

Framing the Toronto G20 Protests: The Role of Ambivalence and Emotion

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In late June 2010 Toronto became the scene of a classic confrontation between civil liberty and public order. Thousands took to the streets to protest the Group of Twenty (G20) conference and encountered the largest domestic security force assembled in Canadian history. Substantial property damage ensued and over 1100 were arrested, again a Canadian record. In the time since, public officials and social activists have endeavored to frame the events as either a massive violation of public order or of Canadian civil liberties. Drawing cues from conflicting statements used in these efforts, we locate our study of framing effects in a genuine ongoing political controversy. We do so in order to replicate and extend the work of Sniderman and Theriault (2004) who reconsider the basic premises underlying the conventional understanding of framing effects. Following in their footsteps we use balanced as well as one-sided frames to replicate their findings on citizen reactions when exposed to competing ways to think about an issue. We extend their work by examining whether greater ambivalence in citizens' predispositions makes framing more effective. Moreover, utilizing two online survey experiments, we investigate why framing effects occur. In particular, we consider both ambivalence and emotion as potential mechanisms.

Political Background

In the early weeks of June 2010 an Integrated Security Unit¹ began preparations for the G20 Summit in Toronto. This entailed posting groups of police officers throughout the city and enclosing a substantial portion of the downtown core within a large fence. In the buildup to the Summit, protest activities were also held throughout the city.

On Saturday June 26th a crowd estimated at about 10,000 people assembled for a broad based rally and protest march through the downtown core of Toronto. This event was planned by relatively main-stream labour and environmental groups in coordination with the integrated security force. About two hours into the march a smaller group variously estimated at between 400 and 1000 broke away from the main protest. Using what has been described as fast-moving "Black Bloc" tactics similar to those seen at previous Summit meetings, this smaller group broke storefront windows along several of Toronto's major shopping thoroughfares.² They also attacked and burned several police cruisers in the downtown core. According to some commentators, their intent was to draw police away from the Summit venues so that others could breach the security fence. The assembled police forces maintained their positions and made relatively few arrests.

Later that evening the security forces changed tactics. Having done little to stem the afternoon tide of destruction which swept through some of the city's major shopping streets, police began making mass arrests. Hundreds were taken into custody at a sit-in outside of one of the Summit hotels. Nearly a hundred more were arrested just after 7AM the next morning at the University of Toronto's graduate student union. Batons were deployed and bystanders as well as protestors were roughed up as arrests were made in downtown parks. Pepper spray and rubber bullets were used to disperse a crowd gathered outside the temporary Prisoner Processing and Detention Centre set up in the east end of the city. Later, heavily armed police surrounded several hundred people including onlookers and media

personnel at a major intersection. The crowd was held for three hours in a heavy rainfall using a tactic subsequently referred to in the media as “kettling.” The numbers arrested were such that the detention centre became overwhelmed with many of those detained left to languish in substandard conditions.

In all, more than 1100 people were arrested, the largest mass arrest in Canadian history. Most, however, were released without being charged. Stories of police misconduct have continued to surface over the succeeding months, due largely to the muckraking efforts of the *Toronto Star*.³ Nearly two years on, official reports into the events surrounding the G20 continue to receive front page coverage. The most recent of these was issued in May 2012 by the Office of Independent Police Review Director.⁴

There have been obvious efforts by political actors and social activists to frame the events in ways consistent with their predispositions. The main message of the report by the Canadian Civil Liberties Association (2011) is of “a flagrant disregard for human rights and civil liberties as well as the basic rule of law.” And the take-away of the provincial Ombudsman’s report (Martin, 2010) is of “a massive violation of civil rights.” Though protestor violence and destructiveness are mentioned in both reports it is not the central focus. In contrast, the Toronto Police Service report (2011) highlights the “sustained, serious, and widespread criminality and public disorder... [t]he scope and intensity of [which] are without precedent in the history of the TPS” while acknowledging some shortcoming on the part of the police. More recently, the Commission investigating complaints against the RCMP (2012) found that the actions of the force to be “reasonable” and “appropriate” in the face of “rampant disorder”.⁵ In contrast, the report of the Office of the Independent Police Review Director (McNeilly, 2012) was sharply critical of police actions.⁶ The report for the Toronto Police Services Board (Morden, 2012) focusses primarily on the failure of citizen review leading up to and during the G20 Summit.⁷

While the official agenda of the Summit has largely been forgotten, ongoing revelations and news stories keep the public focused on the events in the streets surrounding the Summit.⁸ Public opinion has been sharply divided regarding both police and protestor actions at the Summit.⁹ As such, issues surrounding the Toronto G20 Summit offer ideal real-world terrain on which to base a study of issue framing.

Research Background

The academic inspiration for this work comes primarily from Sniderman and Theriault’s (2004) wonderfully corrective contribution to the literature on issue framing. Their focus is on how citizens react when exposed to competing ways to think about an issue. Accordingly, they amend the conventional framing experimental design to include a balanced condition in which opposing frames are presented together. In doing so their perspective on framing is primarily political rather than psychological. Nevertheless, their approach directly confronts the psychological aspects of framing when they describe the consensus on the way in which framing affects how citizens think about issues, such as those raised by the G20. “Ambivalence is the key” (137) they tell us. The customary explanation for framing effects in the study of public opinion invokes “a state of simultaneous commitment to opposing lines of public policy.” (145) In other words, people have a number of perspectives on which they may draw in considering most issues. Framing highlights certain considerations and not others, affecting how we respond to surveys and in other situations entailing political choice.

Sniderman and Theriault’s study highlights two aspects of this account which warrant further consideration. They dub these the “consistency” and “communication” premises. Sniderman and

Theriault leave aside the consistency premise, taking issue primarily with the communication premise. They do so by introducing a balanced condition to their framing studies. And they show that hearing both sides of political argument enables citizens 'to go home.' By this they mean that citizens are better able "to pick up the side of the issue that fits their deeper-lying political principles." The implication is that "political argument... may facilitate rather than distort consistency in political reason." (148) The present study takes as its starting point the consistency premise identified but not pursued by Sniderman and Theriault. In doing so we take issue with the implicit premise in the conventional understanding of framing effects which suggests that greater ambivalence in one's predispositions should make framing more effective and greater consistency should make framing less so.

A second source of inspiration comes from the work of Gross and D'Ambrosio (2004) and Gross (2008). These articles provide evidence that frames influence not only opinion but also reported emotional responses. Moreover, they indicate that framing may have an indirect influence on opinion through its effects on our emotions. Further support for the essential role of emotion in framing effects comes from the neurobiological investigations reported by De Martino et al. (2006). Using functional magnetic resonance imaging with a small group of subjects they found that "the framing effect was specifically associated with amygdala activity, suggesting a key role for an emotional system in mediating decision biases." (684)

A third source of inspiration comes from the prior work of Fletcher and his colleagues (2009; 2012). The first of these studies uses a series of representative national surveys to show that emotions play a pivotal role in determining changing public policy preferences. The second finds that emotional responses mediate the framing effects of photographic images in a survey experiment.

We report here on two survey experiments based upon the events surrounding the G20. The original study took place during the late winter and spring of 2011 and relies upon a largely student sample. The second study essentially replicates the first with an on-line panel drawn from the general population. It was in the field early in March 2012.

Study 1

Recruitment

The original survey experiment was hosted on university web servers and conducted online. Active data collection was from February 12th until April 13th 2011 yielding a total N of 607. There were two stages of recruitment.¹⁰ The first stage was voluntary running from February 12th until April 5th 2011, yielding 399 completions. A variety of recruitment methods were used including word of mouth, personal referrals, Google Adwords, Facebook, Twitter and blogs. A voluntary invitation was also sent to several political science classes.¹¹ A second stage of incentivized recruitment ran from April 5th until the survey closed on April 13th yielding an additional 208 completions.¹²

Manipulations

Random numbers determined the content of frame.¹³ There are three frames, and thus three experimental conditions. The three frames are a police violence frame, a protestor violence frame and a balanced frame depicting both police and protestor violence.¹⁴

The wordings of the textual frames are based on often cited quotes in the ongoing media coverage of the G20 summit. The police violence frame is based on by the Ontario Ombudsman remarks at the conclusion of his investigation. It reads:

*Ontario Ombudsman, André Marin, recently stated that the G20 weekend was the “most massive compromise of civil liberties in Canadian history”.
Although the Ombudsman is concerned over the actions of the police, are you more concerned over the actions of the protesters or the actions of the police during the G20 weekend?*

The protestor violence frame is based upon remarks made by Toronto Police Chief Bill Blair in defense of the police actions during the G20 Weekend. It reads:

*Toronto Police Chief, Bill Blair, recently stated regarding the G20 weekend that “there were a large group of people who were intent not on protest but on violence and vandalism.”
Although Chief Blair is concerned over the actions of the protesters, are you more concerned over the actions of the police or the actions of the protesters during the G20 weekend?*

The balanced frame simply merged both quotes and asked respondents over whose actions they were more concerned. Details on the manipulations appear in Appendix C.

