WHO IS RESPONSIBLE?
EXPLAINING HOW CONTEMPORARY CANADIAN NEWSPAPERS FRAME DOMESTIC VIOLENCE

by

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Abstract

Domestic violence is a pressing social issue in Canada. How the news media covers this violence has the potential to generate social responsibility or reinforce misconceptions about its causes, prevalence, and solutions. In this dissertation, I answer two questions. How are contemporary Canadian newspapers covering domestic violence? And, what explains the patterns of coverage? To answer the first question, I conducted an extensive content and discourse analyses of a sample of 823 domestic violence stories published between 2014 and 2016 in a range of English-language newspapers across Canada. To answer the second question, I interviewed over 120 news workers, police, and anti-violence advocates, shadowed five journalists, and observed three newsrooms in four select case study cities (Thunder Bay, Kingston, Toronto, and Ottawa) in Ontario, Canada. From these data, I argue that Canadian newspapers reinforce individualized notions of responsibility and racialized conceptions of belonging. The news communicates that Canada does not have a violence-against-women-cultural problem; there are just a few bad apples, women who make poor decisions, and violent Indigenous, immigrant, and non-Canadian 'cultures' that are responsible. The news subsequently focuses on depoliticized state and carceral state responses through ample attention to police, trials, prisons, and punishment. I further argue that that Canadian newspaper framing patterns of domestic violence are constrained, but not predetermined, by neoliberal logics. The reliance on market logics opens the door to strong source influence. Canadian police are able to take advantage of the weakening of newspapers with their increased communications sophistication, while anti-violence organizations receive insufficient funding to match police influence. Drawing together the political-economic realities of both the media and sources exposes the intimate link between neoliberalism and carceral expansion. Neoliberal economic and discursive restructuring, however, does not tell the whole

story. Other factors also strongly influence domestic violence framing, including journalism's ideology, newsroom culture, and women journalists as potential survivors of gendered violence. The implications are clear: Canadian newspapers are also not living up to their ideal role as the fourth estate and the framing patterns are not conducive for the social change needed to reduce and prevent domestic violence in Canada.

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movement and passionate and imperfect people trying to save women's lives. My time volunteering in the anti-violence community in Kingston greatly shaped this project. Thank you to the staff and board members of Kingston Interval House, staff of Sexual Assault Centre Kingston, Elayne, Marilyn, Rebecca, Krystle, Anne Marie, Roxanne, Kim, Brea and others who I have unduly missed. When I explained this project early on to staff member of KIH, they exclaimed – "Oh, we need this research." Thank you for the encouragement.

I dedicate this thesis to those who have lost their lives at the hands of someone they loved, to those still living in abusive relationships, to those who are living free, and to those working every day to build a better world free of gender-based violence.

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AP: Association Press
AVA: Anti-violence Advocate
AVO: Anti-violence Organization
CBC: Canadian Broadcasting Corporation
CP: Canadian Press
CRA: Canadian Revenue Agency
DVDRC: Domestic Violence Death Review Committee
GBV: Gender-based Violence
HOI: Hierarchy of Influence
IPSV: Intimate Partner Sexual Violence
IPV: Intimate Partner Violence
IRT: Intercoder Reliability Test
KP: Kingston Police
LGBTQ+: Lesbian, Gay, Bi-Sexual, Trans, Queer, and additional queer identities
MMIW: Murdered and Missing Indigenous Women
MMIW&G: Murdered and Missing Indigenous Women & Girls
NFL: National Football League
NGO: Non-governmental Organization
NHL: National Hockey League
OACP: Ontario Association of Chiefs of Police
OAITH: Ontario Association of Interval and Transition Houses
OCRCC: Ontario Coalition of Rape Crisis Centres
OCTEVAW: Ottawa Coalition to End Violence Against Women
OHRC: Ontario Human Rights Commission
OIPRD: Office of the Independent Police Review Director
OMRON: Ontario Media Relations Officer Network
ONWA: Ontario Native Women's Association
OPS: Ottawa Police Service
PETF: Pierre Elliott Trudeau Foundation
RCMP: Royal Canadian Mounted Police
SACK: Sexual Assault Centre Kingston
SAWC: South Asian Women's Centre
SCC: Supreme Court of Canada
SIU: Special Investigations Unit
TBPS: Thunder Bay Police Service
TPS: Toronto Police Service
TRAC: Trend Report About Circulation
TRC: Truth and Reconciliation Commission
VAW: Violence Against Women

Chapter 1: Introduction

Let's call her Ellen. She takes compelling photos, enjoys coffee, and has an excellent sense of quirky professional style. She, like many of her colleagues, no longer works at a news organization and she, like too many women, was sexually assaulted.

I met Ellen on my way to an interview. She asked of my research: "Are you looking at the way other institutions deal with sexual assault and domestic violence?"

I responded: "I'm more focused on the news media, although the way institutions handle issues could influence the coverage or be covered itself." I added: "I don't think many institutions handle it well." The conversation stalled. Her disclosure broke the silence. "They didn't handle mine well."

