seek to “balance” their story with a quote from a deep ecology source, this type of source may not exist. It also may be that journalists are reluctant to include commentary from those arguing from this insurgent paradigm; without more detailed research (e.g., interviewing journalists), however, it is difficult to determine why conflict stories largely exclude the deep ecology paradigm. Even the instances of the deep ecology paradigm which occurred in non-conflict stories were limited to the superficial elements of deep ecology: non-conflict stories most often integrated the “inspiration from nature and beauty” elements of deep ecology, one of the least controversial (and least radical) aspects of this environmental management paradigm.

Data collected both confirm and contradict Hypothesis 1: attribute diversity is clearly enhanced in conflict stories whereas the relationship between conflict and perspective diversity is less clear. In addition to exhibiting slightly greater attribute diversity, stories that contain conflict also construct different attributes of waterfront development as important (e.g., a higher occurrence of energy and business attributes are found in conflict stories, whereas there is a higher occurrence of environment and public space attributes in non-conflict stories). Aside from confirming a weak association between attribute content and conflict, these findings also demonstrate some of the limitations of previous studies into media content. Using environmental management paradigms as an indicator of content has proven that measuring the number of sub-issues discussed within an article does not necessarily correspond to the number of problem perspectives presented in media texts. The relationship between the perspective dimension of content diversity, therefore, cannot be described by Hypothesis 1.

### 5.1.2 Hypothesis 2: Articles originating from non-routine channels exhibit greater content diversity than those from routine channels

As 60% of waterfront development stories originated from routine channels, and the literature posits that the use of news conferences and press releases leads to narrow story frames where journalists relinquish control of news content to official sources (Berkowitz & Beach, 1993; Brown et al., 1987), it is expected that content diversity scores will be relatively low. The diversity scores contained in Table 5.3, however, provide evidence that both attribute and perspective diversity are relatively high (i.e., greater than 0.90) for routine stories. The content differences between routine and non-routine stories merits further examination to determine if non-routine stories truly offer more diverse content.

According to Table 5.3, attribute and salience diversity scores are somewhat higher in non-routine stories when compared to routine stories. This is aligned with findings from the literature, as non-routine stories are expected to incorporate a greater variety of issues than the narrowly constructed routine stories from “official sources”; yet, the difference between  $D_a$  and  $D_s$  scores for routine and non-routine stories is slight. Thus routine and non-routine stories have relatively similar diversity in terms of the attribute dimension of content.

Reviewing the individual attribute data illustrated in Figures 5.5 and 5.6, however, routine and non-routine story frames do stress different waterfront development attributes. Amenities, environment and public space attributes are more likely to be found in routine stories

Table 5.3: Diversity ( $D^*$ ) and source values for routine and non-routine stories

Characteristics	Routine	Non-routine	N*
Number of articles	204	135	339
$D_a$ - Diversity of attribute classes	0.94	0.96	840
$D_s$ - Diversity of salience among attribute classes	0.94	0.97	n/a
$D_p$ - Diversity of perspective classes	0.95	0.95	433
$D_b$ - Diversity of bias among perspective classes	0.93	0.89	n/a
Source mix (number of source types per article)***	1.4	1.5	n/a

\*: D is a measure of diversity, where a value of 1 indicates heterogeneity and a value of 0 indicates homogeneity

\*\*: Refers to the population of each characteristic; i.e., number of articles analyzed, number of attributes described, number of times a perspective was identified

\*\*\*: Source mix excludes unnamed sources

when compared to their non-routine counterparts. Hence the “official” storyline includes these three issues in waterfront development more than storylines from non-routine information channels. The occurrence of amenities and public space issues in routine stories is not surprising, as these two attributes of development signal planning oriented toward the competitive city. The increased occurrence of the environment as an issue in routine stories is noteworthy, as it implies official sources are more concerned with the impact of development on the environment than are non-official sources featured in non-routine news stories. Official sources may then have a role in bringing the environment as an issue to the media, which in turn increases the importance of the environment in the public opinion (although the environment is constructed as the least salient among all attributes depicted in Figure 5.6).

In addition to illustrating the prevalence of environment, amenities and public space attributes in routine stories, Figure 5.5 also indicates non-routine stories were more likely to contain business attributes than were routine stories. Examining the raw data, the overwhelming proportion of non-routine stories that mention business attributes were categorized as “crusades”; that is, columnists writing their own opinion-based articles that do not necessarily relate to a specific news event. Hence journalists themselves contribute to the prevalence of business attributes in waterfront development stories, and are more than twice as likely to mention business attributes when penning a non-routine opinion piece than when reporting on an official news release or announcement. Again, like the important role of the journalist in bringing eco-development and deep ecology perspectives into waterfront development stories (as discussed in the preceding section), journalists also contribute to the occurrence of business attributes in the waterfront development discourse.

Figure 5.6 also indicates the importance of routine news, and the officials who create it, in defining the waterfront development problem. Transportation attributes are mentioned relatively equally in both story types, and neighbourhood issues appear more frequently in non-routine stories (Figure 5.5). When examining Figure 5.6, it is apparent that both transportation and neighbourhood attributes are more likely to be constructed as salient in routine stories. Reviewing the raw data for these two issues, both frequency and prominence values are

Figure 5.5: Attribute Comparison of Routine vs. Non-routine Information Channels

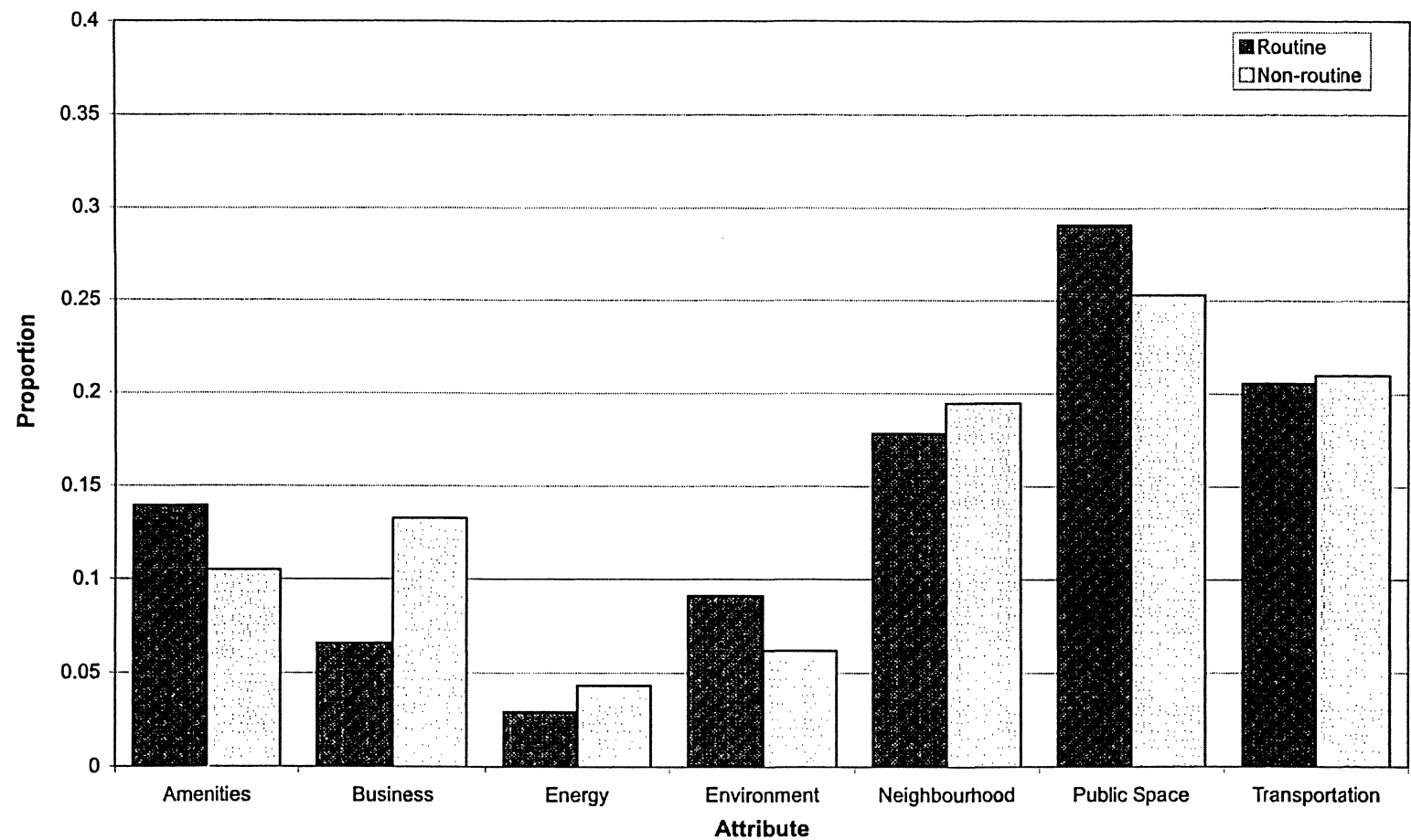
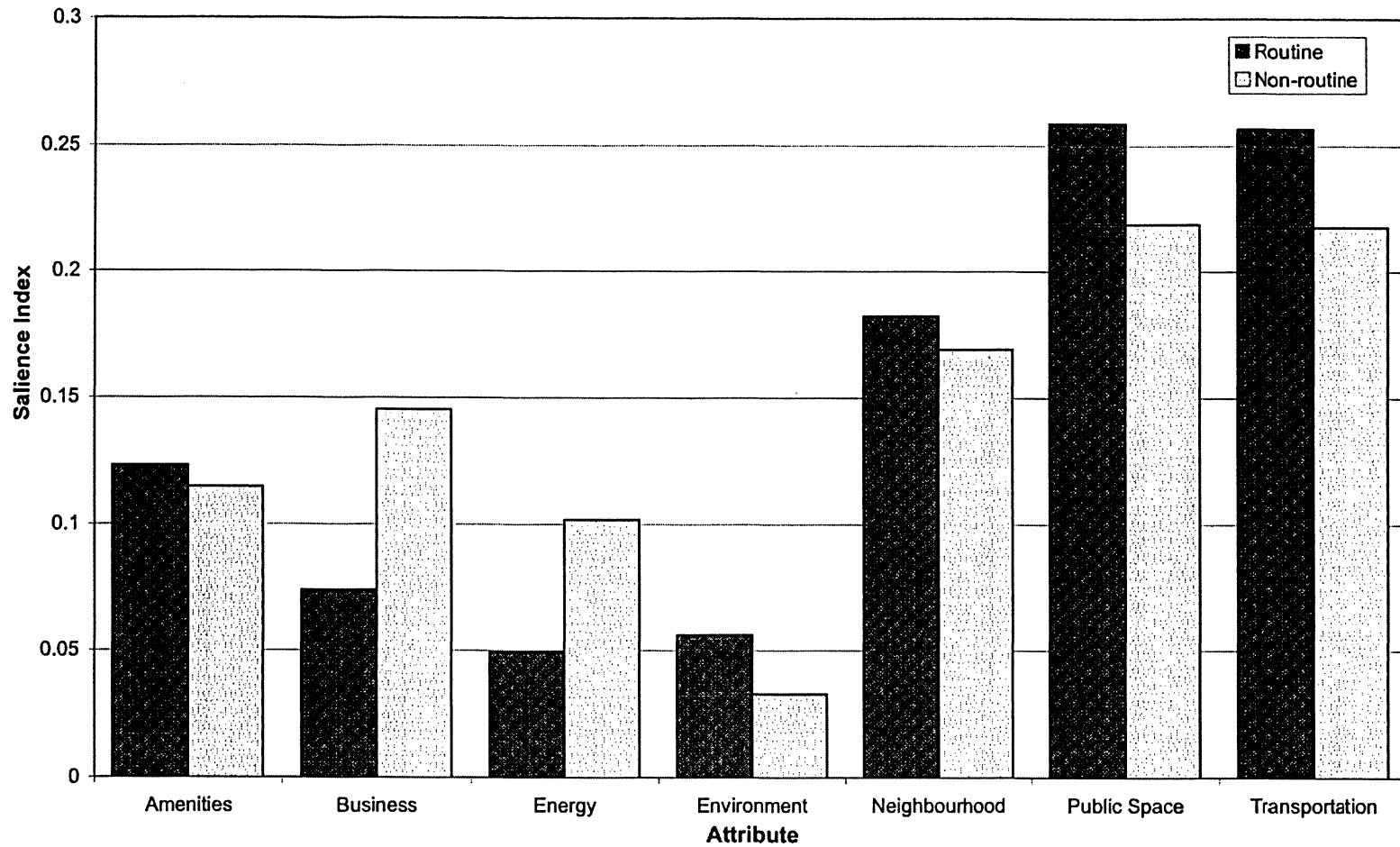