Measures

The software used to gather the data is a web application called Lime Survey.¹⁵ As an open-source application it is easily customizable. Inspired by the work of Marcus et al (2008) we customized its “Multiple Numerical Input” question type to create a horizontal slider bar response format. We used a gradient color scheme along the slider bar and text labels at the ends but hid the numerical value to be recorded. Respondents answer by moving a sliding button across the bar. By default the slider button is set at the middle of the bar but not assigned a value. The respondent cannot progress with the survey until the button had been moved at least once, assigning a response value.

In order to be quite sure of our findings three different dependent measures were used.¹⁶ The first measure immediately follows the framing experiment and gauges respondents’ concern by asking: “Are you more concerned over the actions of the police or the actions of the protesters during the G20?” Using a slider bar measure positive scores indicate greater concern over police actions while negative scores indicate greater concern over protestor actions. The other two dependent variables are based upon a series of questions asked just after the concern over police versus protestor item. They asked respondents “To what extent were each of the following responsible for the violence on the G. 20 weekend? Police forces; Protestors; Bill Blair (chief of police); leadership of protestors.

Once more responses were recorded using the sliding measures providing interval level data. We then created two differential ratings variables from these four items. The second dependent variable was calculated as the difference in the respondents’ ratings of the responsibility of the police and that of the protestors for the G20 violence. The third dependent variable was also a differential rating, this time calculating the difference in attributions of responsibility for the violence to Toronto police chief Bill Blair and to the protest leaders. In addition to providing further dependent variables with which to replicate our findings the new measures also have some additional advantages. Compared with the first

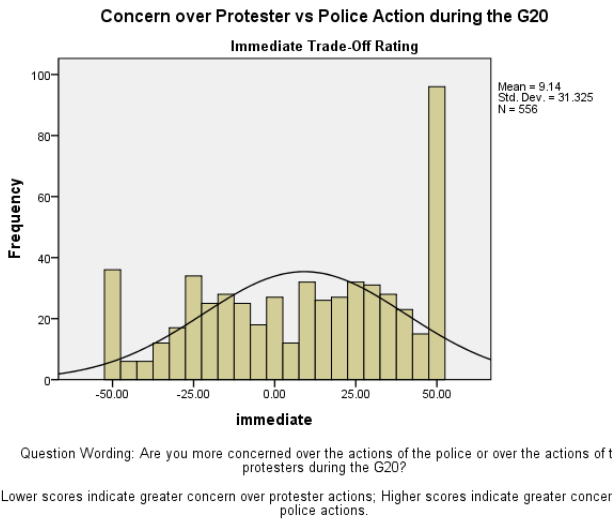
dependent variable used, the differential measures are based on questions more sharply focused on the essential question of responsibility for the G20 violence. Moreover, these additional measures have somewhat better psychometric characteristics than the original item. In particular, their distributions more nearly approximate a normal curve with respondents clustered more toward the middle of the distribution and less toward the tails of the distribution as can be seen in Figure 1 panels A through C.

Results

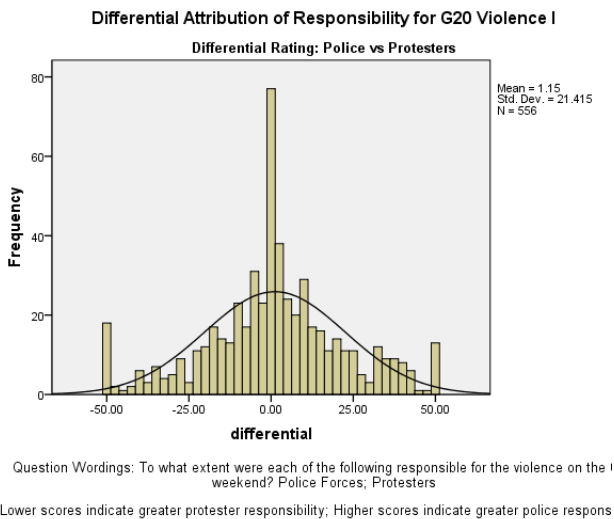
As shown in Panel A of Figure 1, responses to the question asking about concern over police vs protestor actions are widely varied.¹⁷ The mean score is above zero suggesting a bit more concern over the actions of the police than of the protestors. Yet this is clearly influenced by the substantial number of cases piled up at the far right of the distribution.¹⁸ These respondents, just over fifteen percent of the total, pulled the slider to a position indicating their being completely concerned with the actions of the police and not at all concerned over the actions of the protestors. The next most frequent response, at just over five percent, is at the other end of the spectrum, indicative of being completely concerned over the actions of the protestors and not at all over those of the police. Otherwise respondents positioned the slider bar relatively evenly across the available scores with no other position gathering more than the two percent of those at the midpoint.

The two differential attribution of responsibility measures have very similar distributions. In each case the mean score is only slightly above zero, indicating that on the whole respondents hold the police and protestors as more or less equally responsible for the violence at the G20. Moreover, the most common score, at about 5% of the cases in each instance, is zero. This indicates that respondents have rated the police and protestors as equally responsible for the violence. Of course, there are relatively small spikes of two or three percent at each end of both distributions. These are the respondents who hold either the police or protestors completely responsible and the other not at all responsible. On the whole however the distributions of these latter two dependent variables are more approximately normal than the measure of concern used earlier.¹⁹