She went on to tell me about how the police are currently mishandling the sexual assault that happened to her. The detective in charge of her case encouraged her not to follow through on pressing charges against the man. After making bail and returning to their shared residence, the detective rationalized, the accused might become aggressive and do something worse. Ellen felt pressured and did not press charges. Ellen tells me how much she still fears for her safety.

In the interview after this conversation, the news worker stressed how the police strongly influence when and how sexual and domestic violence is covered in the news. "The weakening of the media has increased the power of the police," he reflected after sharing how little they edited police press releases on any crime topic. "The stuff that comes from the police generally you don't have to worry as much about."

I kept on thinking about Ellen, a woman who was, at the time, working for a news organization. Editors and reporters asserted that they rewrite police press releases to fill the paper -- sometimes without even calling the police to check the details. And the police are not going to write a press release about a case they did not investigate.

Ellen's story is a poignant illustration of the often-hidden dynamics shaping domestic violence news in Canada. Political-economic factors play a large role. The newspaper's reliance on police sources is linked to decreased media capacity and increased capacity of the carceral state. The story of domestic violence news goes beyond the newsroom and beyond the violence itself. It is also a story of neoliberal and carceral institutional relationships shaping Canada's information environment.

How news covers domestic violence itself is of critical importance. Domestic violence continues to be a pressing problem in Canada. Domestic violence, also called intimate partner

violence (IPV) in this study, is any form of violence committed by a current or former spouse, boyfriend, girlfriend, or cohabiting partner; by violence, I include physical and sexual abuse, threats, coercion, and emotional and psychological abuse (Carlyle et al. 2014, 452). This excludes one-night stands or friend-on-friend violence, but includes violence in heterosexual, same-sex, transgender, gender-queer, and polyamorous relationships. The most extreme form of this violence is murder. 318 people in Canada were murdered by their intimate partners in the last four years (2014 to 2017). Additional research suggests that 1 in 4 to 1 in 2 women in Canada will experience some form of gendered violence in their lifetime, including violence from their boyfriends, girlfriends, spouses, and intimate partners (Statistics Canada 1993)[1].

Domestic violence is often a manifestation of gendered power imbalances. Men and boys are more likely to perpetrate the violence and women and girls are more likely to experience it. While women can be violent too, I take the feminist perspective that the amount and type of violence is largely an expression of patriarchy and gender inequality. Gender inequality is not the only structural power imbalance to consider. Multiple systems of oppression (such as colonialism, poverty, or ableism) exacerbate experiences of domestic violence (Sokoloff and Dupont 2005, 43). This project leans on the growing literature that identifies the intersections of marginalization as it relates to domestic violence (Nixon and Humphreys 2010; Bograd 2005; Crenshaw 1991).

My interest in the topic is grounded in a belief that gendered violence is not inevitable. Canadians sometimes tell themselves myths that boys will be boys or that it is just a few bad apples or that some relationships will always be toxic. Instead, the stories we need to hear are like the ones Tlingit elders in Teslin, Yukon, told me in 2016. As they are setting up a new

[1] More recent data would be preferable. But, the federal government has not done research to date on lifetime experiences of violence despite the clear evidence from the #MeToo movement and anti-violence advocates that the violence is likely still high.

Indigenous[2] justice system in their community, a friend asked about the punishment for gendered crimes like rape or intimate partner violence. The elder responded: "Death." The elder explained that violence against women used to be so rare and these rare cases of extreme disrespect of women were met with swift response. I do not support the death penalty in any way. However, what I hear from this story is hope – hope that violence against women is not a timeless, inevitable pastime of all communities in all history and hope that people of all genders can begin to be re-valued and respected once again so that this violence is just as scarce. The news could play an important role in shedding light on the prevalence of the violence, dispelling myths, and bringing forward innovative solutions. The question becomes, **how are contemporary newspapers covering domestic violence and what explains the patterns of coverage?**

This project answers these two questions, connecting the study of content with news production. Since little research has examined recent domestic violence framing, I first identified dominant patterns through extensive content and discourse analyses of a sample of 823 domestic violence stories published between 2014 and 2016 from a range of newspapers across Canada. After establishing how Canadian newspapers framed domestic violence, I addressed a large gap in the literature – no study that I am aware of has explained the framing and news selection process for domestic violence. To do this, I interviewed over 120 news workers, police, and anti-violence advocates, shadowed five journalists, and observed three newsrooms in four select case study cities in Ontario, Canada.

From these data, I argue that Canadian news media often reinforces problematic misconceptions about the prevalence of domestic violence and who or what is responsible for its

[2] I use the language of Indigenous peoples, rather than alternative terms, taking the lead from Indigenous and allied scholars. Bonita Lawrence (2004, 22) argues that the capitalized term 'Indigenous' is preferable as "it refers less to pre-colonial…identity than to a future…refashioning of Indigenous identities that are truer to Indigenous histories and cultures." Thus, this project uses the term Indigenous to avoid state-imposed or mythologized pre-colonial terminology.

persistence in Canada and abroad. By pointing to individuals, victims[3], and racialized[4] communities, the news media reinforces individualized notions of responsibility and racialized conceptions of belonging. The news communicates that Canada does not have a violence-against-women-cultural problem; there are just a few bad apples, women who make poor decisions, and violent Indigenous, immigrant, and non-Canadian 'cultures' that are responsible. The news subsequently focuses on depoliticized state responses and, especially, carceral state responses through ample attention to police, trials, prisons, and punishment.