Figure 5.6: Salience Comparison of Routine vs. Non-routine Information Channels

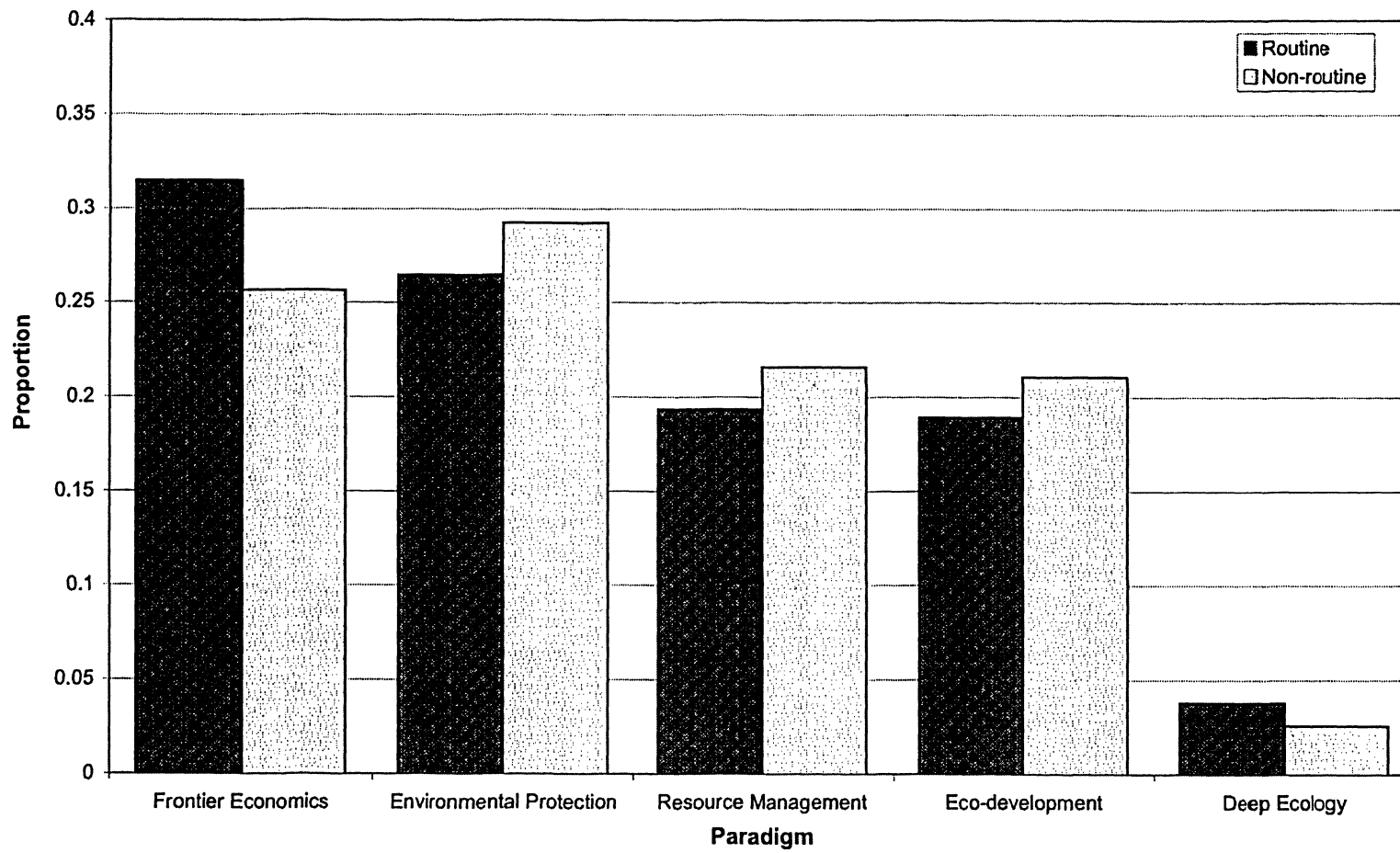


relatively equal among routine and non-routine stories, thus the salience is mainly controlled by the space allocated to a particular transportation or neighbourhood issue. In essence, because routine stories rely on story frames provided by the source, the allocation of space within an article is likewise controlled by the source wishing to emphasize certain issues. The official source not only controls what is news in routine stories, but also the importance of certain aspects of the news. Official sources providing routine news in waterfront development stories, therefore, increased the importance of development attributes such as transportation and neighbourhood issues by merely providing more commentary on these attributes.

Returning to Table 5.3, it is apparent that the perspective dimension of content diversity is not greater in non-routine stories. Both  $D_p$  and  $D_b$  scores are not higher for non-routine stories. According to Figure 5.7, the difference in paradigm distribution among the routine and non-routine stories is relatively small. One noticeable difference concerning the frontier economic paradigm is the slightly higher occurrence of this perspective in routine compared to non-routine stories. Hence the least environmentally progressive paradigm, the viewpoint most supportive of the dominant social paradigm, is most likely to be found in routine stories. The association of the “official” storyline provided through routine stories with an environmental management paradigm that sanctions and legitimizes the dominant social paradigm provides evidence of the hegemonic role of the press: by organizing news around routine (i.e., elite-driven) channels, viewpoints are reproduced that legitimize the economic and social structures that granted the elite their power. Conversely, non-routine stories are more likely to contain elements that challenge the dominant social paradigm, although the occurrence of resource management and eco-development paradigms are relatively low.

Even though non-routine stories exhibit a proportionately lower occurrence of the frontier economic paradigm than do routine stories, non-routine stories remain greatly biased toward the frontier economic paradigm overall. As illustrated in Figure 5.8, non-routine stories surpass routine stories in constructing frontier economics as a dominant paradigm in waterfront

Figure 5.7: Paradigm Comparison for Routine vs. Non-routine Information Channels

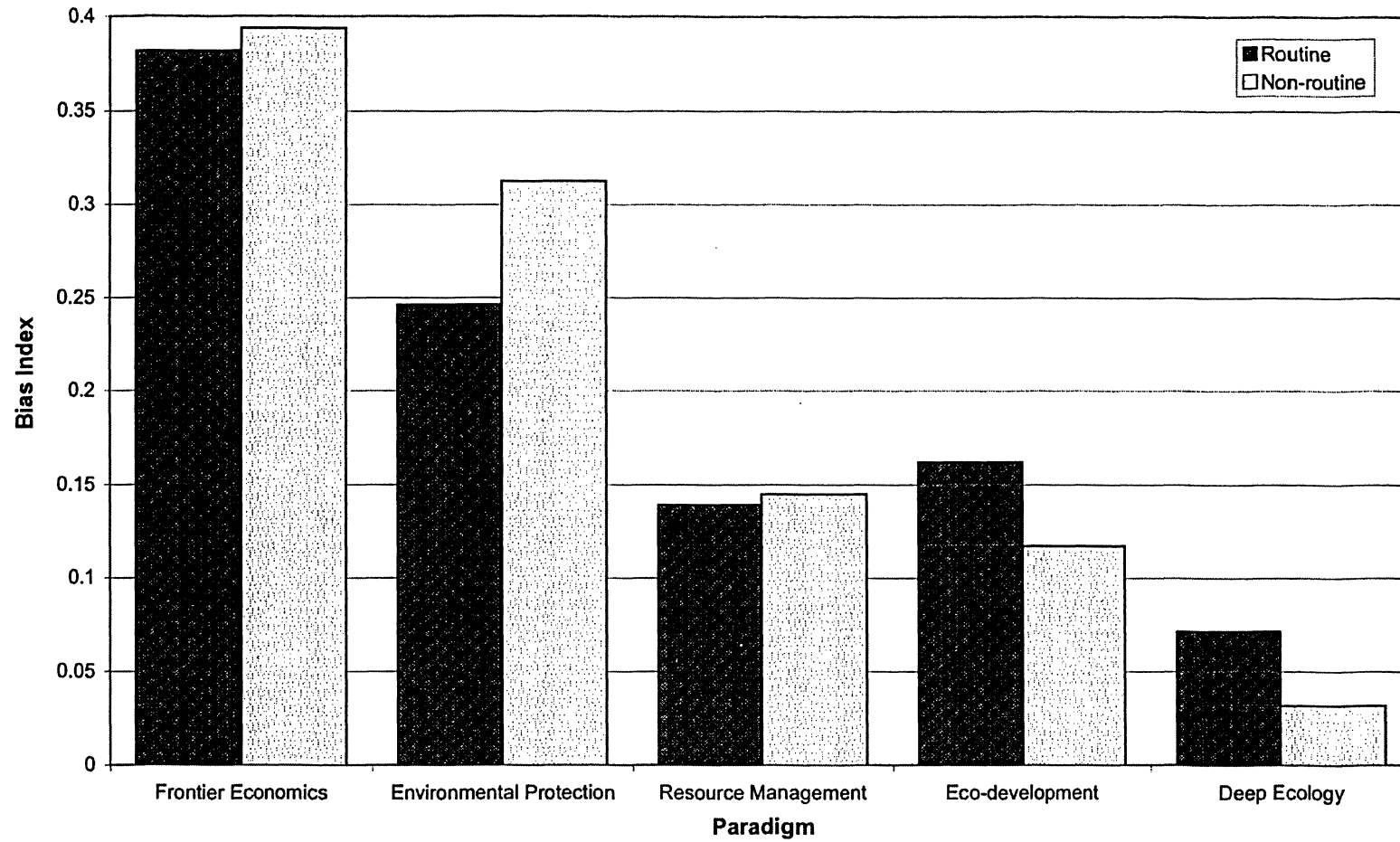


development stories. While non-routine stories emphasize frontier economics and environmental protection paradigms to an equivalent or greater degree than routine stories, the more environmentally progressive eco-development paradigm is found more often in routine stories (Figure 5.8). Reviewing the raw data, only a small portion (less than a quarter) of eco-development elements are brought into the story frame by official sources. Instead, either the news event itself is reflective of an eco-development perspective (such as an officially-sponsored conference on green building standards for waterfront development) or the journalist makes reference to an element of this perspective (such as a disparaging remark about big-box stores or suburban sprawl). Hence, even though official information subsidies form the basis of routine story frames, the information sources have no significant role in introducing environmentally progressive elements into waterfront development stories.

Another noteworthy phenomenon illustrated in Figure 5.7 is the presence of deep ecology paradigms: routine articles are more likely to contain elements of this paradigm than are non-routine stories. Although it would be expected that official storylines would exclude elements from this perspective, examining the raw data reveals that less than half of all environmental management elements present in routine stories originate from sources cited. As a large proportion of routine news is reported by columnists (due to the bureaucratic structure evolved to manage routine news), these columnists may feel more freedom to provide subjective commentary on events when coming through a routine channel, and thus introduce elements of more progressive environmental management perspectives like resource management or eco-development. Hence the greater relaxation of the journalistic norms such as “objectivity” and “impartiality” when commenting on routine news events allows journalists to bring in more progressive perspectives (i.e., more challenging to the status quo) when reporting on waterfront development.