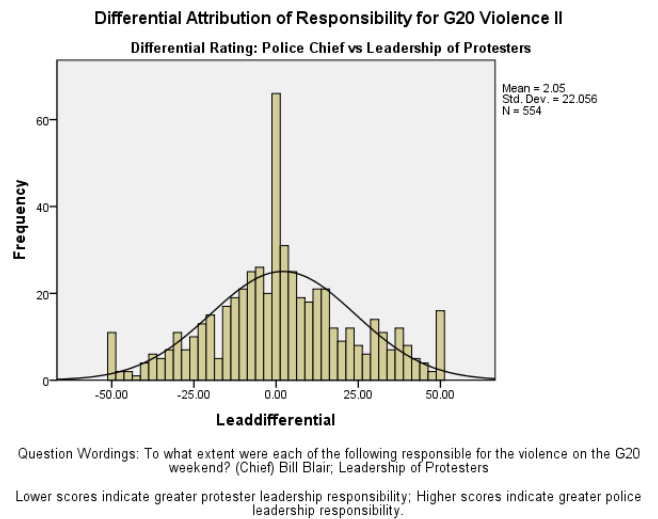
Figure 1
Panel A



Panel B

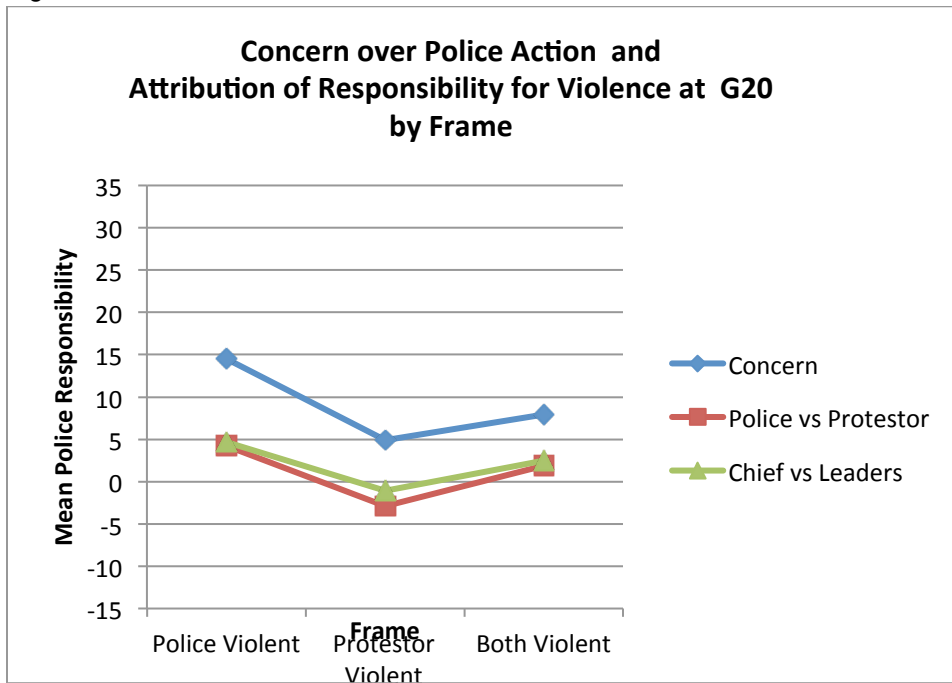


Panel C



The effects of our frame manipulations are shown in Figure 2. Positive scores on the vertical axis indicate greater concern over the actions of the police while negative scores indicate greater concern over those of the protestors. The results for the three experimental frames are arrayed across the horizontal axis with the condition depicting police violence on the left, the condition depicting protestor violence in the centre and the balanced condition depicting both police and protestor violence frames on the right. Separate lines indicate the three separate dependent measures. Looking at the results for the concern over police vs protestor actions depicted in the top line in Figure 2, the effects of framing are clearly evident. Moving from left to right, greater expressed concern over police action is associated with the frame depicting police violence while less concern over police action is evident where the frame depicts protestor violence. And moving to the far right a slight uptick is evident when the frame depicts both police and protestor violence. The results thus support the expectations of both the traditional framing studies as well as Sniderman and Theriault's contention that balanced frames make a difference.

Figure 2

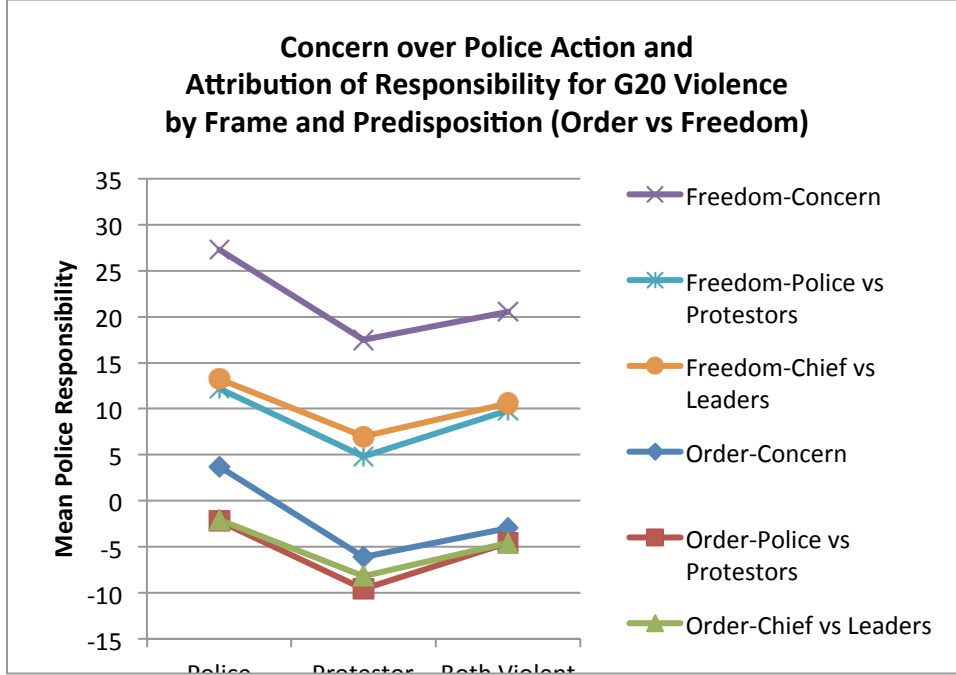


Looking at the results for the two differential responsibility items, the two bottom lines in Figure 2 describe a remarkably similar pattern. The results on the two measures scarcely differ at all. They move in concert describing nearly an identical chevron of downward and upward slopes. In terms of shape they are also similar to the results for the first measure. The results are essentially parallel. Nevertheless, perhaps reflecting a difference between concern and blame, the levels of concern expressed over police actions are greater than willingness to assign responsibility for the violence to the police. Using either the police or protestor violence frames, the differences are statistically significant. However with the balanced frame the confidence intervals overlap rendering the difference more apparent than real.

Figure 3 introduces respondents' predispositions into the mix. Predisposition is a key variable in Sniderman and Theriault's work. They use a forced choice item to assess predispositions either to favour freedom or order; so do we. The question wording is: "Now here are some values that everyone agrees are important. But sometimes we have to choose one value over another. If you absolutely had to choose one guarantee over the other, which one would you choose?" Guaranteeing law and order in society; Guaranteeing individual freedom in society. Question wordings also appear in Appendix B.

Using a method similar to Sniderman and Theriault (2004), our findings are satisfyingly similar to theirs. A predisposition to either freedom or order has a considerable effect on all three dependent measures. In particular, those who are predisposed to favour freedom are markedly more likely to express concern over police action and attribute greater responsibility for the violence to the police, as shown in the top three lines of Figure 3. And those predisposed to order are markedly less so on all three measures (bottom three lines). Yet the data for both groups exhibit the same characteristic chevron shape on all three questions, showing the expected framing effects. Interestingly, the distinction between concern and blame is primarily evident among those who are predisposed toward freedom.²⁰

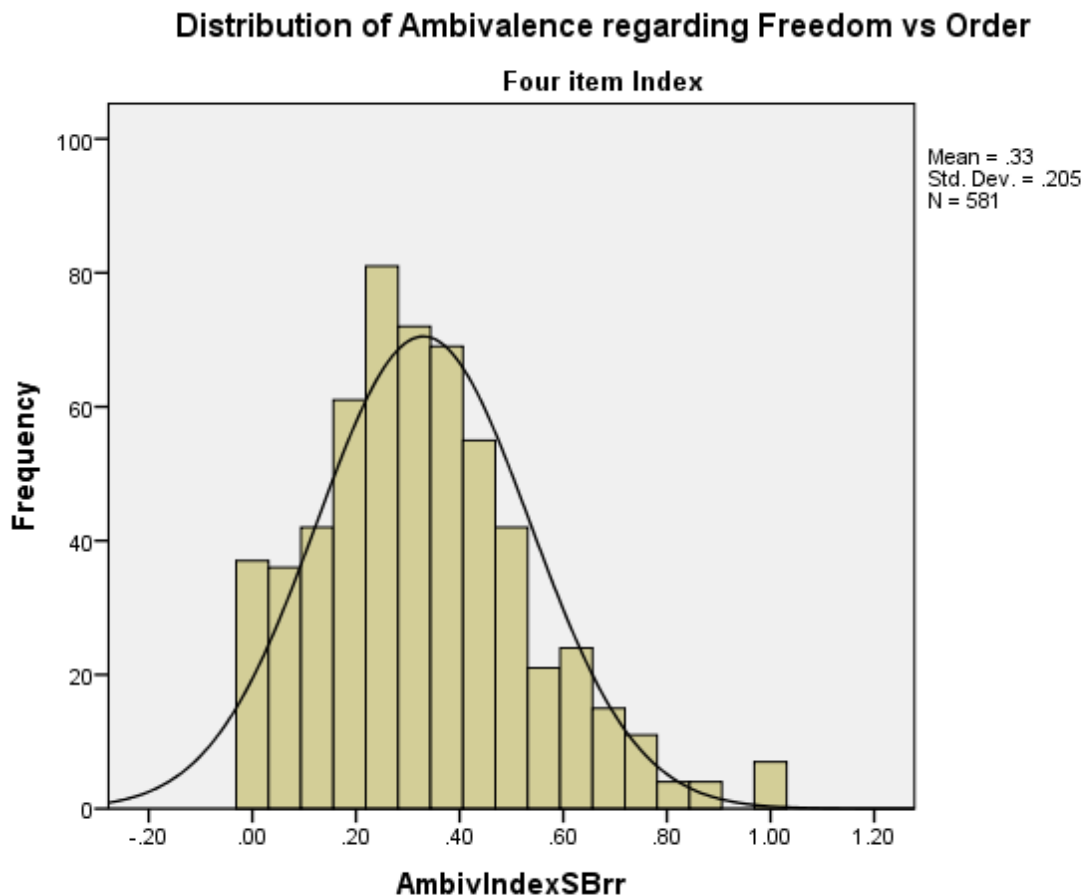
Figure 3



The measurement of predisposition both here and in Sniderman and Theriault’s work (2004) is operationalized using an item in which the respondent is forced to choose between freedom and order. This forced choice format prevents any assessment of the extent to which ambivalence may play a role in the framing effect. To remedy this, we inserted four Likert-style items measuring support for freedom versus order.²¹ Together they form a reliable index.²² To get a handle on our respondents’ ambivalence on questions of freedom versus order we use these items to calibrate the extent to which an individual endorses elements of both values. For this we use the approach of Steenbergen and Brewer (2004) which yields scores ranging from zero (no ambivalence) to 1 (complete ambivalence).²³ Moreover, they consider the incidence of ambivalence across numerous attitude dimensions drawn from the 2002 American National Election Study and report means and medians ranging from .29 through .46 and .25 through .46 respectively. Our mean (.33) and median (.3125) scores on the ambivalence measure are well within this range.²⁴ As can be seen in Figure 4, relatively few respondents score in the upper reaches of ambivalence. In fact, responses are somewhat skewed toward the consistent end of the spectrum.