The vital question then becomes, what explains these patterns? I argue that neoliberal economic and discursive factors condition, but do not predetermine, domestic violence news frames. The reliance on market logic got the news media into the pickle they are currently in, which opens the door to heavily rely on sources, wire and duplicated content and to engage in less investigative journalism. At the same time, police, as key representatives of the carceral state, operate with increased budgets and communications sophistication, while alternative voices, like anti-violence organizations, receive insufficient funding to engage in the day-to-day crisis work with little time and resources for communication. Drawing together the political-economic realities of both the newspapers and their sources exposes the intimate link between neoliberal rationality and carceral expansion. At the same time, both journalists and sources are incorporating discourses of risk and individualized accountability. Yet, economic and discursive

[3] The language of victim, survivor, and complainant are used intentionally throughout the dissertation. Complainant is legal jargon that does not presume the veracity of the claims. This language is necessary in some ambiguous cases. Both victim and survivor are terms that suggest that the claims are believed. Survivor is not always the most appropriate term in cases that result in death or when women do not want to be called survivors. Victim does not accurately reflect the identification of many of those who have lived through domestic violence experiences.

[4] I use the language of racialization and racialized, rather than race or ethnicity or diversity, to signify that race is a social construct and that the media can extend racial meanings by using racial markers or by evaluating the connection between the violence and those racial markers (see Omi and Winant 1986, 64). I use the term 'non-white' and proper nouns, such as Black or South-Asian, rather than visible minority as the term 'non-white' identifies how racialization is relational (between those who are White and those who are non-white) and the proper nouns are more accurate.

restructuring does not tell the whole story. Other factors also strongly influence domestic violence framing, including journalism's ideology, newsroom culture, and women journalists as potential survivors of gendered violence. What this suggests is that news production of domestic violence for Canadian newspapers is constrained by, but not predetermined by, neoliberal logics, just as news coverage of domestic violence often reinforces neoliberal discourses but also contests these discourses.

Neoliberalism in the Canadian Context

I employ the concept of neoliberalism to signify how institutions and economics on the one hand and cultural and ideological processes on the other have been colonized by instrumentalist market rationality (Phelan 2014, 3; Coulter 2009, 26). On the political-economic side, neoliberalism refers to "privatization, deregulation and a rolling back and withdrawal of the state from many areas of social provision" (Gill and Scharff 2011, 5). On the discursive side, neoliberalism is a form of governmentality (Rottenberg 2013) in which people come to see themselves as rational actors engaging in a public domain that is "denuded of power and histories of oppression" (Mohanty 2013, 971). Both aspects are important to the study of domestic violence news discourses and its production.

The rollback of the state is incomplete, as many states often couple retrenchment of the social safety net with expansion of the carceral state. As Chandra Talpade Mohanty (2013, 970) writes, "neoliberalism in the early twenty-first century is marked by market-based governance practices on the one hand (privatization, commodification, and proliferation of difference) and authoritarian, national-security-driven penal state practices on the other." Loic Wacquant (2009) clearly explicates this logic; the carceral state houses people excluded and unsupported by

neoliberal policies and over polices poor, racialized, and excluded communities to support the uneven economic growth. Expansion of police, prisons, and punishments does not contradict neoliberal logics; instead Mohanty, Wacquant and others sees it as an integral other-side-of-the-coin[5] (Maynard 2017; Bernstein 2012; Allspach 2010; Wacquant 2010).

Violence against women is a vital topic in understanding the link between the carceral state and neoliberalism. In the U.S., key work has demonstrated that the violence against women's movement has catalyzed and supported carceral expansion (Goodmark 2018; Goodmark 2017; Bernstein 2012; Bumiller 2008). For Kristen Bumiller (2008), the feminist anti-violence movement was coopted by neoliberalism in the 1980s and 1990s to help justify increased spending on police, criminal justice, and prisons, while social services and access to welfare were slashed. The tools of the neoliberal and carceral state also exacerbate domestic violence, rather than address the violence. Locking more men in jail does not decrease violence against women in the long term, but does potentially exacerbate men's likelihood to engage in violence once out (Goodmark 2018). Decreased welfare reduces women's ability to leave abusive relationships, and reinforces patriarchal systems of dependence (Morrow et al. 2004).