Again, the results do not wholly confirm Hypothesis 2. Non-routine channels such as non-governmental meetings or interviews do tend to exhibit slightly greater diversity in

Figure 5.8: Bias Comparison for Routine vs. Non-routine Information Channels



attribute content, yet these channels are not necessarily more diverse in terms of perspectives presented. Like conflict, non-routine stories emphasize different attributes and perspectives than their routine counterparts. Also like conflict stories, the relation between channel of information and content diversity only holds true for attributes and not the environmental management perspectives contained within a story frame.

### 5.1.3 Hypothesis 3: Source diversity is an appropriate proxy for content diversity

A particularly relevant issue to be addressed, therefore, is whether source diversity is an appropriate indicator of content diversity: do a greater number of sources result in a broader story frame? Many studies implicitly accept source diversity as a proxy for content diversity, positing an increase in non-elite access to newspapers broadens news story frames by allowing space to voices that challenge hegemony (Major & Atwood, 2004; Berkowitz & Beach, 1993; Brown et al. 1987; Reis, 1999; Entman, 1985; Kasoma & Maier, 2005). Yet Lewis (2000) found that although environmental organizations were cited almost as often as government sources, the majority of all sources provided the same commentary on sustainable development that did not challenge the relevance of the concept's equation of economic development to environmental health. Further, Voakes et al. (1996) rejected source diversity as an appropriate indicator of content diversity. The results of this study provide an explanation for the conflicting assertions in literature, because while attribute diversity does vary with source mix, perspective diversity does not.

Based on values in Tables 5.2 and 5.3, when the number of different source types cited is large (i.e., in conflict and/or non-routine stories), the higher the values of  $D_a$  and  $D_s$ . Thus the greater the source mix, the broader the range in attributes discussed and constructed as important. Conversely,  $D_p$  and  $D_b$  exhibit no consistent relationship to source mix: greater source mix in conflict stories and non-routine stories results in equal or lower  $D_p$  and  $D_b$  values. This is a significant finding, as giving voice to a greater proportion of "ordinary" sources or otherwise demonstrating a greater source mix *does not* affect the range of viewpoints presented in a media text. Although conflict stories have a greater portion of advocacy groups and citizens cited, and non-routine stories rely on experts and private institutions more often, the incorporation of these diverse source types does not necessarily result in the inclusion of unique perspectives that

question or challenge the dominant social paradigm's understanding of environmental management. Further, the fact that neither  $D_b$  nor  $D_p$  vary uniformly (i.e., consistently display better or equal diversity) with source mix when compared across conflict and routine stories provides evidence to support the findings of Voakes et al. (1996) that source diversity is "different" from content diversity.

Aligned with the findings of Hypotheses 1 and 2, Hypothesis 3 is both confirmed and refuted by these results. The attribute dimension of content diversity does vary with source mix, where a more diverse source mix results in a more even distribution in attribute frequency and salience. Conversely, perspective diversity is not related to source mix, and the number of source types cited is not a useful indicator of this dimension of content diversity.

#### 5.1.4 Summary - Hypotheses Concerning Story Characteristics

The results of testing the three hypotheses reveal a significant finding: while the surface aspects of content diversity (i.e., attribute diversity) behave according to conventional wisdom, the implicit aspects (i.e., perspective diversity) do not. Attribute diversity is enhanced in stories that contain conflict and/or originate from non-routine channels of information, and there is evidence that source mix may contribute to this diversity. Researchers concerned with the types of issues presented in print media stories are well served by relying on existing media studies literature. The researcher concerned with tracing viewpoints that challenge the dominant social paradigm, however, should be wary of utilizing findings from literature founded on the assertion that conflict, information channel and source mix exert control over content. In essence, perspectives vary independently, regardless of the presence of conflict, the information source and the variety of sources cited.

## 5.2 Results – Hypotheses Concerning Newspaper Characteristics

As the first layer of analysis has uncovered the significance of attribute and perspective aspects of content diversity, the influence of norms on content diversity is the focus of the following section. Overall diversity scores are provided in individual tables concurrent with each subsection (i.e., Tables 5.6 - 5.13), and individual frequency, salience and bias values

exhibited by each of the eight newspapers are contained in Tables 5.4 and 5.5. To determine whether newspaper conventionality, size and ownership affect content, statistical randomization tests were executed for the various groupings of newspaper stories. Appropriate in cases with small population sizes, the use of this non-parametric test avoids the errors arising from assumptions of a normal distribution for a population size of eight (Siegal, 1956; Gibbons, 1971). Randomization tests calculate the possibility of a particular population grouping occurring due to chance, and Siegel (1956:152-156) provides a full description of how this test is executed. The application of randomization tests to detect differences in media content is somewhat limited by the small population size of eight newspapers from which groupings of conventionality, size and ownership are based. Maintaining a minimum rejection level of 0.05 is an unnecessarily strict level of rigor, where sensitivity to a small population size may lead to erroneous rejection of hypotheses. Subsequently, for the purposes of this study, differences are considered “significant” at the 0.1 level. Specific results from the randomization tests are provided in tables accompanying each subsection (i.e., Tables 5.6, 5.8, 5.10, and 5.11). Both randomization tests and data collected are analyzed to test the validity of hypotheses that posit newspaper conventionality, size and ownership have an affect on news content.

#### 5.2.1 Hypothesis 4: Waterfront development stories in alternative newspapers differ in content from mainstream newspapers

As evident from Table 5.6, waterfront development stories in alternative papers do not significantly differ from stories in mainstream newspapers. Neither the overall diversity values (i.e.,  $D_a$ ,  $D_s$ ,  $D_p$  and  $D_b$ ), nor the frequency and bias values for particular paradigms vary according to conventionality of the newspaper. These findings appear aligned with those of Kenix (2005) who found no difference in the way the issue of air pollution was constructed in mainstream, African-American and other alternative press. Consequently, the similarity in content between alternative and mainstream waterfront development stories may also be due to the homogenizing effect of advertisers identified by Kenix (2005); that is, Toronto’s alternative media may orient their content to white, middle class reader to increase the attractiveness of their paper to advertisers, instead of shaping stories to serve the alienated counter-hegemonic reader. Only one specific attribute, public space, was constructed differently in alternative papers when compared to their counterpart (significant at 0.08 according to Table 5.6).



Table 5.4: Individual Frequency and Salience Values for Attributes Appearing in Each Newspaper

Attribute	Frequency							
	<i>Bulletin</i>	<i>Crier</i>	<i>Eye</i>	<i>Globe</i>	<i>Mirror</i>	<i>Now</i>	<i>Post</i>	<i>Star</i>
Amenities	16%	7%	4%	13%	0%	9%	14%	14%
Business	9%	7%	8%	7%	9%	11%	9%	11%
Energy	1%	33%	8%	3%	21%	0%	0%	2%
Environment	6%	0%	0%	6%	6%	14%	9%	10%
Neighbourhood	18%	7%	19%	22%	12%	17%	24%	16%
Public Space	22%	20%	27%	28%	36%	26%	26%	29%
Transportation	28%	27%	35%	21%	15%	23%	18%	18%

Attribute	Salience							
	<i>Bulletin</i>	<i>Crier</i>	<i>Eye</i>	<i>Globe</i>	<i>Mirror</i>	<i>Now</i>	<i>Post</i>	<i>Star</i>
Amenities	0.19	0.02	0.01	0.12	0	0.19	0.12	0.13
Business	0.09	0.09	0.08	0.06	0.14	0.18	0.13	0.12
Energy	0.04	0.35	0.1	0.06	0.33	0	0	0.05
Environment	0.03	0	0	0.03	0.09	0.07	0.07	0.06
Neighbourhood	0.17	0.02	0.21	0.21	0.05	0.11	0.34	0.15
Public Space	0.16	0.18	0.12	0.23	0.27	0.12	0.20	0.30
Transportation	0.32	0.33	0.48	0.29	0.12	0.33	0.14	0.19

Table 5.5: Individual Frequency and Bias Values for Paradigms Appearing in Each Newspaper

Paradigm	Frequency							
	<i>Bulletin</i>	<i>Crier</i>	<i>Eye</i>	<i>Globe</i>	<i>Mirror</i>	<i>Now</i>	<i>Post</i>	<i>Star</i>
Frontier Economics	18%	35%	22%	29%	28%	26%	47%	29%
Environmental Protection	25%	18%	28%	26%	34%	30%	20%	30%
Resource Management	25%	35%	28%	16%	28%	26%	13%	19%
Eco-development	33%	12%	17%	24%	7%	13%	13%	20%
Deep Ecology	0%	0%	6%	5%	3%	4%	7%	2%

Paradigm	Bias							
	<i>Bulletin</i>	<i>Crier</i>	<i>Eye</i>	<i>Globe</i>	<i>Mirror</i>	<i>Now</i>	<i>Post</i>	<i>Star</i>
Frontier Economics	0.15	0.33	0.21	0.43	0.52	0.15	0.57	0.24
Environmental Protection	0.36	0.17	0.37	0.17	0.26	0.46	0.20	0.43
Resource Management	0.28	0.51	0.22	0.12	0.19	0.22	0.06	0.09
Eco-development	0.22	0	0.20	0.14	0.02	0.04	0.15	0.23
Deep Ecology	0	0	0.02	0.15	0.01	0.14	0.02	0.02

Alternative newspapers were less likely to construct public space as a salient issue in waterfront development stories. The construction of public space as a less salient attribute by alternative papers is apparent in Table 5.5 – whereas both *Eye* and *Now* exhibit median values in terms of number of public space mentions, these two newspapers display low salience values for the same attribute. Examining the elements which comprise salience – frequency, space allocation and prominence – alternative newspapers never place public space issues in a prominent position at the top of an article and only 37% of public space issues are relegated more than a passing mention. In contrast, mainstream newspapers place public space issues in a prominent position 27% of the times mentioned and half of all mentions are allotted a fair amount of space. Based on the literature reviewed, it would be expected that alternative media

Table 5.6: Alternative versus Mainstream Newspapers\*

Measure	Significantly Different**?	
Overall Diversity		
D <sub>a</sub> - Diversity of attribute classes	-	
D <sub>s</sub> - Diversity of salience among attribute classes	-	
D <sub>p</sub> - Diversity of perspective classes	-	
D <sub>b</sub> - Diversity of bias among perspective classes	-	
Attributes	Frequency	Salience
Amenities	-	-
Business	-	-
Energy	-	-
Environment	-	-
Neighbourhood	-	-
Public Space	-	Yes (0.08)
Transportation	-	-
Paradigms	Frequency	Bias
Frontier Economics	-	-
Environmental Protection	-	-
Resource Management	-	-
Eco-development	-	-
Deep Ecology	-	-

\*: Alternative newspapers are the *Eye* and *Now*. Mainstream newspapers are the *Bulletin*, *Crier*, *Globe*, *Mirror*, *Post*, and *Star*.

\*\*: If populations are significantly different, level of significance is provided in parentheses.

apply different news values in selecting and representing news events; yet a difference in the application of journalistic norms would be expected to result in differences among a variety of issues, not solely one attribute. To speculate on why alternative newspapers may de-emphasize parks, pedestrian trails and other spaces in their news stories, it may be that the value of these features are already “accepted” in urban planning as important, and alternative media prefers to focus on aspects of waterfront development that are less widely accepted as important, crusading for attributes that have otherwise been subordinated in planning (such as affordable housing).