Insofar as ambivalence is the presumed key to framing we anticipate that the usual effects should occur primarily among those who are ambivalent and to a lesser extent, if at all, among those who are consistent in their predispositions. We use a median split to distinguish consistent from ambivalent respondents.²⁵ And we examine our results separately for those consistent and ambivalent among our respondents.

Figure 4



$$\text{Ambivalence} = ((\text{ABS(Positive)} + \text{ABS(Negative)}) / 2) - \text{ABS(Positive} - \text{Negative)}.$$

In order to present our results efficiently we move from this point on to a tabular rather than graphic presentation format. Moreover, rather than continue to present mean scores we will use multiple regression coefficients in order to facilitate the inclusion of additional variables in our analysis. We present the results beginning with the measure of concern over police vs protestor actions. As before, this and the other dependent variables are scored on a scale ranging from a low of -50 through zero to a high of +50. The sign of each regression coefficient indicates the direction of the effect of its respective independent variable. In the first instance positive coefficients indicate that the relevant predictor increases concern about the actions of the police (and decreases concern over protestor actions) while negatively signed coefficients indicate the opposite. The sizes of the coefficients indicate the magnitude of each variable's influence on the dependent variable.

The first two columns of Tables 1-3 depict side by side the results for consistent and ambivalent respondents.²⁶ One can therefore see among these two groups the relative influence of the frames and predispositions on each of the three dependent variables. Moreover, the estimates control for the influence of the other variables in the equation.

Looking at the left hand columns (Model 1) of Table 1, perhaps the first thing to note is that the framing effects are statistically significant. In interpreting these coefficients it is important to keep in mind that they are relative to the police violence frame which serves here as the reference category. Thus the frame depicting protester violence reduces respondents' concern over the actions of the police by very nearly 10 points in each instance. However, only among the consistent is there a significant effect of a balanced framing of the issues. Once again, the coefficients should be interpreted relative to the reference category, which is a frame describing the police actions in a negative light. Thus relative to the frame which depicts police negatively, a balanced frame depicting both police and protestors negatively reduces concern over police actions by about ten points, but only among the consistent. The effect among the ambivalent respondents is not significantly different from zero. In other words there is no effect beyond what one might find due to chance.

Table 1

Immediate Concern over Police vs. Protestor G20 Actions: Influence of Frame, Predisposition and Emotion among Consistent and Ambivalent Respondents.

	Model 1		Model 2	
	Consistent	Ambivalent	Consistent	Ambivalent
	B (std err)	B (std err)	B (std err)	B (std err)
Constant	-0.1 (3.5)	6.4 (3.0)	1.4 (3.3)	6.4 (2.9)
Protest Frame	-10.4* (4.4)	-9.6* (3.8)	-3.0 (3.7)	-10.3* (3.5)
Both Frames	-10.6* (4.3)	-2.7 (4.2)	-7.0 ^{ms} (4.3)	-4.3 (3.9)
Freedom	33.0*** (3.5)	14.3*** (3.4)	16.4*** (3.3)	12.6*** (3.1)
Anger@Police			29.7*** (4.0)	30.1*** (4.9)
Anger@Protest			-28.9*** (4.4)	-24.6*** (5.9)
Anger@Both			6.1 (4.4)	0.3 (4.6)
N =	280	275	280	275
Adj R ² =	.243	.071	.474	.238

By far the biggest effect is that of predisposition. Consistent with the approach used by Sniderman and Theriault (2004) respondents are classified according to a forced choice item in by which they signal a preference for either freedom or order. And this preference is expressed prior to the framing manipulation. As such it is treated as a predisposing factor in the analysis. The variable for this predisposition is entered into the multiple regression equation as a dichotomous variable scored as one for those choosing freedom and zero for those selecting order. Thus order becomes the reference category for interpreting the effect of the predisposition and coefficients for freedom are interpreted relative to a predisposition to favor order.

Comparing the first two columns of Table 1 we see that predisposition of freedom has much greater effect among consistent than among ambivalent respondents. Plus those who choose freedom over

order are significantly more likely to be concerned over the police than those who favor order. This is true for both groups of respondents as the effect for each is clearly significant beyond chance. Nevertheless, there is a substantial difference in the size of the effect for the two groups. Predisposition has twice the effect among consistent respondents as it does among the ambivalent. In other words, consistent expression of predisposition to favor freedom increases concern over the police actions by nearly 33 points. Among those who show some ambivalence the increase is much less, closer to 14 points.

It's also important to recognize that the linear combination of frame and predisposition accounts for much greater variation in the responses of the consistent respondents. As indicated by the (adjusted) R^2 coefficient, nearly one quarter of the variation in concern over police versus protester action is accounted for by the model for consistent respondents. By contrast, the very same set of variables in the model for ambivalent respondents accounts for just about 7% of the variation in responses.

Perhaps the most remarkable aspect of the left most columns of Table 1, however, is that the framing effects are at least as evident, perhaps even more so, among the consistent respondents as among the ambivalent. The protest frame has an equivalent effect in both groups; the balanced frame has a greater effect among the consistent. In light of the standard theoretical stance suggesting that ambivalence is the essential mechanism underlying framing effects, this is a surprising finding. Here we see that ambivalence is not necessary for the framing effect to occur. It occurs just as clearly, perhaps more so, among those who are consistent on core issues of freedom versus order and hence not at all ambivalent in their preferences.

The left hand columns of Tables 2 and 3 further support this finding. Using either measure of the differential attribution of responsibility as the dependent variable, the effect of framing is weaker among those who are ambivalent in their predispositions than among those who are not. In both instances framing has a bigger influence among consistent respondents. So using additional, and arguably better, dependent measures, the analysis replicates the theoretically interesting finding that framing effects do not rely upon respondent ambivalence. To be more specific, asking who is more responsible for the G20 violence using a frame highlighting police violence (the reference category in the regression analysis) leads respondents to say that the police bear greater responsibility for the violence irrespective of whether or not they have ambivalent attitudes about freedom versus order. Or to state the same finding the other way around, using a frame highlighting protestor violence leads respondents to say the protestors are more responsible for the violence, again regardless of whether they are consistent or ambivalent in their predispositions. And this result is further replicated in looking at the responses to questions asking about the respective levels of responsibility by the chief of police and the protest leaders. Again the framing works and it does not depend upon respondents' ambivalence in their predispositions.

It is important, of course, to keep in mind that the framing effects while statistically significant are relatively modest. In table 1 they are overshadowed by those for predisposition. And in tables 2 and 3 on scale ranging from -50 to +50 the changes due to framing effects shrink to under ten points for consistent respondents and five points for the ambivalent. In every instance, predisposition has a greater influence than the frames.