The application of the neoliberal carceral state is racialized. More racialized men are shot by police in Canada and the U.S. than White men. Black and Indigenous men and women are overrepresented in prisons in both countries. In Canada, Indigenous women represent only two percent of the population, but 43% of admissions to prison averaged across the provincial and federal penal systems (Malakieh 2018, 5). In two provinces, Manitoba (74%) and Saskatchewan (76%), three-quarters of the admissions to prisons were Indigenous adults (ibid). Racialized

[5] Wendy Brown (2006) offers a different view argues neoconservative ideology contradicts pure economic neoliberal anti-state rationality. In turn, the conservative movement in the U.S. holds up both values to support their anti-state (in some aspects) and pro-state (in other aspects) stances. I, however, find the arguments more convincing that neoliberalism is intimately tied to the carceral state.

women bear the brunt of slashed welfare and social services and increased carceral attention. Margaret Abraham and Evangelia Tastsoglou (2016) clearly argue immigrant and racialized women most acutely feel the consequences of state intervention into domestic violence. The relationship between the neoliberal state and carceral expansion is racialized.

By drawing together neoliberalism and the carceral state, various studies underscore how anti-violence rhetoric can be twisted or can support state policies that exacerbate violence and that maintain a racial hierarchy (Taylor 2018; Bumiller 2008). While not all anti-violence rhetoric supports the carceral state (especially true for early critiques of the anti-violence movement by women of colour in the U.S. and Canada), a lot of anti-violence rhetoric bolsters, and is coopted to bolster, the carceral state. I explore how similar arguments are relevant in relation to media attention to gendered violence. This includes the ways in which the media employs carceral framing and the ways in which the expansion of the carceral state and retrenchment of social services influences domestic violence news production.

In Canada, while municipally, provincially, and nationally funded police agencies continue to increase their budgets, anti-violence agencies are still reeling from budget cuts in the 1990s. During the Harris years in Ontario, it is well-documented that cuts to domestic violence shelters were severe and had lasting effects (OAITH 1998). This destructive social policy swept Canada, in the Klein years in Alberta, British Columbia in the 1990s, and so on (Morrow et al. 2004). All provinces and territories reduced spending on violence against women in the late 1990s (ibid, 363). Under Prime Minister Harper, national women's organizations faced a round of severe funding cuts. The new federal government under Prime Minister Trudeau has increased funding to anti-violence services; however, austerity minded provincial governments threaten to undermine anti-violence work in the three richest provinces: Ontario (Hayes and Stone 2018),

Quebec (Laframboise 2017), and Alberta (CBC News 2017). Even in provincial or federal funding blitzes, anti-violence organizations' funding is tied to increased scrutiny often without substantially increasing administrative capacity (Evans et al. 2005). Shelters and other government-funded anti-violence agencies buckle under the weight of increased reporting measures, more competitive project-based funding, and increased scrutiny. Anti-violence agencies, one might expect, cannot easily participate in communication practices when they are struggling to adequately respond to day-to-day crisis activities.

While anti-violence agencies face deleterious and uncertain financial conditions, police communications have flourished and professionalized in Canada. Police budgets continue to rise despite a general decrease in crime. In 2016, the Toronto Police's annual budget reached $1 billion and, despite political jostling, much of the spending details have not been publicly released (CBC News 2016). These increased budgets do not mean more police officers, as the number of police officers per 100,000 people has decreased between 2010 and 2015 (Mazowita and Greenland 2016). At the same time, police forces across the country have the highest proportion of civilians working for them in their history and some of these workers focus exclusively on communications (ibid). The Ontario Association of Chiefs of Police (OACP), Ontario Media Relations Officers Network (OMRON), and the Ontario Police College offer in-depth training in the field of police-media engagement, social media engagement, and media production. While these courses are not new, the number of media-trained officers has increased and the training has become more sophisticated. Police suggest that increased professionalization of communication increases their ability to serve and protect the public. However, image management – that is, projecting meanings of policing in order to promote a positive impression of police – is one of the primary goals of police communications (O'Connor 2017; Mawby

2012). With increased police budgets, police-media training, and decreased capacity of alternative voices and news checks and balances, police image management is becoming more effective, especially in the coverage of domestic violence.

By using the term neoliberalism to contextualize the Canadian media environment as well as social services and the carceral state, I am able to pause on the seemingly naturalness of these economically-driven media organizations and its effects on news content. Natalie Fenton (2011, 66) argues that the application of market logic to news is flawed:

> In a neoliberal free market economy, news has no right to exist if it cannot pay its way. But news is not an 'ordinary' commodity – it has a special status by dint of its relationship to democratic life. So, when markets fail or come under threat and ethical journalistic practice is swept aside in pursuit of financial stability, the consequences are felt more broadly than the marketplace.

Concerns that economic restructuring of media organizations are contributing to poor news quality are not new (Fenton 2011), nor is it new to document the ways journalistic practices are changing (Phelan and Salter 2017). What is new is the application of the term in understanding both the current news reality in Canada and its effect on domestic violence news content.