A somewhat unexpected result is that individual environmental management perspectives do not differ significantly between alternative and mainstream news stories. It would be expected that alternative media – both in the journalists employed and the sources relied upon – would contain a greater proportion of eco-development and deep ecology perspectives, as elements of these perspectives tend to be subverted in the mainstream press (Major & Atwood, 2004). Both *Eye* and *Now* do not have the highest frequency values for eco-development or deep ecology (Table 5.6). *Eye* has a relatively high bias score for the eco-development perspective, and *Now* has a comparatively high bias score for the deep ecology perspective, both alternative papers are most biased in ways that favour the less progressive environmental protection paradigm. Contrary to what would be otherwise expected, the different set of news values used to select and shape stories, the different range of sources consulted for information and the differing aim of wishing to “change the world” does not result in waterfront development stories that give voice to marginalized environmental management perspectives, at least in the case of Toronto’s alternative press. Another explanation is that Toronto’s self-proclaimed “alternative” press does not seek to serve a counter-hegemonic public. Instead, the *Eye* and *Now* may define “alternative” according to the age of their reader (e.g., catering to a specific young market), the proportion of political versus entertainment news offered in their stories (e.g., devoting more coverage to entertainment news) or the types of entertainment news coverage provided (e.g., focusing on “alternative” music and films as opposed to pop music or mainstream films). Regardless as to the way Toronto’s alternative press defines itself, the key finding is that the counter-hegemonic public in Toronto do not have a local source of waterfront development stories that truly reflects a variety of viewpoints.

According to data in Table 5.7, alternative newspapers do not have a uniform tendency to present more conflict stories, rely on non-routine reporting, or use a greater number of different source types in their articles, any of which may have resulted in greater attribute diversity in their waterfront development stories. As the representation of waterfront development attributes in alternative papers differ only in how public space is constructed as salient, and alternative papers do not differ from mainstream papers at all in terms of environmental management perspectives, the hypothesis that conventionality affects content diversity therefore has been largely disproved.

Table 5.7: Characteristics of Alternative and Mainstream Newspapers

<b>Paper</b>	<b>Proportion of Conflict Stories</b>	<b>Proportion of Non-Routine Stories</b>	<b>Source Mix*</b>
<b>Alternative</b>			
<i>Eye</i>	18%	36%	1.9
<i>Now</i>	40%	27%	1.8
<b>Mainstream</b>			
<i>Bulletin</i>	23%	59%	1.9
<i>Crier</i>	27%	29%	2.1
<i>Globe</i>	22%	47%	1.7
<i>Mirror</i>	37%	32%	2.0
<i>Post</i>	34%	29%	2.0
<i>Star</i>	36%	38%	1.6

\*: Source mix excludes unnamed sources

#### 5.2.2 Hypothesis 5: Waterfront development stories in small urban newspapers differ in content from large urban newspapers

Similar to conventionality, data contained in Tables 5.4 and 5.5 do not exhibit many differences between small and large newspapers. Stories in small papers do not differ from large papers in either overall diversity ( $D_a$ ,  $D_s$ ,  $D_p$  and  $D_b$ ) or particular attribute frequency and salience (Table 5.8). The only aspect in which story frames in small papers differ from large papers is the emphasis on resource management paradigms.

Waterfront development stories in small newspapers are not only more likely to contain elements of the resource management perspective, but they are also more likely to construct resource management elements as dominant when they appear (both frequency and bias

Table 5.8: Small versus Large Newspapers\*

Measure	Significantly Different***?	
Overall Diversity		
D <sub>a</sub> - Diversity of attribute classes	-	
D <sub>s</sub> - Diversity of salience among attribute classes	-	
D <sub>p</sub> - Diversity of perspective classes	-	
D <sub>b</sub> - Diversity of bias among perspective classes	-	
Attributes	Frequency	Salience
Amenities	-	-
Business	-	-
Energy	-	-
Environment	-	-
Neighbourhood	-	-
Public Space	-	-
Transportation	-	-
Paradigms	Frequency	Bias
Frontier Economics	-	-
Environmental Protection	-	-
Resource Management	Yes (0.05)	Yes (0.05)
Eco-development	-	-
Deep Ecology	-	-

\*: Small newspapers are the *Bulletin*, *Crier*, *Eye*, *Mirror*, and *Now*. Large newspapers are the *Globe*, *Post*, and *Star*.

\*\*: If populations are significantly different, the level of significance is provided in parentheses.

differences are significant at 0.05 according to Table 5.8). Values in Table 5.5 reflect the *Post*, *Globe* and *Star* as exhibiting the lowest percent frequency among all newspapers in the resource management category, and also exhibiting correspondingly lower bias index values. But while small papers are more likely to include resource management perspectives in their story frames, they also have a more narrow focus that is limited to mainly environmental assessment elements of this perspective. The element of environmental impact assessments is overwhelmingly the dominant resource management element in small newspapers, evidenced in discussions of how waterfront development proposals require these assessments before proceeding to implementation. Small newspapers also provide background information on the environmental assessment process (e.g., how to prepare an environmental assessment, the flaws of the

environmental assessment process, steps in an environmental assessment). Large papers mention resource management perspectives less frequently, but are more likely to contain other resource management elements in their story frames, such as the role of green industries in revitalizing the economy. Whereas small papers focus on environmental assessments in the context of energy or transportation issues, large papers also include discussions of flood protection and soil remediation assessments. The narrow focus on specific environmental assessment elements of the resource management perspective suggests the pervasiveness of this paradigm in small newspapers may be due to the types of issues covered. According to Table 5.5, energy is a frequently occurring issue in small papers like the *Crier*, *Mirror* and to a lesser degree *Now*. The controversy over building a power plant in the Port Lands is especially suited to the resource management perspective, as story frames encompass the impacts of construction and operation of the plant. Yet the pervasiveness of the resource management paradigm cannot be completely explained by the popularity of energy issues, as coverage of this attribute in small newspapers was not found to be significantly different than coverage in large newspapers.

Examining the effect of norms on small versus large newspapers, small papers do not consistently present less conflict, rely more heavily on non-routine channels of information or have a greater source mix than large newspapers (refer to Table 5.9). The similarities between waterfront development stories in small and large newspapers provides further evidence to support the assertions of Jeffers et al. (1991) that urban newspapers are not more likely to avoid conflict reporting, and agree with Voakes et al.'s (1996) assessment that overall source mix and viewpoint diversity do not vary greatly among small and large papers. The only significant difference exhibited by small newspapers is thus their tendency to favour resource management perspectives (in terms of both frequency and bias); however, even small papers are oriented toward frontier economic and environmental protection most often. Further, examination of the actual resource management elements presented by small papers demonstrates small papers perpetuate a very narrow focus on environmental assessment elements. This hypothesis has largely been refuted, as size does not result in significant content differences between small and large newspapers.

Table 5.9: Characteristics of Small and Large Newspapers

Paper	Proportion of Conflict Stories	Proportion of Non-Routine Stories	Source Mix*
Small			
<i>Bulletin</i>	23%	59%	1.9
<i>Crier</i>	27%	29%	2.1
<i>Eye</i>	18%	36%	1.9
<i>Mirror</i>	37%	32%	2.0
<i>Now</i>	40%	27%	1.8
Large			
<i>Globe</i>	22%	47%	1.7
<i>Post</i>	34%	29%	2.0
<i>Star</i>	36%	38%	1.6

\*: Source mix excludes unnamed sources

### 5.2.3 Hypothesis 6: Waterfront development stories in independent newspapers differ in content from those in group-owned newspapers

This study defined the grouping of newspapers according to ownership in two ways: for one set of randomization tests, all group-owned papers were tests against independent papers, and the second set of tests compared newspapers owned by the Torstar Corporation to non-Torstar affiliates. Randomization test results summarized in Tables 5.10 and 5.11 indicate that ownership influences overall diversity in only one case: Torstar newspapers display significantly different diversity in terms of attribute salience when compared to non-Torstar affiliates (significant at 0.08). A directional relationship for *Eye*, *Mirror* and *Star*  $D_s$  values in Table 5.4 is not evident. Torstar papers are not more homogeneous or heterogeneous than non-Torstar newspapers when constructing salience among attributes, the two populations are merely different. It is difficult to speculate why Torstar papers differ from non-Torstar papers in this respect, especially as only the distribution of attribute salience (and not frequency) appears to be affected. This finding deserves further study to determine what specific aspects of salience construction are common to Torstar papers which is beyond the scope of the current analysis.

In addition to salience similarities, Torstar papers specifically and group-owned papers generally are more likely to mention public space as an attribute of waterfront development (significant at 0.08 for Torstar, 0.05 for group-owned populations). This propensity for group-owned papers to include public space attributes in their news stories signals a common



Table 5.10: Independent versus Group-Owned Newspapers\*

Measure	Significantly Different***?	
Overall Diversity		
D <sub>a</sub> - Diversity of attribute classes	-	
D <sub>s</sub> - Diversity of salience among attribute classes	-	
D <sub>p</sub> - Diversity of perspective classes	-	
D <sub>b</sub> - Diversity of bias among perspective classes	-	
Attributes	Frequency	Salience
Amenities	-	-
Business	-	-
Energy	-	-
Environment	-	-
Neighbourhood	-	-
Public Space	Yes (0.05)	-
Transportation	-	-
Paradigms	Frequency	Bias
Frontier Economics	-	-
Environmental Protection	-	-
Resource Management	-	Yes (0.1)
Eco-development	-	-
Deep Ecology	-	-

\*: Independent newspapers are *the Bulletin*, *Crier* and *Now*. Group-owned newspapers are the *Eye*, *Globe*, *Mirror*, *Post*, and *Star*.

\*\* : If populations are significantly different ,the level of significance is provided in parentheses.

gatekeeping protocol that recognizes public space as an newsworthy issue, whereas independent papers do not appear to assign the same news value to this attribute. In addition to mentioning public space attributes more frequently, group-owned papers also display the greatest variety of specific public space features. While 59% of all public space attribute occurrences in independent papers emphasize green parks and beaches, group-owned papers discuss a wider range of public space elements such as winter gardens, public plazas, civic squares, and pedestrian and bike trails. Hence group-owned papers are not only more likely to present public space as an attribute of waterfront development, but their public space story frames are more broadly defined than those in independent papers.

Table 5.11: Torstar versus Non-Torstar Newspapers\*

Measure	Significantly Different***?	
Overall Diversity		
D <sub>a</sub> - Diversity of attribute classes	-	
D <sub>s</sub> - Diversity of salience among attribute classes	Yes (0.08)	
D <sub>p</sub> - Diversity of perspective classes	-	
D <sub>b</sub> - Diversity of bias among perspective classes	-	
Attributes	Frequency	Salience
Amenities	-	-
Business	-	-
Energy	-	-
Environment	-	-
Neighbourhood	-	-
Public Space	Yes (0.08)	-
Transportation	-	-
Paradigms	Frequency	Bias
Frontier Economics	-	-
Environmental Protection	-	-
Resource Management	-	-
Eco-development	-	-
Deep Ecology	-	-

\*: Torstar newspapers are *the Eye, Mirror and Star*. Non-Torstar newspapers are the *Bulletin, Crier, Globe, Now and Post*.

\*\* : If populations are significantly different ,the level of significance is provided in parentheses.

Examining whether ownership affects the frequency and/or bias of an individual paradigm, randomization tests yielded a significant difference in terms of resource management: independent papers are more likely to be biased toward resource management when this perspective appears in a news story (significant at 0.1, not significant for sub-grouping of Torstar newspapers). Although relatively weak, this relationship is interesting in that the resource management paradigm is most closely aligned with providing the public with controversial and mobilizing information. As discussed previously, the most popular aspect of the resource management paradigm among all waterfront development stories is the environmental assessment element, as discussions surround both the process and the results of impact assessments carried out for various proposals. While both group-owned and independent papers

contain resource management perspectives, this perspective is dominant in 68% of the stories when analyzing independent papers compared to a dominance of 23% in group-owned newspapers. The differing bias levels among group-owned and independent papers is perhaps due to each population's overall aim, as Demers and Wackman (1988) found editors at independent papers were likely to mention community service as an objective of their organization and would thereby be expected to provide more mobilizing information. Contrastingly, Demers and Wackman found editors at group-owned newspapers were more likely to mention profit as their organization's objective, and thus it would be expected that more emphasis on orienting content in ways that do not alienate potential advertisers or readers. The orientation toward community service may account for the *Crier*, *Bulletin* and *Now* newspapers' relatively high resource management bias scores: in their goal of serving the community, information about the environmental process is emphasized to encourage public participation in proceedings, and empower residents to become involved with waterfront development planning.