Table 2

Differential Attribution of Blame I (Police vs. Protestors) for G20 Violence:
 Influence of Frame, Predisposition and Emotion among Consistent and Ambivalent Respondents

	Model 1		Model 2	
	Consistent	Ambivalent	Consistent	Ambivalent
	B (std err)	B (std err)	B (std err)	B (std err)
Constant	-6.1 (2.6)	0.8 (1.9)	-5.5 (2.2)	-0.3 (1.8)
Protest Frame	-9.4** (3.2)	-5.7* (2.4)	-3.2 (2.5)	-5.9*** (2.1)
Both Frame	-3.6 (3.1)	-1.9 (2.7)	-0.3 (2.5)	-2.8 (2.4)
Freedom	23.3*** (2.6)	5.3* (2.1)	9.4*** (2.3)	4.1* (1.9)
Anger@Police			26.8*** (2.7)	23.3*** (2.9)
Anger@Protest			-20.8*** (3.0)	-10.5** (3.6)
Anger@Both			2.2 (3.0)	-0.5 (2.8)
N =	280	275	280	275
Adj R ² =	.236	.031	.536	.237

But there are some specification effects here as well. Perhaps understandably, the role of predisposition remains stronger among those who are consistent. And explained variance slips for both groups when faced with more abstract considerations about the police and protestor responsibility. However, among ambivalent respondents predisposition's effect becomes so slight in tables 2 and 3 that it is rivaled by the modest influence of framing. Accordingly, explained variance for the ambivalent group model is successively cut in half for table 2 and then half again in table 3. Consequently, the responses of ambivalent respondents seem scarcely rooted in either framing or predisposition.

Viewed in the context of our conventional understanding of framing, these findings are intriguing. We find framing effects where we would least expect them. And they are relatively weaker where they should routinely occur. This presents us with an explanatory challenge. The respondents who are consistent in their preferences differ from those who are ambivalent on precisely the variable which is conventionally understood to explain framing. So why is it that we observe framing effects among those with consistent predispositions that are at least as robust as what we find among those who are ambivalent in their predispositions?

Table 3

Differential Attribution of Blame II (Police Chief vs. Protest Leaders) for G20 Violence:
Influence of Frame, Predisposition and Emotion among Consistent and Ambivalent Respondents.

	Model 1		Model 2	
	Consistent	Ambivalent	Consistent	Ambivalent
	B (std err)	B (std err)	B (std err)	B (std err)
Constant	-5.4 (2.6)	0.9 (1.9)	-6.0 (2.3)	-1.2 (1.9)
Protest Frame	-8.2* (3.3)	-4.5 ^{ms} (2.5)	-2.1 (2.6)	-4.4 ^{ms} (2.3)
Both Frames	-2.9 (3.2)	-3.9 (2.9)	0.1 (2.5)	-3.9 (2.6)
Freedom	24.8*** (2.6)	4.4* (2.2)	11.2*** (2.3)	3.8 ^{ms} (2.0)
Anger@Police			28.6*** (2.8)	23.7*** (3.2)
Anger@Protest			-16.9*** (3.1)	-4.3 (3.9)
Anger@Both			3.8 (3.1)	-0.6 (3.0)
N =	280	273	280	273
Adj R ² =	.248	.017	.523	.187

An alternative to the ambivalence explanation of framing effects has been suggested by Gross (2004, 2008). Her work explores the possibility that frames affect the emotional reactions of respondents which in turn affects their expressed views.²⁷ A close reading of the theoretical account she provides of framing's emotional effects suggests an answer to our explanatory challenge. Her discussion (2004, 2) makes clear that anger should occur more readily among those with consistent predispositions. In particular, she cites Oatley and Axelrod as suggesting that anger is triggered by a perceived violation of one's norms. Extending this line of thinking into the present context, it would seem that a consistent predisposition is necessary for a norm reasonably to be said to exist. So in the extreme, it should be difficult to violate the norms of someone with entirely inconsistent views. Consequently, anger should be difficult to provoke.²⁸ In considering an issue like the violence at the G20 therefore, anger should be more readily provoked among those with consistent views than among those with ambivalent views. In other words, anger should mediate the influence of framing only among those who are consistent in their value predispositions.

In our study we included a battery of questions asking about the emotions of our respondents during the G20. The order of presentation was randomized. Responses were gathered using the slider measures and scored from zero to one hundred. An analysis of variance on each of the emotional indicators for which we have measures shows that only on the anger measure is there a significant difference between the ambivalent and consistent respondents.²⁹ Additional questions enable us to distinguish between the targets of the anger.

The second model presented on the right hand side of Tables 1 -3 includes controls for targeted emotion. Anger has a similar effect in both direction and magnitude among the consistent and ambivalent respondents. However it is only among the consistent that controlling for anger reduces the effect of the frame to insignificance. This suggests that anger mediates the framing effect.³⁰ That is to say, the frame leads to anger which leads to blame among those with consistent predispositions on questions of freedom versus order. Moreover, the influence of the predisposition to either freedom or order is itself sharply reduced. This implies partial mediation. In other words a substantial portion (but not all) of the influence of one's predisposition to either freedom or order is via emotion.

The effect of introducing these very same emotional variables into the equation for ambivalent respondents has very different effects. To be sure, the direct effects of anger are evident. To the extent that those with ambivalent predispositions feel anger, it has a clear effect, explaining virtually all the variation in the model. Greater anger at the protestors understandably leads to greater concern over the protestors' actions (Table 1) and a greater willingness to blame the protestors (Table 2) and their leaders (Table 3) for the violence. Similarly greater anger at the police leads to greater concern over the police action and greater blame of the police and the chief of police for the violence. But where the difference comes is in the indirect effects. Introducing the controls for anger in the equation for those respondents with ambivalent predispositions has virtually no impact on the framing effects. Using any of the three dependent variables the framing effects are the same before and after the introduction of the anger variables for the ambivalent. Among those who are ambivalent in their predispositions the framing effects are not mediated by anger. Thus there is no evidence that the framing effects have their influence via anger among the ambivalent.³¹

Study 2: a public panel

To consider whether these findings hold in another sample we repeated the study approximately one year later among members of the general public.³² To do so we licensed access to the Vote Compass Ontario 2011 election panel.³³ As such, this study also does not involve probability sampling; its analytic power again rests upon random assignment to condition. Nevertheless, repeating the study among the general public increases confidence in the findings. The second study was again hosted on university web servers and conducted online. Data were collected between the 1st and 20th of March 2012.³⁴ E-mail invitations (see Appendix B) were sent to 3,220 panel members from the Greater Toronto Area. The participation rate was 36.7%; the cooperation rate 94.8% (AAPOR 2011; 2010). Age and gender weights were applied to bring the sample into line with the 2011 census figures for the Toronto Metropolitan area.³⁵ The same framing manipulations and question wordings were used as previously.³⁶ Ambivalence was again measured following the approach of Steenbergen and Brewer (2004).³⁷

Over a year after the first study, and nearly two years on from the events of the G20, the oft-repeated positions about police and protestors have been well rehearsed. Nevertheless, as shown in the three columns of Table 4 labeled as Model 1, we again find significant framing effects among respondents who are consistent in their views regarding freedom and order. On each of three dependent variables the protest and balanced frames significantly reduce concern over police actions at the G20 or attributions of police responsibility for the violence. Naturally, predisposition remains, as before, a potent force. However, introducing emotion into the mix effectively eliminates the effect of the frames and reduces the role of predisposition. These findings again support the view that emotion mediates the framing effects among those with consistent predispositions. Moreover, emotion partially mediates the influence of predisposition. In short, the findings are strikingly similar to those of the original study.

Table 4

Concern over Police Action and Attribution of Blame for G20 Violence:
Influence of Frame, Predisposition and Emotion in 2012
(Consistent Respondents only)

	Concern		Police vs Protestors		Chief vs Leaders	
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 1	Model 2	Model 1	Model 2
	B (std err)	B (std err)	B (std err)	B (std err)	B (std err)	B (std err)
Constant	12.2 (2.8)	17.7 (2.4)	4.5 (2.2)	6.3 (1.9)	1.4 (2.3)	4.1 (2.0)
Protest Frame	-7.6* (3.3)	-1.5 (2.5)	-6.8** (2.6)	-3.5 (1.9)	-6.8* (2.7)	-2.7 (2.1)
Both Frames	-8.8** (3.4)	-2.9 (2.5)	-8.8** (2.7)	-4.9* (1.9)	-6.4** (2.8)	-2.2 (2.1)
Freedom	24.5** (2.8)	11.9*** (2.2)	13.9*** (2.2)	5.7*** (1.6)	16.5*** (2.3)	7.4** (1.8)
Anger@Police		19.6*** (2.5)		20.5*** (1.9)		18.8*** (2.1)
Anger@Protest		-53.9*** (3.4)		-33.1*** (2.6)		-34.1*** (2.7)
Anger@Both		-1.3 (2.9)		-3.3 (2.2)		-1.9 (2.5)
N =	480	480	436	436	421	421
Adj R ² =	.139	.535	.097	.528	.114	.502

However they pertain only to respondents who are consistent in their predispositions regarding freedom versus order. What of the ambivalent respondents? The results are displayed in Table 5. As it turns out, in the second study the experimental frames have no significant effect among ambivalent respondents. And this holds both before and after statistical controls for emotion on each of the three dependent variables. Among the ambivalent, Table 5 suggests that only predisposition matters—at least in the models without emotion. When emotion is included, predisposition's effects on all three dependent variables are again at least partially mediated, and on the latter two measures completely so.