The time period of this study (2014-2016) is apt for consideration of the political-economic reality of Canadian newspapers, as it is a time when Canadian newspapers are in crisis. Successive rounds of journalists have been laid off at most of the major papers. Long-standing daily newspapers have closed their doors forever, such as the *Guelph Mercury* on January 29, 2016. Part of the impetus is the economic model of newspapers is failing. The "belief in the ability of markets to use new technologies to solve social problems" has structured the precipitous decline of local news (Fenton 2011, 63). While they previously relied upon ads sales and newspaper hardcopy subscriptions, more and more people are reading their news online, often for free. Subscription numbers generally show a downward trend. The Canadian Daily Newspaper Trend Report about Circulation (TRAC) is compiled by the Canadian division of

BPA Worldwide that is responsible for, among other things, much of the flyer distribution in Canada. The 2016 TRAC identified that newspapers[6] across the provinces lost between 482 and 11,873 subscribers to their weekday newspaper from 2015 to 2016 (CCAB 2017; CCAB 2016). The exceptions were increased subscriptions for *Le Journal de Montréal* and *Le Journal de Québec*, which increased subscriptions by 20,606 and 2,027 people respectively for the weekday edition of the newspaper (ibid). Across the industry, subscriptions continue to decline. From 2012 to 2016, newspapers report a 13% decrease in subscription across the industry[7].

Some of the economic problems of the Canadian news industry are technology-related. Media organizations have been slow to adapt to a digitized media market and now are struggling to identify new revenue sources. Various newspapers have tried, and failed, digital revenue models. The *Toronto Star* launched its Star Touch tablet-only app that cost over twenty million dollars and, with its failure, resulted in the lay-off of 30 employees (Potter 2017). Few other news outlets have identified how to successfully monetize digital news. The exception to the rule is the digital-only Montreal-based *La Presse* news organization with its tablet app La Presse+.[8] The story, however, of the Canadian news media crisis is not simply one of a failure to adapt.

Political decisions paved the way for the weakening of Canadian media. States can enable, censor, regulate, and define news media (Benson 2004, 196). Here, the state was largely regulating news media using market logic. In 2014, the Competition Bureau under Stephen Harper's Conservative Party of Canada's federal government approved the largest sale of a

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[6] *The Western Star, The Telegram, The Guardian, Journal Pioneer, Cape Breton Post, Hamilton Spectator, Ottawa Sun, Toronto Star, Toronto Sun, Waterloo Region Record, Calgary Sun, Edmonton Sun, The Daily Courier,* and *Penticton Herald.*

[7] The 2012 report of daily newspaper circulation noted an average of just over 6 million copies sent out daily (Newspapers Canada 2013) while the 2016 circulation data identified that only 5.2 million copies sent out on an average publishing day (News Media Canada 2017).

[8] By 2018, news every day of the week is printed only online. Despite the success, the model is not applicable to other media markets. *La Presse* serves a more niche community of francophones in Quebec.

Canadian newspaper chain, arguably, in contravention of anti-trust laws (Gill 2017, 33). Postmedia Inc. acquired 175 newspapers and publications for $314 million (Quebecor 2014). To buy the Sun Media chain, Postmedia had to take out a large loan from a predatory hedge fund based largely in the U.S. (Gill 2017; Edge 2016). This sale effectively turned a challenged newspaper industry into one marked for death, at worst, and shrinkage, at best. Despite promises to the contrary, Postmedia laid off rounds of journalists newly hired and bought out teams of seasoned journalists and editors (Gill 2017). Newsrooms were combined in four cities, Edmonton, Vancouver, Ottawa, and Calgary, prompting further lay-offs and increased duplication among previously competing papers. Whether or not the government intended the resulting ill-effects, the approval contributed towards weakening the news media, its independence, and its ability to hold powerful people's and institutions' feet to the fire. Such a story of media weakening is one of political decision-making and predatory capitalistic markets that operate on a model of profit not the public good.[9]

Many of the journalists I interviewed worked for Postmedia at some point. Many could not forget the day the journalists were fired. I turn to my field notes to tell the story.

Soon after Postmedia bought the majority of the *Sun* papers, the *Ottawa Sun* and its journalists were moved into the *Ottawa Citizen* building near the IKEA on the west of Ottawa. They were housed in a secondary newsroom, separate from the main *Ottawa Citizen* newsroom by a door and rows of advertising staff until Tuesday, January 19, 2016. That day, twelve journalists from the *Ottawa Sun* were fired while 90 across the chain also received their pink slips. While there were reports in *Frank Magazine* and on *Buzzfeed* of an impending layoff, no one knew when the axe would fall and who it would fall on.

For the journalists at the *Ottawa Sun*, they knew something was happening when all 12 of the soon-to-be unemployed journalists were called into a meeting. As they waited for the meeting, people did not

[9] The $50 million over five years to support local journalism and exploration for new taxing models for non-profit journalism announced in the 2018 federal budget is a slight shift away from strict application of market logic to the news media (Department of Finance Canada 2018, 40). The increased funding is really meant as a stop measure to largely ensure that news organizations can once again be profitable organizations, still ruled by market measures. The latter proposal to explore charitable status for some news organizations has the potential to challenge the application of the market logic. However, the outcomes of the allocated funds and promised exploration of charitable status remain to be seen and do not have a bearing on the findings of the time period of this study.

file stories. They sat. Waiting. One laid-off reporter recalled: "Deadlines weren't being pushed as much. Our editors were in and out of their offices. It was really quiet. It was a weird day of not working at work." (Matt Day, Multimedia Journalist, Interview, March 31, 2017).