Reviewing the conflict, information channel and source mix variables for independent newspapers presented in Tables 5.12 and 5.13, these papers do not exhibit a greater proportion of conflict or non-routine stories when compared to group-owned papers, and source mix values are fairly similar across all papers. Likewise, Torstar affiliates the *Eye*, *Mirror* and *Star* do not emerge as similar in terms of source mix or conflict; however, Torstar affiliates do have a relatively narrow range of variation in terms of non-routine stories. The portion of non-routine stories varies from 32-38% among Torstar affiliates, whereas non-Torstar newspapers vary more widely from 22-59% (Table 5.13). Further investigation is required to determine whether it is a common practice among all Torstar papers to allocate approximately one-third of their budget to covering non-routine news events, which may account for the close range of 32-38% of their waterfront development stories being drawn from non-routine information channels.

In summary, it appears that ownership exerts influence on content. Overall salience, public space issues, resource management perspectives and non-routine stories all seem to vary in relation to ownership. Although the Torstar group differs from non-Torstar newspapers in terms of attribute salience, it is difficult to surmise the motive or implications of this relationship.

Table 5.12: Characteristics of Independent and Group-Owned Newspapers

Paper	Proportion of Conflict Stories	Proportion of Non-Routine Stories	Source Mix*
Independent			
<i>Bulletin</i>	23%	59%	1.9
<i>Crier</i>	27%	29%	2.1
<i>Now</i>	40%	27%	1.8
Group-Owned			
<i>Eye</i>	18%	36%	1.9
<i>Globe</i>	22%	47%	1.7
<i>Mirror</i>	37%	32%	2.0
<i>Post</i>	34%	29%	2.0
<i>Star</i>	36%	38%	1.6

\*: Source mix excludes unnamed sources

Table 5.13: Characteristics of Torstar and Non-Torstar Newspapers

Paper	Proportion of Conflict Stories	Proportion of Non-Routine Stories	Source Mix*
Torstar			
<i>Eye</i>	18%	36%	1.9
<i>Mirror</i>	37%	32%	2.0
<i>Star</i>	36%	38%	1.6
Non-Torstar			
<i>Bulletin</i>	23%	59%	1.9
<i>Crier</i>	27%	29%	2.1
<i>Globe</i>	22%	47%	1.7
<i>Now</i>	40%	27%	1.8
<i>Post</i>	34%	29%	2.0

\*: Source mix excludes unnamed sources

In terms of individual attributes, group-owned papers (including the Torstar subset) are more likely to mention public space features in their waterfront development stories, and also exhibit a decreased tendency to be biased toward the resource management perspective when compared to independent papers. Torstar papers also exhibit similar proportions of non-routine reporting. Yet the hypothesis that ownership leads to different content in independent versus group-owned papers cannot be completely confirmed, as the majority of characteristics measured (e.g.,  $D_a$ ,  $D_p$ , all individual attributes expect public space and all individual paradigms except resource management) are *not* significantly different. These findings both confirm and refute the sixth hypothesis, a conclusion that aligns with the ambiguity of the literature focusing on the affect of ownership on media content.

#### 5.2.4 Summary – Hypotheses Concerning Newspaper Characteristics

Differences based on conventionality, size and ownership of an individual newspaper provide evidence that coverage of waterfront development in Toronto's print media is not entirely monolithic. Reviewing the degree to which newspapers exhibit similar proportions of conflict or non-routine stories reinforces the lack of uniformity across newspaper groupings, as only Torstar affiliates exhibit similar values with respect to non-routine stories and all other conventionality, size and ownership grouping reflect no commonality in terms of conflict or routine stories. Also, source mix values are relatively equivalent among all eight newspapers, thus conventionality, size and ownership characteristics do not appear to affect source mix.

As no differences in overall  $D_a$ ,  $D_s$ ,  $D_p$  and  $D_b$  were detected following the execution of various randomization tests based on conventionality, size and ownership groupings, the content diversity of waterfront development stories does not appear to be controlled by specific newspaper norms. To extrapolate, systematic influences based on conventionality, size and ownership are not the sole determinant of content that may or may not be supportive of hegemony. That is, attributes and perspectives that are aligned with or opposed to competitive city constructs are not controlled by journalistic, organizational or economic norms, but are most likely affected by ideological norms. If journalistic norms exerted influence, it would be expected that alternative and mainstream papers would exhibit different content; if organizational norms controlled content, it would be expected that independent papers would

exhibit different coverage than group-owned papers, and if economic norms were a prevalent influence it would be expected that small papers would exhibit different content compared to large newspapers. The only aspects of waterfront development frames that truly appear controlled by the conventionality, size and ownership characteristics of a newspaper are public space issues and resource management perspectives; hence, the majority of attributes and perspectives contained within waterfront development stories are controlled by ideological norms. The following section explores whether these ideological norms are aligned with the hegemonic construct of the competitive city.

### 5.3 The Competitive City and Toronto's Media

Amalgamating all stories into one group is appropriate as randomization tests show groups of stories from various newspapers differ in only one individual attribute (i.e., public space) or one particular paradigm (i.e., resource management). This section focuses on the attributes and paradigms presented by all waterfront development stories, regardless of newspaper classification based on conventionality, size or ownership, and regardless of channel of information or whether the story contains conflict. First, the competitive city ideal is explored in relation to the attributes presented in waterfront development stories; next, the perspectives contained in story frames are examined to determine their alignment with capitalist urbanization processes.

#### 5.3.1 Attributes and the Competitive City

If aligned with the competitive city, Toronto's print media would be expected to emphasize attributes that function to promote the waterfront as an ideal investment to business interests or an ideal living space for the new urban middle class. Also, media stories supportive of the competitive city would be expected to marginalize attributes associated with general public interest or social welfare. To determine whether waterfront development stories perpetuate the aims of the competitive city, individual attributes are explored with respect to competitive city characteristics as described by Kipfer and Keil (2002).

Business space and amenities attributes are most explicitly aligned with attracting investment to boost the competitiveness of Toronto. Establishing development projects that “brand” Toronto as an ideal location for work and play is a key features of the competitive city (Kipfer & Keil, 2002), therefore media support of the competitive city would be expected to highlight upscale restaurants, retail shops and well-paying corporate employers as well as cultural amenities. Yet reviewing the frequency and salience values for these two attributes depicted in Figures 5.9 and 5.10, it is apparent that Toronto’s print media does not emphasize either the upscale services and amenities meant to attract the new urban middle class or the businesses intended to employ them. It is also interesting to note that conflict stories exhibited a greater proportion of amenities and business space issues than non-conflict stories (Figures 5.1 and 5.2). Inferred from this finding, when controversy occurs, one of the viewpoints presented within media frames will tend to argue in favour of the economic benefits of development derived from amenities or business spaces. As only 30% of waterfront development stories contained conflict, the low ranking of amenities and business space in terms of frequency and salience may be due to the dominance of non-conflict stories. Regardless of the cause, these two attributes were not prevalent in waterfront development stories, and it does not appear that Toronto’s press felt compelled to “sell” their readers on the spectacular amenities or employment opportunities believed to make Toronto more competitive.

Although Toronto’s media did not stress the importance of cultural amenities and business spaces, waterfront development stories did emphasize new communities planned to house the urban middle class elite and their employers: the neighbourhood attribute is ranked third in terms of frequency and salience (Figures 5.9 and 5.10). This attribute encompasses the creation of communities offering “live-work” spaces, and stories generally focus on promoting the West Don Lands, East Bayfront and Port Lands as places for investment. The neighbourhood issue appears to be a particularly important concern of the hegemonic elite who foster the competitive city concept, and Figures 5.3 and 5.4 show that although non-routine stories mention neighbourhood attributes more frequently, routine stories reliant on official news conferences and press releases create the issue of neighbourhoods as more salient than their non-routine counterparts. The only other attribute to exhibit similar tendency to be constructed as

Figure 5.9: Overall Attribute Frequency

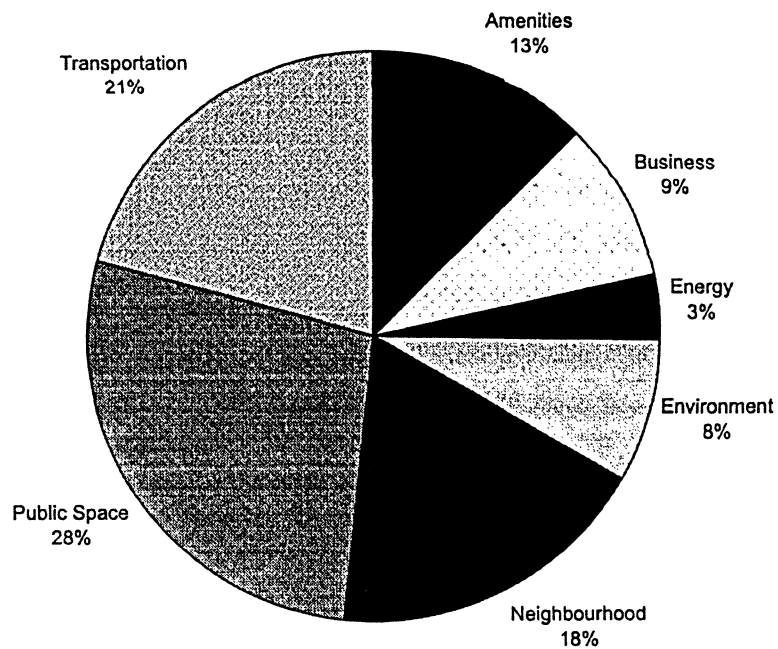
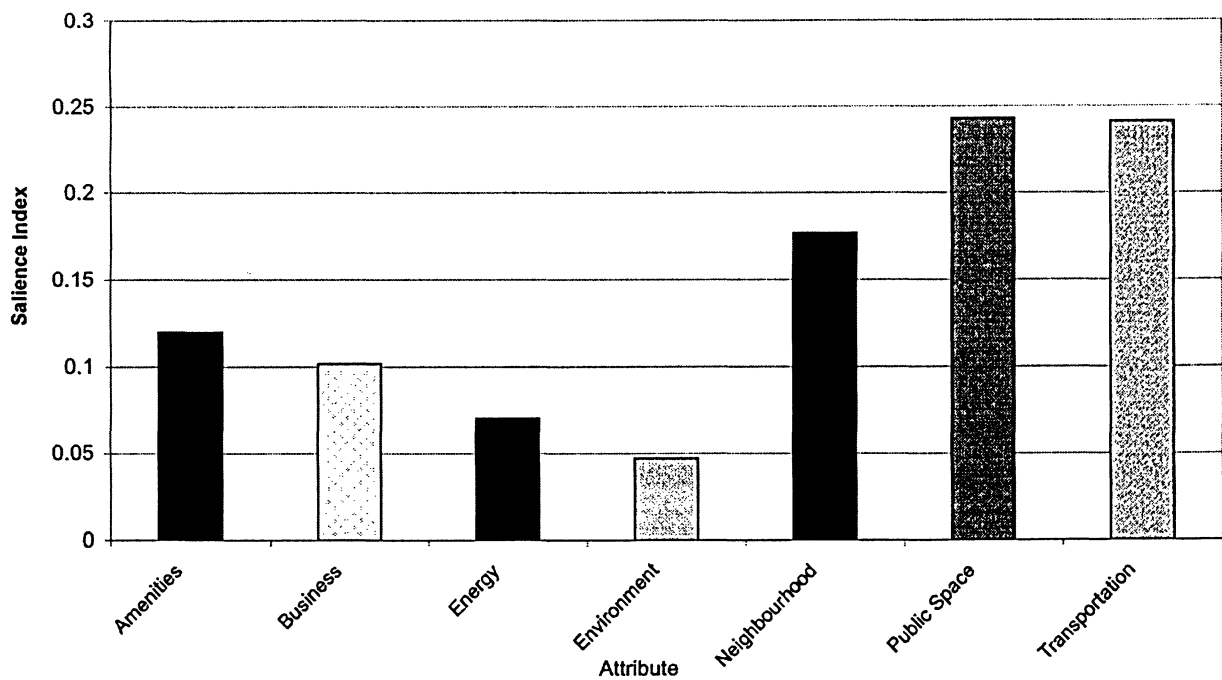


Figure 5.10: Overall Attribute Salience





more salient in routine stories when its frequency is greater in non-routine stories is the transportation issue. Thus both neighbourhoods and transportation issues are constructed as important by the official sources in routine stories, a salience construction that is disproportionate to the attribute's overall frequency.