So nearly two years on from the events of the G20, working with an internet panel matched to the general population, framing again occurs not where one would anticipate—among those who are ambivalent about issues of freedom versus order—but rather among those who have more consistent predispositions. This once more suggests that ambivalence is not essential to framing. What matters instead is emotion; the framing effects are entirely explained by emotion. Factoring feelings of anger into the equations, in each instance, reduces the effects of framing to what one would find by chance. Of course, anger also plays a role among those who are ambivalent about issues of freedom versus order. It directly affects responses and partially mediates the effects of predisposition.

Table 5

Concern over Police Action and Attribution of Blame for G20 Violence:
Influence of Frame, Predisposition and Emotion in 2012
(Ambivalent Respondents only)

	Concern		Police vs Protestors		Chief vs Leaders	
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 1	Model 2	Model 1	Model 2
	B (std err)	B (std err)	B (std err)	B (std err)	B (std err)	B (std err)
Constant	2.4 (2.9)	7.9 (2.9)	-2.4 (2.1)	0.3 (1.8)	-4.1 (2.3)	-1.7 (2.0)
Protest Frame	0.7 (3.4)	0.2 (2.7)	-0.4 (2.5)	0.5 (1.9)	0.3 (2.7)	-0.1 (2.1)
Both Frames	-3.3 (3.5)	-2.0 (2.7)	-0.5 (2.5)	0.8 (1.9)	-1.2 (2.7)	-0.4 (2.1)
Freedom	19.3*** (2.8)	8.4*** (2.3)	9.5*** (2.0)	2.4 (1.6)	9.2*** (2.2)	1.9 (1.8)
Anger@Police		30.4*** (3.1)		22.9*** (2.9)		26.0*** (2.4)
Anger@Protest		-39.7*** (3.3)		-26.4** (2.2)		-23.2*** (2.6)
Anger@Both		3.1 (2.9)		0.6 (2.1)		-1.0 (2.3)
N =	477	477	437	437	402	402
Adj R ² =	.087	.455	.042	.436	.036	.415

Summary

The fallout from the violence by both protestors and police at the 2011 Toronto G20 Summit provides an ideal real world context within which to study issue framing. Throughout the time since the Summit public attitudes have been sharply divided over whether the protestors or police were more to blame for the violence that ensued. Following on a long line of framing studies we found support in two survey experiments for the well-established finding that framing affects public attitudes. In particular we found that relative to a frame depicting police violence, a protestor violence frame decreases three separate dependent variables measuring concern over the actions of the police, blaming the police and the police leadership for the violence at the G20. Drawing inspiration from the work of Sniderman and Theriault (2004) our results replicate their finding that a balanced frame produces more balanced responses. Our work also produced evidence relevant to studies finding that controlling for respondent predisposition may specify the framing effect. Moreover, we also found evidence supporting their claim that balanced framing enables respondents to respond more in line with their predispositions.

The most theoretically interesting findings in our studies derive from an investigation of the (in)consistency premise identified as implicit in the conventional account of framing effects by Sniderman and Theriault (2004). On most accounts framing effects occur because many respondents have more than one attitude regarding complex political situations such as those played out between police and protestors at G20 Summit conferences. While this premise is clearly identified by Sniderman and Theriault, due to the limitations imposed by their measurement strategy, they did not subject it to

empirical investigation. To identify respondents' predispositions, they employ a forced choice approach requiring one to indicate a preference either for freedom or order. To this we add a battery of questions that permits an assessment of the consistency/ambivalence of respondents' predispositions regarding freedom versus order. In doing so we find, contrary to conventional theorizing, that framing effects occur, if anything, even more clearly among consistent respondents than among inconsistent (ambivalent) respondents. Repeating the study with a panel of respondents drawn from the general public produces similar results. While framing effects among the ambivalent are readily explained by the conventional account of framing, a more differentiated theoretical understanding is required to explain framing effects among those who are consistent in their predispositions.

Experimental investigations by Gross (2004; 2008) and neurobiological work by DeMartino et al, (2006), supplemented by the theoretical work of Oatley and Axelrod, provide a plausible emotion-based account of framing effects among those with consistent predispositions. Respondents with consistent predispositions (and hence clearer social norms) are more likely to be angered by frames depicting police and protestor violence than those who are predisposed to ambivalence. Consistent with this thinking we find that among the emotions for which we have measures, only anger significantly differs between those with consistent and ambivalent predispositions. Moreover, we find among the predispositionally consistent that anger mediates the relationship between the frames and concern over police and protestor actions as well as their attributions of responsibility for the violence at the G20. Thus by specifically differentiating between respondents who are either consistent versus ambivalent in their predisposition, this study opens a further possible avenue for an integration of cognitive (Baden, 2008) and emotive understanding of framing effects along lines complementing those suggested by Gross (2008, 181).

Appendix A



Toronto Star, June 3, 2011 A18

Appendix B:

Study 1

Voluntary Recruitment Text

You are invited to participate in a survey where your opinion is important!

Your participation in this survey will be helping research on important current issues conducted at the University of Toronto under the supervision of Professor Joseph Fletcher. We'd like to know your opinions about the G8/G20 Summit that was held in Toronto during June 2010.

The survey will only take about 10 minutes to complete and we can provide you with a copy of the results when the study is complete. Your privacy is important, so your answers will be kept anonymous and will not be linked to you personally. You have to right to withdraw at any time by simply closing the website.

If you have any questions or concerns feel free to contact:

Will.Schatten@utoronto.ca or
josephf@chass.utoronto.ca

Please follow the link below to participate:

Study 1

Incentivized Recruitment Text

You are invited to participate in a survey where your opinion is worth a 1% participation bonus!

Your participation in this survey will be helping research on important current issues conducted at the University of Toronto under the supervision of Professor Joseph Fletcher. We'd like to know your opinions about the G8/G20 Summit that was held in Toronto during June 2010.

The survey will only take about 10 minutes to complete and we can provide you with a copy of the results when the study is complete. Your privacy is important, so your answers will be kept confidential. You have to right to withdraw at any time by simply closing the website.

If you have any questions or concerns feel free to contact:

Will.Schatten@utoronto.ca or
josephf@chass.utoronto.ca

Please follow the link below to participate:

Study II—Public Replication

Email Invitation

Subject Line: Politics and Protest

Dear Vote Compass participant,

Thank you for taking part in Vote Compass during the last year's Ontario provincial election. We are particularly grateful that you indicated your willingness to participate in future studies.

In partnership with a researcher from the University of Toronto, we are currently asking Vote Compass participants to share their views on politics and protest. We value your views and would like to know your opinion. If you'd be willing to complete a short, 10-minute survey, please click on the following link:

As always, we greatly appreciate your participation and taking the time to make your voice heard.

Best regards,
The Vote Compass Team

Introductory Screen for Study

Politics and Protest Study Description of Survey

This survey is part of a research project conducted at the University of Toronto under the supervision of Professor Joseph Fletcher. We'd like to know your opinions about a number of recent issues regarding politics and protest.

You may address questions or concerns about this study to:

Professor Joseph Fletcher
Department of Political Science,
University of Toronto,
Toronto, Ontario, M5S 3G3;
416-978-5018;
josephf@chass.utoronto.ca

Questions about your rights as research participants may be addressed to the Office of Research Ethics at the University of Toronto by email (ethics.review@utoronto.ca) or telephone (416.946-3273).

The survey will take 15 minutes to complete. Your privacy is important, so your answers will be kept anonymous and will not be linked to you personally. You have the right to withdraw at any time by simply closing this website. A summary of the study results can be obtained by contacting Professor Fletcher at the address listed above.

Appendix C: Frames

Textual Protestor Violence Frame:

Toronto Police Chief, Bill Blair, recently stated regarding the G20 weekend that “there were a large group of people who were intent not on protest but on violence and vandalism.”