First, the staff members who were going to stay were pulled into the boardroom. After their meeting, they returned to their desks and continued working. These were the people with most seniority. Then, the soon-to-be-fired staff members were called into the same room and given their severance packages. Some people were angry. Others took the news in stride. The moment became administrative as people had to sign the papers and collect their belongings from their desks. From the room, the journalists could see news crews starting to congregate outside the building on Baxter Road. "It was a weird feeling to be the subject of news instead of finding out about it and reporting on it. Some of us were filmed coming out carrying boxes." (ibid).

What is left is a ghost newsroom. Empty desks. No computers. A filing cabinet left ajar. Stacks of papers are collecting dust. A garbage can is knocked over. Those who survived the cuts recall the moment clearly, although some refuse to discuss it. They never know who will be next. Seniority might not save them next time. Those who did not survive the cuts often talked in anger, resignation, or humour. "In a way, I got out before it got worse" (ibid).

Newspapers across Canada have been slashing the number of working journalists since 2010. Unifor Local 2000, which represents various newspaper employees in BC including workers at *The Vancouver Sun* and *Province*, estimates that the 2,300 members in 2010 dropped by two-thirds to 800 by 2018 (Skelton 2018). The Canadian Media Guild identified 6,000 jobs lost in the print sector from 2008 to 2013 due to firing, buyouts, and attrition (Canadian Media Guild 2013). There are less journalists working at newspapers and that number is shrinking.

With fewer journalists and more ghost newsrooms, journalists also have more demands on their limited time.[10] When media is reliant on neoliberal logics, deskilling, reskilling, and multiskilling can happen simultaneously as ways to address profit deficits (Bro et al. 2016). Journalists and editors indicated that each of these are happening in their news organizations. For the *Ottawa Sun/Citizen*, the material is being repackaged for two newspapers that now have fewer staff collectively. A general assignment reporter may be writing four to five stories a day,

[10] I was denied permission to shadow reporters at the local newspaper in Thunder Bay (*Chronicle Journal*), for this reason. One reporter explained that they run from event to event quickly to take a photo and a quote. They are so busy that the paper is lucky if it is able to free up a journalist from writing a story that night to attend city council.

and none of those stories are going to be too long if they want to meet newspapers' print deadlines. They also must take their own photos, record interviews that might be used for audio, shoot video, and promote themselves on social media. Under the stress of failing revenue models, journalists have more on their plate.

Despite increased pressure on journalists and despite claims of eroding trust in the news media, newspapers are still well read and trusted. Research funded by Canadian Heritage shows that consumers are more likely to trust ads and, by extension, content in printed and digital newspapers than any other information-gathering platform (Edelman Trust Barometer 2018).[11] In fact, people's trust in digital and print news is increasing, up 10 points from 2017 to 61% in 2018 (ibid, 14). In addition, 88% of Canadians in 2018 continue to turn to newspapers in the online or printed format to get caught up on the news every week (News Media Canada 2018). There is no doubt that the news environment is changing, but newspapers continue to play an important role.

At the same time that journalists are struggling in traditional news settings, gendered violence is extremely newsworthy. From various hashtags, such as #MeToo and #WhyIStayed, that drew attention to the amount and experiences of gendered violence to public trials of famous men, gendered violence is in the public eye. The cultural context is important, as journalists are not inventing 'takes' on gendered violence. At risk of stating a truism, the coverage of domestic violence is influenced by culture and history and itself shapes culture and history. A *Globe and Mail* story meeting at the beginning of the #MeToo movement underscores how the news is always responding to the cultural moment and I turn to my field notes to recount the meeting.

Just after 9am on October 27, 2017, Mike Babad, a news editor and my guide for my mornings at the *Globe*, opened the Friday story meeting with equal numbers of women and men, pointing to people for their updates. Sonali Verma, the deputy head of audience – a position created to centre audience in

[11] Canadian Heritage recently created a large fund to support journalism and this research might simply be backing their investment. However, the research is likely not completely inaccurate.

news production – and former journalist, listed the hot stories from the day before: coddling children column, Rachel McAdams saying that James Toback sexually harassed her, and retirement advice for subscribers. The discussion briefly turned to the hot wire stories. Rachel McAdams was also the top story on the wires.

Babad asks: "thoughts on Rachel McAdams?" He brought up Jane Fonda and her television appearance in which she argues that the #MeToo movement is only popular because the victims are White and famous. Various people pipe up with stories in production. There will be an explainer about sexual harassment, says Lara Pingue, the digital news editor. Angela Murphy, the foreign news editor, brings up the daily nature of harassment against women. They joke that it is not about people from the *Globe*. Babad suggests a street-level, walk-in-her-shoes analysis of the average woman. The woman on the phone pipes up, "we need to do a series of pieces." Compared to some of the earlier meetings, there was a lot of conversation about this one topic. Babad says, "there's a lot of good thought here." More ideas are thrown out about sexual harassment stories, before turning to men on the phone who cover politics, then to Natasha Hassan, the opinion editor, to discuss the weekend features, and Murphy on national news. Babad has a go around the table for final thoughts. Pingue adds, "if we get more on sexual assault, we will play that [digitally]." Babad wraps up the priorities: sexual assault, Montreal police headquarters being raided, and Trudeau on carbon tax.