The importance of neighbourhood and transportation issues to official sources can be attributed to their connection with the public interest; that is, these two issues encompass the elements of affordable housing and public transit. Examining the occurrence of these two social issues, it is apparent that they are subordinated to other, more entrepreneurial elements. Affordable housing commands only an 8% share of both total mentions and prominent placements among all neighbourhood attribute elements. Likewise, less than a quarter of all transportation attribute elements refer to public transit, and public transit received only a 10% share of all prominent placements. As discussed above, neighbourhood attributes are mainly presented in ways that promote the West Don Lands, East Bayfront and convergence district, thus de-emphasizing the issue of affordable housing. Although the neighbourhood attribute has been shown to reinforce the attractiveness of Toronto to the new urban middle class, the prominence of transportation issues such as the Gardiner Expressway demolition and the Island Airport expansion can be interpreted in two ways. These two issues can be understood as promoting investment in the competitive city (e.g., removal of the Gardiner Expressway increases the scenic views of the waterfront to promote the sale of waterfront condos to new urban middle class, airport expansion is an added convenience to the elite wishing to take day trips to power centres like Ottawa). Conversely, the prominence of these issues in media discourse may be due to newsmaking norms, as the Gardiner expressway demolition and the Island Airport expansion are among the most controversial waterfront development issues. A more detailed examination of the tone of news content surrounding these issues would provide insight into whether Toronto's media portrays these prominent transportation issues in ways that are supportive of the establishment of the new urban middle class, but this is beyond the scope of the current analysis. Nevertheless, these findings confirm the subordination of public transit and affordable housing among all transportation and neighbourhood issues, which aligns with the characteristics of a competitive city most concerned with attracting private investment.

Another aspect of urban planning subordinated within the competitive city is the environment. Kipfer and Keil (2002) show how environmental concerns are secondary to economic concerns in the competitive city, with promises of environmental remediation often tied to specific development and investment goals (i.e., successful competition allows the city to secure funding for environmental initiatives). Waterfront development discourse in the press certainly marginalizes the issue of the environment, for the environment is constructed as the least salient and among the least frequent of all development attributes (Figures 5.9 and 5.10). It is evident that just as the preoccupation of the competitive city with economic investment leads to the subordination of environmental concerns, so does Toronto's print media marginalize the issue of the environment when reporting on waterfront development stories.

Generally, the support of Toronto's print media for the competitive city is somewhat inconsistent. Issues regarding the environment, affordable housing and public transit were de-emphasized, although emphasis on amenities and business spaces is less than would be expected. Another area that reflects media support for the competitive city construct is the frequent mention and salient construction of the public space issue. According to Kipfer and Keil (2002), presenting the city as affording an abundance of "unique" public spaces signals a city wishing to compete for urban middle class investment. As illustrated in Figures 5.9 and 5.10, public space is among the most frequent and salient attribute in waterfront development stories. New green spaces proposed for Toronto's waterfront are described as "rivaling" Vancouver's Stanley Park or New York's Central Park, landscaping of pedestrian trails is tagged as bringing "Parisian elegance" to Toronto's streets (c.f., Mays, 2006; Bielski, 2006; Lorinc, 2005; Lewington, 2004c; Henderson, 2003) – a description of these green spaces which positions development as an issue of persuading investors and residents to redirect their attention away from Vancouver, New York and Paris and onto Toronto. Another example of how public space attributes are exploited by the press in ways that support the competitive city is the promotion of Cherry Beach as an opportunity for "cottage life" in the city. Stories that assert vacationers need not face the horrors of the weekend cottage commute but instead can swim and barbecue outdoors at a beach oasis conveniently located in downtown Toronto also ensure Toronto residents' dollars are likewise prevented from making a weekend exodus to cottage country. But this critical element in constructing the competitive city – the promotion of public space as a way to attract urban elite

investment – is also the only attribute where newspaper norms resulted in significant differences. Independent papers are less likely to mention public space as a waterfront development issue and alternative newspapers are less likely to construct public space as a salient issue when compared to their counterparts. The fact that of all attributes public space is the only feature of development that significantly varies among different newspaper populations is noteworthy, as public space is such an important characteristic of the competitive city's support of the capitalist urbanization process.

The different portrayal of public space among newspaper populations provides evidence that the differential balancing of norms *do* work to maintain heterogeneous content, where alternative and/or independent newspapers exhibit content that is less aligned with the competitive city. Conversely, the attribute content of mainstream and/or group-owned newspapers is constructed in ways more likely to reproduce and perpetuate aspects of waterfront development that support capitalist urbanization process. But the variance among newspaper characteristics is only limited to public space attributes, as all papers tend to subordinate non-economic issues like public transit, affordable housing and the environment. As the issues most closely associated with increasing urban elite investment (i.e., amenities, business spaces) do not receive the most emphasis in waterfront development stories, Toronto's print media are not wholly supportive of hegemony, as embodied by the competitive city concept.

### 5.3.2 Paradigms and the competitive city

Perspectives included in waterfront development stories are meaningful on two levels. First, the distribution of frequency and salience among the five environmental management paradigms provides an indicator of the degree to which news discourse is "environmentally progressive" (with frontier economics being the least progressive paradigm). Second, each perspective constructs different actors and processes as relevant in environmental decision making. As centralized decision making processes utilizing financialized criteria dissociate the public from urban planning in the competitive city (Kipfer & Keil, 2002), this section examines both the ways in which the environment is valued as well as how decision making is constructed by each perspective contained in waterfront development stories.

Frontier economics represents the quintessential entrepreneurial development process most closely aligned with the competitive city. As evident from Figures 5.11 and 5.12, frontier economics is also the paradigm which is among the most frequently mentioned and dominant of all five environmental management paradigms. Frontier economics presents decision making as a matter of properly assessing the waterfront as a real-estate asset. This “asset” is valued based on solely economic measures, such as market value upon sale or number of jobs resulting from development, instead of assessing the land’s worth in terms of aesthetic, spiritual or intrinsic value. Media stories that call for privatization of publicly-held lands to speed their development further reinforce the financialization of decision making, as private institutions are most concerned with financial criteria and not the social indicators often included in publicly-planned development. The simplification of decision making into a list of financial costs and benefits facilitates the efficiency of the decision making process by allowing development (i.e., capitalistic urbanization processes) to proceed more quickly. These frontier economic themes essentially denote one drive: to promote and attract business investment in the City of Toronto. Marginalized by this drive to attract investment are citizens excluded from decision making processes. Hence the frontier economic perspective exemplifies the hegemonic construct of the competitive city by reinforcing the benefits of financialized decision making in addition to perpetuating the subordination of citizen priorities in urban planning.

The marginalization of citizens from decision making processes is also supported by the environmental protection perspective reproduced in waterfront development stories. According to Figures 5.11 and 5.12, environmental protection is the second most dominant in frequency and bias, and is a particularly pervasive environmental management perspective in waterfront development articles. The central focus of stories containing environmental protection elements are discussions that crusade to centralize the decision making process by assigning power and responsibility to the Toronto Waterfront Revitalization Corporation (TWRC). As the TWRC is a quasi-government body run by private citizens (usually members of the capitalist elite), in campaigning to make waterfront planning the sole domain of the TWRC Toronto’s print media implicitly supports the shift of decision making powers from bureaucrats to private individuals. Within the TWRC, decision making itself is increasing “privatized” by the use of consultants

Figure 5.11: Overall Paradigm Frequency

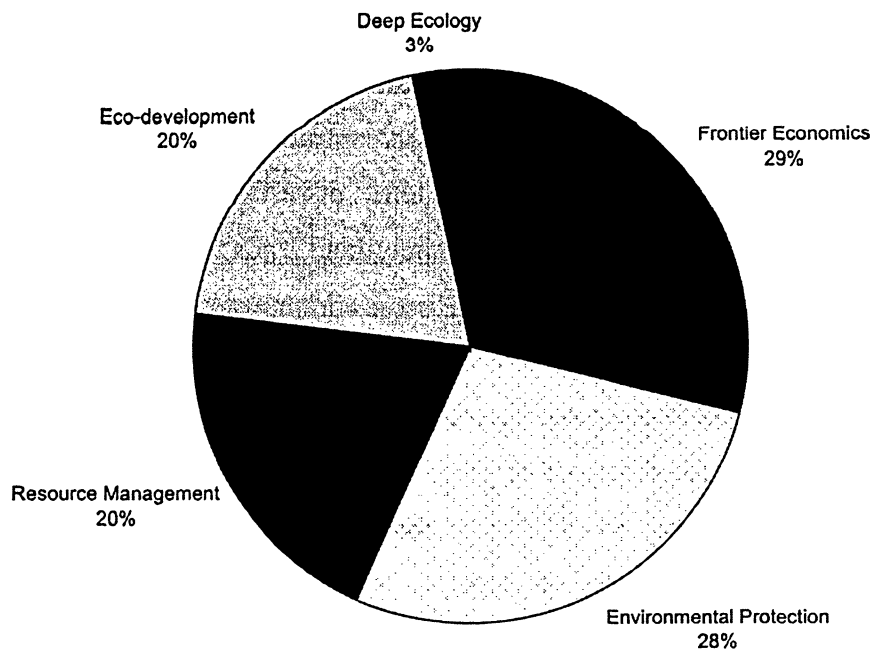
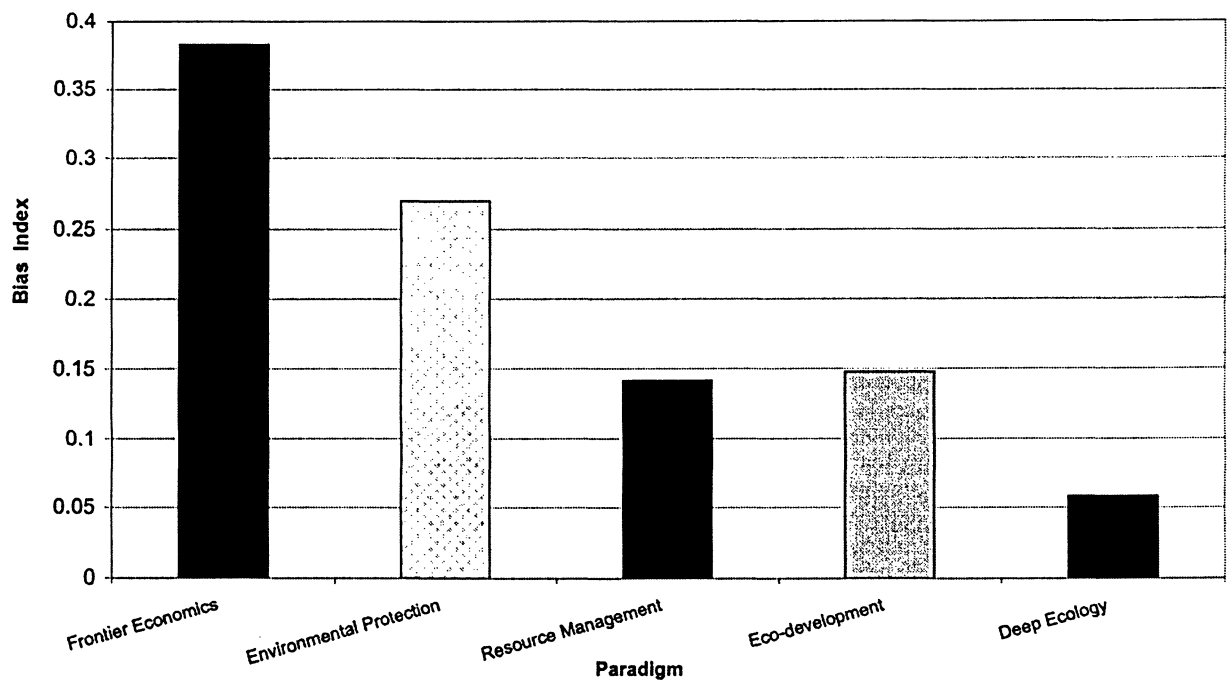