Although Chief Blair is concerned over the actions of the protesters, are you more concerned over the actions of the police or the actions of the protesters during the G20 weekend?

Textual Police Violence Frame:

Ontario Ombudsman, André Marin, recently stated that the G20 weekend was the “most massive compromise of civil liberties in Canadian history”.

Although the Ombudsman is concerned over the actions of the police, are you more concerned over the actions of the protesters or the actions of the police during the G20 weekend?

Textual Balanced Frame:

Ontario Ombudsman, André Marin, recently stated that the G20 weekend was the “most massive compromise of civil liberties in Canadian history”. On the other hand Toronto Police Chief, Bill Blair, recently stated that “there were a large group of people who were intent not on protest but on violence and vandalism.”

Although Marin is concerned over the actions of the Police and Blair is concerned over the actions of the protesters, considering both points of view, are you more concerned over the actions of the protesters or the actions of the police during the G20 weekend?

Appendix D: Additional Question Wordings

Dependent Variables

Immediate Trade-Off Rating

Are you more concerned over the actions of the police or the actions of the protesters during the G20 weekend?

Differential Attribution of Responsibility for G20 Violence to police vs protesters

To what extent were each of the following responsible for the violence on the G20 weekend?

Police forces; Protesters

Differential Attribution of Responsibility for G20 Violence to police Chief vs protest leaders

To what extent were each of the following responsible for the violence on the G20 weekend?

Bill Blair, the Chief of Toronto Police; leadership of protesters

Forced-Choice Predisposition Measure

Now here are some values that everyone agrees are important. But sometimes we have to choose one value over another. If you absolutely had to choose one guarantee over the other, which one would you choose:

Guaranteeing law and order in society

Guaranteeing individual freedom in society

Consistency-Ambivalence Measure

Please indicate to what level you agree with the following statements:

1-Strongly disagree

2-Somewhat disagree

3-Neither disagree nor agree

4-Somewhat agree

5-Strongly agree

Free speech ought to be allowed for all political groups even if some of the things that these groups believe in are highly insulting and threatening to particular segments of society.

Free speech is just not worth it if it means we have to put up with the danger to society of radical and extremist groups.

A town or city should be able to limit demonstrations city officials believe may turn violent.

Members of extreme groups should be allowed to hold rallies in our cities.

Emotion Measures

Please indicate to what extent you felt the following emotions during the G20 weekend:

(0=Not at all, 100=Extremely)

[Angry]

[Sad]

[Shame]

[Disgust]

[Fear]

[Proud]

Which group caused you to feel the following emotions:

(1=Police, 2=Protesters, 3=Both, 4=Neither)

[Angry at]

[Sad about]

[Ashamed of]

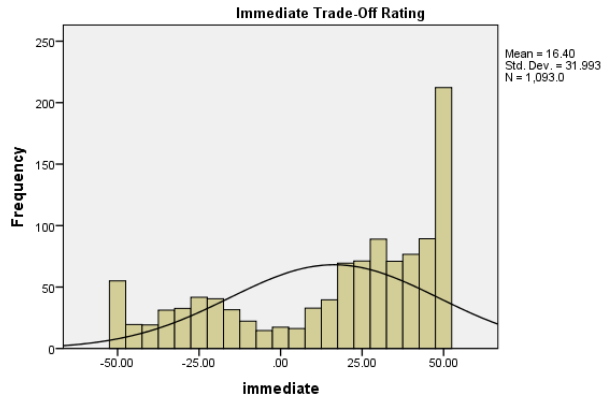
[Disgusted at]

[Fearful of]

[Proud of]

Appendix E: Distribution of DVs in Study 2

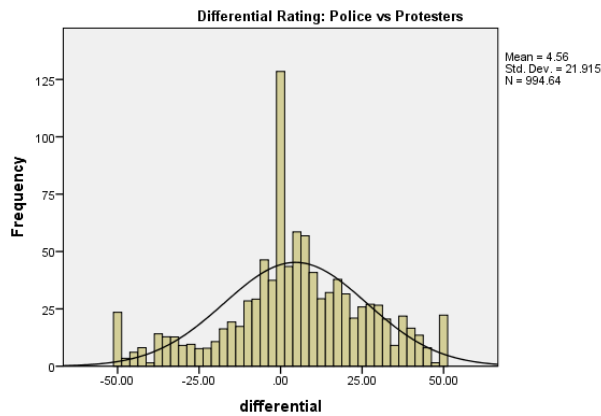
Concern over Protester vs Police Action during the G20



Question Wording: Are you more concerned over the actions of the police or over the actions of the protesters during the G20?

Lower scores indicate greater concern over protester actions; Higher scores indicate greater concern over police actions.

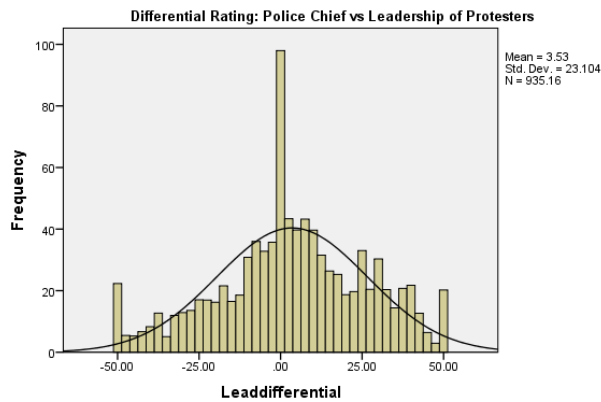
Differential Attribution of Responsibility for G20 Violence I



Question Wordings: To what extent were each of the following responsible for the violence on the G20 weekend? Police Forces; Protesters

Lower scores indicate greater protester responsibility; Higher scores indicate greater police responsibility.

Differential Attribution of Responsibility for G20 Violence II

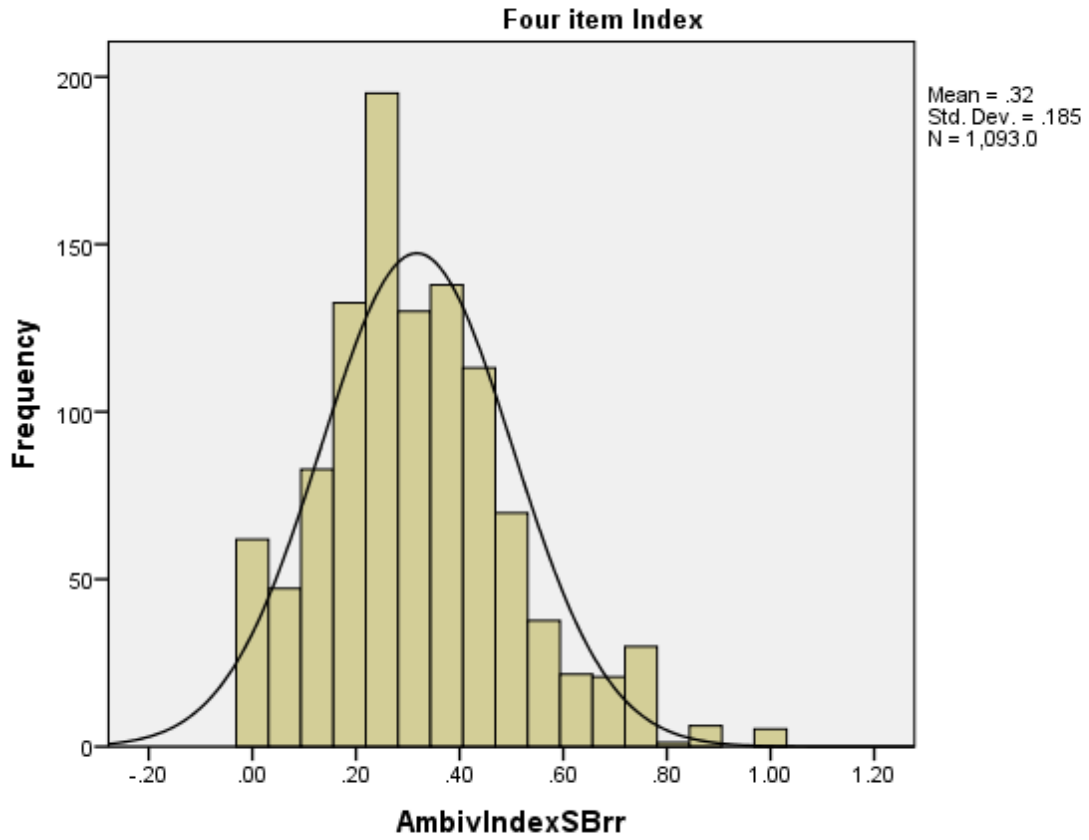


Question Wordings: To what extent were each of the following responsible for the violence on the G20 weekend? (Chief) Bill Blair; Leadership of Protesters

Lower scores indicate greater protester leadership responsibility; Higher scores indicate greater police leadership responsibility.