As Babad and I walked to his desk, I asked about the discussion in the meeting about sexual harassment. "I will go and talk to Sinclair [Stewart, Deputy Editor] and Dennis [Choquette, Head of Enterprise Journalism] in terms of series. This is a key social issue of our time and people are very interested."

Babad quickly pops into Stewart's office, the deputy editor, to update him before sitting back down at his desk to draft the update email.

At 9:49 a.m., the update arrives. After two graphics meticulously developed by Babad to celebrate a colleague's 20-year anniversary working on the Globe, the intro reads: "Much talk at the meeting about sexual assault and harassment, thought of a series and other coverage. More on that later."

Reflecting on the story meeting, I want to draw out the role culture plays in shaping news, specifically gendered violence news. News is always responding to real-world events and cultural responses to such events. That the news largely ignored Murdered and Missing Indigenous Women before the proliferation of investigative series on MMIW is a broader cultural issue of colonialism as well as a media blind spot (Gilchrist 2010). The news, in this case, did not invent #MeToo, but is rather reporting on and reflecting a cultural moment. How the news covers these celebritized and regular cases of domestic violence are always drawing on existing cultural frames. The role of culture and audience interest might be intensifying in a feedback loop. In this case, audience data said the story was important, so they plan on

producing more stories. While people did note how celebrity culture and Whiteness are part of the driving factors behind the story's popularity, the newspaper wanted to continue to jump on the bandwagon. The vignette illustrates the ways in which news are often reflecting back to society relevant issues. At the same time, the role of the media goes beyond a distorted mirror.

The Role of the News Media

The news media both reflects social reality and values, albeit a distortion of both, and shapes perceptions of social reality. People do not have personal knowledge of all the cases of domestic violence and often are not experts on the topic. Instead, their perceptions of domestic violence are partially shaped by the news media's reporting on the violence. "Because many significant events take place daily and news organizations cannot cover all these events, news people must be selective. As a result of this selectivity, the news media shape, rather than merely mirror, the political [and social] landscape" (Kahn 1994, 154). As a political institution, the news media can be studied as a distorted mirror that shapes public discourses and perceptions of social reality.

Here, I am invoking a broader definition of politics and political communication. Often the study of politics is reserved for elections, politicians, and government. Political communication then narrowly examines news and other media attention to these institutional and procedural politics. Instead of a narrow definition, I take a broader definition of politics, informed by feminist and anti-racist theorizing. Politics is about power (Hill Collins 2000, 127). This includes the power to create boundaries and groups, both in the sense of physical walls and discursive ones (Dhamoon 2011; Yuval-Davis 2006; Mohanty 1988, 78). Gender roles are political. The sexualization of Black women is political (Hill Collins 2000, 127). The exclusion or inclusion of people within groups is political. This broader conception of politics underscores

how the media, as a political institution, exercises power through its knowledge production about topics beyond and including institutional and procedural politics.

The news media, as political institutions, are positioned to exercise incredible power (Gillespie et al. 2013, 223) through practices of agenda setting and framing. Agenda setting refers to how the "media affect what people think *about*, not what they think" (Entman 1989, 347; see McCombs and Shaw 1972; Lippmann 1922). The news media can publicize previously "private" issues, signaling to the reader that violence in the home and in relationships are matters of public interest. The news media might remain silent on certain types and aspects of violence. They might also draw readers' attention to the broader aspects of domestic violence.

The *Unfounded* series is an excellent example of how big newspapers continue to set the agenda. In 2017, Robyn Doolittle for the *Globe and Mail* broke a 20-month investigation into police mishandling of sexual assault cases (Doolittle 2017). Finding that on average one in five sexual assault complaints were dismissed as unfounded across Canada, the investigative series called attention to the ways in which police seem to not believe people coming forward with stories of sexual abuse. Politicians took notice, police were forced to respond, and readers were paying attention to police mishandling of sexual violence.

In addition to drawing attention to social problems, the news media also frames issues for their readers. Framing refers to the process of selecting "some aspects of a perceived reality and [making] them more salient in communicating a text" (Entman 1993, 52). As a second level agenda-setting affect (McCombs 2004), the news media draws attention to topics and promotes "a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation" (Entman 1993, 52). While the exact media effects are not under review in this

study, the role of the media matters because it not only has the potential to influence individual readers, it also shapes the information environment.

This broader articulation of the role of the media as a political institution is well-suited to both unpack how the news media distort, reflect, and resist domestic violence and to study how these stories are the outcome of power relations. Studies that centre media framing as a product and enactor of power have taken a backseat to media effects. But, power in news production cannot be ignored (Vliegenthart and van Zoonen 2011). As this dissertation argues, however, the media is not the only institution influencing how domestic violence is framed. The relationship between the police and the media is also vital to understanding the shifting role of the media and its coverage of one pressing gender-based violence (GBV) issue in Canada – domestic violence.