Figure 5.12: Overall Paradigm Bias



instead of bureaucrats. Thus waterfront development stories validate the removal of decision making from municipal government to a more ambiguous (and less publicly accountable) agency. The environmental protection perspective does not address issues related to citizen decision making for managing development is positioned as best handled by the “experts” at the TWRC. The pervasiveness of the environmental protection paradigm in waterfront development stories, therefore, not only suppresses concerns regarding the alienation of citizen priorities in decision making but also reinforces the position of the capitalist elite actors chosen to run the quasi-government agency. The use of the environmental protection perspective in Toronto’s media discourse is clearly aligned with the competitive city ideal of centralized decision making, resulting in the dissociation of the citizen from planning the waterfront as well as reinforcing the status of the urban elite chosen to run the TWRC.

Although dominance of frontier economic and environmental protection paradigms denotes alignment of story frames with entrepreneurial aspects of the competitive city, the resource management perspective somewhat challenges the dissociation of citizens from decision making. As discussed previously, the most dominant resource management elements focus on the environmental assessment process. Discussions that emphasize the assessment of environmental impacts implicitly construct the importance of public consultation in development processes, and highlight conflict between development proponents and opponents. But with respect to this potentially insurgent environmental management perspective, not all of Toronto’s papers behave unilaterally: different newspapers exhibited significant differences based on the presence and dominance of the resource management perspective. The prevalence of the resource management paradigm signals a degree of insurgent discourse that challenges the dissociation of public and social welfare from competitive city decision making, where small papers were more likely to mention elements of the resource management paradigm, and both small and independent papers were more likely to favour resource management over other perspectives when it appeared. By focusing on the environmental assessment process, small and/or independent papers thereby present stories that bring decision making back to the public realm, informing citizens of how they can be involved with the environmental assessment process as well as disseminating views of those who criticize the impacts from a proposed development. The resource management perspective widens the waterfront development story

frame, constructing decision making as not only an assessment of costs and benefits but also including impacts that go beyond economic valuation to include environmental and social consequences of development. Small and independent papers, when compared to their large and group-owned counterparts, are thus positioned to provide perspectives that challenge the foundational concepts of the competitive city in addition to disseminating mobilizing information that encouraged citizens to become involved with development planning and decision making.

Another aspect in which Toronto's print media does not appear aligned with the competitive city construct is the de-emphasis of Smart Growth principles. As Bunce (2004) argued, Smart Growth principles purporting to be a solution to environmental degradation are window dressing to hide the competitive city's desire for intensified development that aids in increasing revenue. As Smart Growth is presented with an environmentally friendly face, it is expected to dampen citizen criticism of development decisions as citizens with strong environmental values feel ethically obligated to support intensified development. The rhetoric of Smart Growth principles is best categorized under the eco-development paradigm, and a media supportive of the competitive city would be expected to highlight the value of developing brownfields to preserve greenfields, explain how intensifying development alleviates the impacts of sprawl, and promote easily accessible transit as a way to decrease environmental impacts from car use. Contrary to expectations, however, the mention of the eco-development perspective is rare in waterfront development stories. Even within the small population of stories that do contain eco-development perspectives, Smart Growth elements themselves are rare. Hence, as waterfront development stories did not emphasize the environmental benefits of intensified development and Smart Growth themes were not particularly prevalent, Toronto's print media did not perpetuate the competitive city construct that rationalizes intensified development as necessary to prevent environmental degradation.

The final – and least prominent environmental management paradigm – is deep ecology, a paradigm with the potential to provide the most radical and insurgent views of Toronto's waterfront development. The few instances of the deep ecology perspective were relatively tame: deep ecology elements were limited to commentary on the “inspirational” value of good

design or the equation of quality of life to being surrounded by beautiful landscapes (both natural and constructed). Although waterfront development stories did not rely on Smart Growth principles as window dressing to increase acceptance of a more intensely developed city, the deep ecology perspective was integrated into story frames in ways that promote the competitive city. By crusading for design aesthetics and extolling the inspirational virtues of the waterfront, Toronto's print media reinforced the attractiveness of the waterfront to an elite urban middle class who wish to enjoy their lifestyle in a "distinguished" environment. Hence even the most radical of environmental management perspectives was subordinated to align with the drive for the competitive city.

To summarize, the most dominant perspectives in waterfront development stories were those that were also most aligned with the entrepreneurial orientation of the competitive city. Both frontier economic and environmental protection were the most dominant perspectives in waterfront development discourse, and these perspectives perpetuated the competitive city concepts of centralized decision making based on financial criteria. Yet, even though frontier economic and environmental protection perspectives offered support of the capitalist urbanization process, Smart Growth principles as embodied in the eco-development perspective were not exploited to rationalize intensified development (although deep ecology themes were used to "sell" development to the new urban middle class). Also, both small and independent papers fostered the dissemination of resource management perspectives that challenged financialization of decision making and facilitated citizen awareness in ways that promoted participation in development processes. Therefore, even though there is strong alignment of the least progressive environmental management perspectives to capitalist urbanization processes, Toronto's print media are not wholly supportive of hegemony as represented in the competitive city.

### 5.3.3 Summary – Competitive City and Toronto's Media

Based on the frequency, salience and bias profiles exhibited by waterfront development stories, the most pervasive attributes and perspectives are those aligned with the competitive city



concept. Public space discussions often promote the attractiveness of the waterfront to secure investment from the new urban middle class, frontier economics emphasizes the need to base decisions on financial criteria and environmental protection reinforces the need to centralize decision making in ways that ultimately exclude the public from decision making. Moreover, attributes and perspectives that would challenge the entrepreneurial orientation of the competitive city – issues such as affordable housing, public transit and the environment, perspectives such as deep ecology – are essentially marginalized to sustain the dominance of discourse that perpetuates capitalist urbanization processes. Yet Toronto's print media are not entirely supportive of the competitive city concept, as attributes (i.e., business spaces, amenities) and perspectives (i.e., eco-development) expected to be prominent in discourse perpetuating the need for attracting investment are not emphasized in Toronto's waterfront development stories. Further, content differences exhibited by alternative small and independent papers both undermine the dominance of public space as a waterfront development issue and challenge the exclusion of citizens and conflict in environmental decision making. While reproducing most aspects of the entrepreneurial city, Toronto's media do not authenticate all hegemonic constructs embodied by the competitive city.

## CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSION

As embodied in the competitive city, hegemony constructs the attraction of revenue (from both business and urban middle class sources) as the ultimate aim of all development planning, with specific focus on creating the type of city that can out-compete its rivals. Competition in urban planning is aided by not only offering financial incentives and development-friendly policies, but also the creation of a “world class, environmentally-friendly” façade where urban spaces are uniquely suited to the needs of a new urban middle class and where privileged businesses can converge and synergize. Based on the waterfront development stories disseminated by Toronto’s press, local media are not exclusively supportive of this hegemonic construct of a competitive city. De-emphasis of attributes expected to attract the new urban elite (e.g., amenities) and privileged industries (e.g., business spaces) as well as the absence of environmental justifications for development provide evidence that Toronto’s newspapers were not working to support the “glocalization” phenomenon. Although not completely aligned with the competitive city construct, neither did Toronto’s print media actively challenge capitalist urbanization processes. Insurgent discourses (e.g., deep ecology perspectives) were largely excluded from waterfront development stories. Not only was the environment as a development issue marginalized in media texts, but the most pervasive environmental management perspectives present in news stories perpetuate the use of the dominant social paradigm to understand the environment. The dominance of this traditional paradigm was not absolute, however, as differing norms active in small, alternative and independent papers did result in slightly different content less aligned with the dominant social paradigm (albeit in only two story frame elements). Utilizing the two dimensions of content – attributes and perspectives present within a story frame – to gauge diversity yielded an interesting result in that the two indicators do not behave uniformly. This section elaborates on these three conclusions, presenting directions for future study as well as discussing some of the limitations of this analysis.

### 6.1 Marginalization of the Environment and Reproduction of the Dominant Social Paradigm

Waterfront development stories subordinate the environment on two levels. First, environmental attributes were infrequently constructed as part of the waterfront development

problem. This perpetuates the separation of “human development” from the natural environment. Second, the most pervasive environmental management perspectives (i.e., frontier economics and environmental protection) are those that construct citizens as outside of decision making processes and the non-financial aspects of the environment as outside of decision making criteria. As represented in waterfront development stories, frontier economics promotes decision making based on cost/benefit types of analysis, a financialization of the process which discounts the worth of other, non-economic aspects of the environment. Environmental protection perspectives within waterfront development stories argue for the relegation of development powers to experts (i.e., in the case of Toronto, a quasi-government agency run by the urban elite), which removes decision making from the public realm and excludes citizens voices who would speak out for the environment. In validating the financialization of decision making criteria and centralization of decision making processes, waterfront development stories build consensus as to the “common-sense” of dissociating development from both public participation and environmental issues. The two-fold attack against progressive environmental understanding begins with the de-emphasis of the environment as an issue, then proceeds with a reproduction of discourse that views the environment as best managed by elite “experts”. In essence, the environment is subordinated as the media excludes it as a salient issue in development coverage; discounts its non-economic values; and suppresses voices that would argue on its behalf.

In addition to marginalizing the environment, the media’s reliance on the frontier economic and environmental protection perspectives to explain Toronto’s waterfront development problem also establishes the validity of the dominant social paradigm. To review, the dominant social paradigm is characterized by its belief “in abundance and progress, over devotion to growth and prosperity or faith in science and technology, and [the] commitment to laissez-faire economy, limited government planning and private property rights” (Dunlap & van Liere, 1978, p. 10). Both frontier economics and environmental protection perspectives do not challenge the belief in abundance and progress, and both paradigms are over-devoted to growth in a laissez-faire economy. Further, even though environmental protection paradigms have historically demonstrated a tendency to call for increased *bureaucratic* control over the environment as exemplified by government departments administering and enforcing environmental legislation, the “new face” of environmental protection supports the privatization

of government departments by giving the urban elite power over development duties. Essentially, while the environment is still portrayed as best managed by an administrative body, this body is comprised of private consultants and not civil servants. The form of the environmental protection paradigm in waterfront development stories authenticates the dominant social paradigm in that it no longer challenges the need for limited government planning or private property rights in managing the environment. Although Toronto's media do not evidence absolute support for the competitive city, the bias toward the frontier economic and environmental protection perspective evidenced in their stories clearly perpetuates consensus as to the "common sense" value of the dominant social paradigm.