Appendix F: Ambivalence Control Variable in Study 2

Distribution of Ambivalence regarding Freedom vs Order



$$\text{Ambivalence} = ((\text{ABS}(\text{Positive}) + \text{ABS}(\text{Negative})) / 2) - \text{ABS}(\text{Positive} - \text{Negative}).$$

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¹ Composed of The Toronto Police, the Ontario Provincial Police, the RCMP, the York Regional Police and the Peel Regional Police with help from the Canadian Forces .

² An informal tour and photos taken of the damaged areas by the first author early the following morning suggests that the damage was primarily to large readily-identified corporate outlets and banks.

³ <http://www.thestar.com/topic/torontog20summit>. The cases with the greatest visibility involve Adam Noboy and Dorian Barton

⁴ https://www.oiprd.on.ca/CMS/getattachment/Publications/Reports/G20_Report_Eng.pdf.aspx

⁵ Jake Edmiston and Josh Visser, "Report exonerates RCMP for actions during violence-marred G20 summit." The National Post 14 May 2012. <http://news.nationalpost.com/2012/05/14/report-exonerates-rcmp-for-actions-during-violence-marred-g20-summit/> (accessed 15 May 2012).

⁶ Colin Perkel, "G20 Report blasts police for 'unlawful' arrests, civil right violations." *Globe and Mail* <http://www.theglobeandmail.com/news/national/toronto/g20-report-blasts-police-for-unlawful-arrests-civil-rights-violations/article2434441/singlepage/#articlecontent> (accessed 16 May 2012); Marcus Gee, "Report critical of G20 tactics, Chief Blair defensive." *Globe and Mail*, <http://www.theglobeandmail.com/news/national/toronto/marcus-gee/report-critical-of-g20-tactics-chief-blair-defensive/article2435244/> (Accessed 16 May 2012).

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⁸ An editorial cartoon depicted the ongoing controversy as a long-running play. The Toronto Star June 3, 2011 A18. See Appendix C.

⁹ G20: One Year Later Torontonians Split on How the Police Dealt with the G. 20 Summit Protests. <http://www.angus-reid.com/polls/43937/torontonians-split-on-how-the-police-dealt-with-g20-summit-protests/> Accessed June 25, 2011. Reported in several articles in The Toronto Star, June 25 2011. <http://www.thestar.com/topic/torontog20summit> (Accessed 25 June, 2011).

¹⁰ Separate ethics approvals were obtained for each stage. Stage 1 was approved by the Political Science Delegated Ethics Review Committee, February 3, 2011. Stage 2 was approved under University Research Ethics Protocol #2603.

¹¹ These include: Pol242-Intro to Research Methods; Pol340 International Law; Pol108 Intro to International Relations; Pol214 Canadian Government and Politics and Pol356 Canadian Political Parties. The recruitment messages are contained in Appendix B.

¹² Students in POL111 Canada in Comparative Perspective were offered a 1% participation mark for completing one of several available academic activities. There are some differences between the voluntary and incentivized respondents but a variable indicating respondent group is insignificant when included in our models.

¹³ These were programmed into Lime Survey by the second author.

¹⁴ Visual frames were also used in the first experiment but the form of the frame made no significant difference in the models, so they are not discussed here.

¹⁵ Available at www.limesurvey.org

¹⁶ Question wordings also appear in Appendix D.

¹⁷ In clustering responses the figure to some extent distorts the actual distribution.

¹⁸ This is, of course, the modal response; the median score is 12.5. The skew is =.289; the kurtosis = -1.087.

¹⁹ Their respective skew and kurtosis values are -.093 & .051 and .250 and -.096.

²⁰ Irrespective of frame, concern over police action is markedly higher than either indicator of police responsibility for the violence among those predisposed toward freedom. However, among those predisposed to order, concern is differentiated from responsibility only under the police violence frame.

²¹ Two pertain to free speech and two to demonstrations (rallies). Each pair has one positive and one negative item. Responses range from strongly agree through neutral to strongly disagree. These index items were placed well after the forced choice item in the questionnaire and immediately before the frame and form manipulations preceding our dependent measures. We have used these items singly and in combination in various studies since the 1987 Charter Project. (Sniderman et al 1996).

²² Cronbach's alpha = .67; Together the items also form a single factor explaining 56% of the variance. And adding the forced-choice item employed by Sniderman and Theriault (2004) to measure predisposition also yields a single factor.

²³ This is also the approach recommended in the psychological literature (Brecker, 1994). We found very similar results to those reported below when the items are combined into a simple additive index, folded at the midpoint with moderate scores classified as ambivalent and extreme scores classified as consistent.

²⁴ Meffert, Guge and Lodge (2004), who measure ambivalence similarly, mention that this approach "may not be sensitive to the distinction between ambivalence and indifference." In this instance, however, there is little indication of real indifference as only 1% of respondents respond "neither agree nor disagree" to all four items. And only a further 1.3% choose the middle option 3 out of 4 times.

²⁵ Cases falling in the median category were randomly assigned. Using cut points other than a median split produce similar results to those reported below.

²⁶ The interaction terms discussed in connection with Figures 2 and 3 remain insignificant within the broader context of this and subsequent models. Moreover, they affect neither the core findings regarding the framing nor its mediation via emotion. Accordingly the interaction terms are not retained in these analyses.

²⁷ She suggests that frames likely operate along both cognitive and emotive tracks, a point discussed below.

²⁸ Consistent with the conventional understanding, the ambivalently predisposed should respond to the information contained in the frame in making their judgments.

²⁹ Mean anger scores by type of respondent:

Respondents	N	Mean	Confidence interval
Consistent	280	67.3	(63.9 -- 70.8)
Ambivalent	274	57.9	(54.6 – 61.1)

Along with disgust anger was among the most frequently mentioned emotions in a survey conducted for the Toronto Star on the first anniversary of the G20 (Kennedy, 2011).

³⁰ Including other emotion variables does not have the same effect.

³¹ Including other emotion variables in the equation produces similar results.

³² Following suggestions by Druckman and Kam (2011) on strengthening external validity we sought a different sample at a different time but choose to stick with the same context and operationalization. Nevertheless, as part of the same study we also replicated the 'Government Spending' framing experiment used by Sniderman and Theriault (2004). This different operationalization and context (economic equality) produces very similar results; emotion again mediates the effect of framing among consistent but not ambivalent respondents.

³³ Vote Compass Ontario is an online election literacy application sponsored by CBC news, the University of Toronto's Mowat Centre and McGill University's Center for the Study of Democratic Citizenship. Respondents complete a short questionnaire enabling them to compare their views to the positions of the major political parties. Launched for 2011 Ontario provincial election, Vote Compass Ontario had over 135,000 participants.

³⁴ Ethical approval for this study was obtained from the Office of the Vice President, Research at the University of Toronto on January 16, 2012 under protocol reference # 27232.

³⁵ Statistics Canada. 2012. *Toronto, Ontario (Code 535) and Ontario (Code 35) (table). Census Profile. 2011 Census.* Statistics Canada Catalogue no. 98-316-XWE. Ottawa. Released May 29, 2012.

<http://www12.statcan.gc.ca/census-recensement/2011/dp-pd/prof/index.cfm?Lang=E>

(accessed May 29, 2012). Including age categories and gender in the models (Loewen, 2010) does not substantially change the results.

³⁶ The only difference between the two studies was that only textual frames were employed in the replication since the form of the frame (textual vs. visual) made no significant difference to the results in the first study. Distributions for the dependent variables appear in Appendix E.

³⁷ The four items again form a reliable index ($\alpha = .68$) and a single factor with or without the forced choice item. Its distribution appears in Appendix F. Mean and median ambivalence scores are .3165 and .3125. Again there was little sign of indifference with .1% of respondents choosing the middle option on all four items and 1.3% doing so 3 times out of 4. A median split was again performed with cases in the median category randomly assigned. Other cut points produce similar results.