## 6.2 Differing Norms Do Provide the Opportunity for Differing Content

Contrary to what would be expected, overall content diversity did not vary according to the conventionality, size or ownership characteristics of newspapers. Both alternative and mainstream, small and large, and independent and group-owned papers display relatively similar waterfront development story frames. Nevertheless, newspaper characteristics did have an effect on the presentation of one specific attribute and perspective. Differing norms in alternative and independent papers led to the de-emphasis of public space issues, and differing norms in small and independent papers resulted in an increased emphasis on resource management perspectives. This is a significant finding, for the differences exhibited by small, alternative and independent papers are related to their support of the competitive city: emphasis on public space is a key issue in attracting the new urban elite and resource management perspectives challenge the financialization of decision making. For example, as mainstream and group-owned papers are more likely to mention public space as an attribute of waterfront development, their discourse resonated with the competitive city orientation to promote magnificent public spaces as a way to attract new urban middle class investment. Likewise, large and group-owned papers are less likely to discuss environmental assessments in their waterfront development stories and are therefore less likely to mention citizen criticisms of non-financial impacts arising from development proposals. Even though norms do not have a continually pronounced effect on news texts – where small, alternative or independent papers consistently produce different news stories – differing norms can be "activated" to produce less hegemonically-aligned content. Beyond the scope of this analysis, however, is determining what specific circumstances cause

these norms to “activate”. Further research is required to identify why public space issues and resource management perspectives were the only two dimensions of the waterfront development story frame where alternative, small and independent papers distinguished themselves as producing less hegemonically-supportive content than their counterparts. Notwithstanding the mystery surrounding its root cause, the fact that more diverse media do exhibit (in some degree) more diverse story frames provides hope that insurgent discourse may have the opportunity to infiltrate media discourse.

### 6.3 Attribute and Perspective Diversity Are Not Equivalent Measures of Content Diversity

In agreement with conventional wisdom, the range of attributes presented in waterfront development stories become more broad as stories contain conflict, originate from a non-routine channel and/or contain a greater mix of sources. Contrary to conventional wisdom, however, the environmental management paradigms presented in conflict and non-routine stories were not more diverse than their counterparts, and neither did a greater source mix result in a greater perspective diversity. This finding is a significant contribution to understanding the meaning of diversity in the context of newspaper texts: diversity in *issue* content is not synonymous with diversity in *perspective* content. As these two dimensions of content differ, this study confirms the need for qualitative studies of news content. Content analysis of story frame issues provides a limited picture of diversity, where a researcher might mistakenly conclude media texts provide diverse content even though only one perspective is presented. Discourse analysis, in contrast, examines the ideas implicit within a text and provides a greater opportunity to gauge the true diversity of viewpoints disseminated by the media. While content analysis has provided reliable rules to predict issue diversity (e.g., an increased mix of sources results in an increase in the scope of issues discussed), further research is required to uncover the factors which influence perspective diversity in media content. For in understanding what factors facilitate the permeation of diverse perspectives into media discourse comes the knowledge that will assist those wishing to challenge hegemonic constructs of the human-environment.

#### 6.4 Limitations

In examining the way Toronto's print media present the waterfront development problem as supporting or challenging the competitive city construct, this paper's founding assumption is that the media influences public opinion. If unable to influence public opinion, then the question of whether the media perpetuates hegemony would be largely irrelevant. Although the media are proven to exert influence on the public's ranking of environmental issues in general (e.g., Ader, 1995; Soroka, 2002), this study is limited in that it did not directly measure the influence of Toronto's press on public opinion of waterfront development. In not reviewing letters to the editor, distributing surveys or otherwise gauging what development attributes were important to the general public and what perspectives were common in public understanding of development, the conclusions that can be drawn from this study are restrained to only those assertions that concern the media's relationship to hegemony. Conclusions as to how the public view the waterfront development problem cannot be extrapolated from this study, as each individual negotiates their own personal reading of a text. As individuals may negotiate a reading of an article that is oppositional to the text's intended meaning, even if Toronto's print media were unilaterally aligned with the hegemonic construct of a competitive city, it would not necessarily follow that all readers would be equally supportive of this construct. Further research is required to determine the degree to which ranking of importance in public opinion mirrors the media's construction of the most salient attributes and the most dominant perspectives.

In addition to not accounting for public opinion, this study is limited in scope to only newspaper discourse. Both television and the internet are pervasive methods of communication, and each have a role in influencing the public's opinion and understanding of the environment. As the mechanisms by which salience is constructed in the print media are very different than other media, the degree to which conventional wisdom applies to television and/or internet texts is an area worthy of study. For example, determining whether conflict in televised news casts increases diversity of attributes or perspectives present in story frames is worthy of study. Further, as the focus of this analysis is centered on newspaper articles published after 2003, the dimension of temporal variation was excluded from analysis. As Kipfer and Keil (2002) date competitive city origins as beginning in the late 1990s, comparing current media texts on waterfront development to articles appearing before 1990 would provide greater insight into

whether the attributes and perspectives dominant in news texts changed over time. Performing a temporal analysis would also provide stronger evidence of whether norms exert pressure on content. For example, if the same attributes and perspectives remain dominant over both time periods the influence of norms would be construed as dictating the “newsworthiness” of story frame elements, and the alignment of these elements with the competitive city deemed coincidental.

Aside from its limitations, this study has potentially served an important purpose: it has critically examined the degree to which Toronto’s print media challenge the neo-conservative ideals permeating urban development. The media have a key role in not only informing the public of issues but also in constructing the frame through which individuals understand the human-nature relationship. The current dominant social paradigm, with its entrepreneurial orientation, hinders alternate understandings of both development and the environment. In turn, challenging this dominant social paradigm requires the reproduction of insurgent discourses, and the mass media are a particularly pervasive, and therefore powerful, social institution capable of influencing public opinion and understanding. By relating newspaper norms to news content and subsequently analyzing content in light of capitalist urbanization processes, this paper emphasizes the role of the media in not only marginalizing the environment but also in perpetuating the hegemonic constructs which prevent more progressive paradigms from gaining dominance. The importance of the media in contributing to an enlightened environmental reality cannot be over-stated, for as first observed by Albert Einstein, “the world will not evolve past its current state of crisis by using the same thinking that created the situation” (as cited in Cox, 2006, p. 411). It is time to focus on how to change the “same way of thinking” embodied by the dominant social paradigm. The analysis of waterfront development stories reveals that while not completely supportive of all competitive city characteristics, Toronto’s media legitimizes the dominant social paradigm in a way that seriously threatens progression in “environmental” development.

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## **APPENDIX**

## CODING MANUAL

### 1. Information Channel –

Categorize each article as prompted by one of the following news events:

- Announcement – Official announcement to press, meeting with press/news conference
- Citizen initiative – Coverage of non-governmental group activities, such as petitions or meetings
- Crusade – A reflective/argumentative piece, initiated by reporter
- Don't know – Unable to classify
- Election/Political – Related to political campaigning
- Investigation – Reporter initiated news event through background research
- Meeting – Public meeting held by officials, opening of a public display or exhibit, notice of public meeting to be held
- News Release – Based on official release, whether press release or report
- Political meeting – Council, legislature session, political meeting that results in an appointment
- Profile – Article providing background on “important” (i.e., official) person
- Speech – Official delivering speech to group (e.g. President of TWRC addressing Empire Club)
- Visit to/Visit from – Official visited another country, or non-Canadian official visited Toronto

When all the articles have been categorized, the information channel is determined according to the following:

Prompt	Channel
Announcement	Routine
Citizen initiative	Non-routine
Crusade	Non-routine
Don't know	Non-routine
Election/Political	Routine
Investigation	Non-routine
Meeting	Routine
News Release	Routine
Political meeting	Routine
Profile	Non-routine
Speech	Non-routine
Visit to/visit from	Non-routine

## 2. Conflict –

If the story presents two (or more) parties as in opposition to each other on a waterfront development issue, the text is coded as a “conflict” story.

## 3. Paradigm – Type

When an element of an environmental management viewpoint is apparent, categorize as either:

- Frontier economics
- Environmental protection
- Resource management
- Eco-development
- Deep ecology

Along with each classification, a brief description is required to rationalize which elements of the story frame suggest a particular paradigm. Also, when appropriate, the sources reproducing elements of a particular paradigm are noted.

## 4. Paradigm – Balance

Classify each article as either:

- Absent – no paradigms present
- Monopoly – only one paradigm present
- Balanced – more than one paradigm present, equal attention given to each paradigm
- Unbalanced – more than one paradigm present, one paradigm dominates others
- Very Unbalanced – more than one paradigm present, one paradigm is strongly dominant over others

## 5. Paradigm - Dominance

If paradigm balance is monopoly, unbalanced or very unbalanced, indicate which of the 5 paradigms is dominant.

## 6. Source – Type

When a source is cited by the journalist, categorize the source as either:

- Advocacy group – Non-profit organizations, including citizen associations, economic associations, recreational clubs, and environmental groups
- Alternative media – Newspapers or other media that are not mainstream
- Citizen – Individuals not affiliated with an advocacy or other group, eyewitnesses to a news event or meeting
- Document – Written document such as an official plan, environmental assessment report, book, or other printed material
- Expert – Pundits, critics or other sources introduced as being knowledgeable on an issue (and not cited due to their affiliation with a



government or private institution directly involved with development of the waterfront)

- Government – Representatives from municipal, provincial or federal government (e.g., councillors, members of provincial, cabinet ministers, or other elected officials) and representatives from public institutions such as provincial and federal Ministries, agencies, boards or commissions
- Mainstream media – newspapers or other media that are considered mainstream
- Private Institution – Privately-run businesses with no funding ties to any level of government, or consultants employed by a government or its agency
- Unnamed – Unidentified source (e.g., “officials say”, “sources say”, or “insiders say”)

#### 7. Attribute – Type

When an issue related to waterfront development is raised, categorize as either:

- Amenities – Issues related to cultural and recreational services available or to development expected to increase tourism
- Business – Issues related to commercial or industrial development
- Energy – Issues related to energy supply and demand
- Environment – Issues related to the Don River, clean-up of contaminated soil, or other environmental consequences of development
- Neighbourhood – Design and implementation of the Port Lands, East Bayfront and West Donlands precincts, including residential development, and community infrastructure (e.g., roads, schools, community centres) but excluding parks
- Public Space – Issues relating to parks, pedestrian and bike trails, promenades and other communal spaces
- Transportation – Issues related to air, water and land transport, including public transit

Examples of each attribute type include:

Amenities	Aquarium Museum Casino Dragon Boat course	Parks Discovery Centre Skating rink Sporting field	Sports stadium Theme park UN Peace University
Business	Commercial space Concrete campus Convention centre Film/television studio	Farmers/flea market Home Depot Hotel	Office space Retail space Tree nursery
Energy	Gas power	Solar power	Wind power
Environment	Flood-protection berm	Naturalization of Don River mouth	Soil remediation Water quality improvements
Neighbourhood	Affordable housing Child care centres Community centres	Convergence centre East Bayfront community Housing	Port Lands community Schools West Don Lands Community
Public Space	Access to water's edge Barbecue and picnic facilities Beaches Boardwalk	Bicycle paths Greenspace Landscaping improvements	Parks Pedestrian trail, promenade Public square
Transportation	Airport expansion, bridge construction Gardiner Expressway	Ferry to Rochester, NY Front Street extension	Public transit/ TTC Union Station improvements

#### 8. Attribute – Space

For each attribute identified within an article, the total lines of text referring to a particular attribute are counted to the nearest quarter of a line.

#### 9. Attribute – Prominence

If a particular attribute appears within the first two paragraphs of an article, it is coded as “prominent”.