News Coverage of Domestic Violence

There is burgeoning literature examining how the news media frames this one form of gendered violence.[12] Research on the topic has taken different methodological and theoretical approaches, although they are broadly feminist. I introduce some of this literature in more detail in Chapter 2. What I have done as part of this project is identify four frames that much of the literature discusses so that I would systemically and deductively assess the patterns in more contemporary Canadian news. I outline the four frames below, along with an additional frame that I identified inductively through the discourse analysis, and these are analyzed in detail in Chapter 2.

[12] The list of sources could be quite long and could include: Chagnon 2018; Morgan and Simons 2018; Simons and Morgan 2018; Hernández 2017; Lloyd and Ramon 2017; Chagnon 2016; Christensen et al. 2016; Sutherland et al. 2016; Easteal et al. 2015; Carlyle et al. 2014; Richards et al. 2014; Fairbairn and Dawson 2013; Gillespie et al. 2013; Grewal 2013; Anderson and Umberson 2011; Bullock 2010; Halim and Meyers 2010; Wozniak and McCloskey 2010; Post et al. 2009; Taylor, Rae 2009; Enck-Wanzer 2009; Carlyle et al. 2008; Sims 2008; Bullock 2008; Bullock 2007; Ryan et al. 2006; Berns 2004; Carll 2003; Bullock and Cubert 2002; Maxwell et al. 2000; McDonald 1999; Consalvo 1998; Meyers 1997; Meyers 1994; Benedict 1992.

Individualized Framing: News media focuses on domestic violence cases between individuals, often holding individuals responsible for social problems. Past research found this type of framing to be the most prevalent in news coverage of domestic violence (Easteal et al. 2015; Richards et al. 2014; Richards et al. 2011; Bullock 2010; Wozniak and McCloskey 2010; Post et al. 2009; Taylor, Rae 2009; Sims 2008; Bullock 2007, 36; Berns 2004; Bullock and Cubert 2002; Maxwell et al. 2000; Benedict 1992). Individualization is the most dominant frame in this study too, largely communicating that individuals are responsible for Canada's domestic violence problem.

Thematic Framing: The news media focuses on domestic violence as a broader societal issue or topic. Rather than responsibilize individuals, this frame implicates institutions and society at large as part of the problem and the solutions. While research has found this frame less frequently used than individualized framing (Carlyle et al. 2008; Bullock and Cubert 2002), some feminist research holds up the thematically framed stories that explicitly discuss social justice issues as the ideal type of domestic violence framing (Gillespie et al. 2013, 14; Anderson and Umberson 2011; Mazurok 2010; Berns 2004). I found thematic framing used more frequently than previous studies, but the majority of this coverage focuses on the machinations of the state and depoliticized attention to domestic violence legislative and procedural solutions. Social justice framing is rare, as systems of inequality are not often discussed.

Victim Blame Framing: News stories that explicitly or implicitly state that the victim provoked, caused, and/or deserved domestic violence (Lloyd and Ramon 2017; Gillespie et al. 2013, 13; Fairbairn and Dawson 2013; Richards et al. 2011; Taylor, Rae 2009; Berns 2004; Bullock and Cubert 2002; Consalvo 1998). Critical race scholars argue that victim blaming is often more frequent, more intense and inflected with racism when the victim is non-white, Black,

an immigrant, or Indigenous (Gilchrist 2010; Jiwani 2009a; Jiwani and Young 2006; Razack 2000; Meyers 1997). Research suggests that the amount of victim blame framing is likely decreasing (Fairbairn and Dawson 2013; Richards et al. 2011). However, my data reveals more victim blaming than previously identified in comparable studies. The references, though, are often subtle and indirect.

Racialized Framing: News stories employ racial markers in stories, activate racial stereotypes, and/or 'other' people involved (Shier and Shor 2016; Patil and Purkayastha 2015; Tolley 2015a; Grewal 2013; Jackson 2013; Olwan 2013; Gilchrist 2010, 374; Enck-Warner 2009; Jiwani 2009b; Dixon 2006; Razack 2002; Consalvo 1998; Gilliam et al. 1996). Racialization will vary based on the histories and contemporary realities of the people in the story. For example, Muslim women and Indigenous women may both be racialized, but covered differently. Racial framing is also a relational term that underscores that the news likely covers stories differently based on the privilege of the people in the story and reinforces Whiteness as the norm (Chagnon 2018; McDonald 1999). In this study, I find that all the frames are racialized as the news often extends racial meanings to domestic violence stories. This includes ample attention to violence outside Canada, often committed by Black elite athletes, and using "culture talk" (Razack 1994) to communicate the violence is endemic in racialized communities.

Carceral Framing: The news defines social problems as crimes individuals or groups need to be punished for committing. While this frame is less systemized in the literature, previous research has found that domestic violence news often focus on the violence as a crime and/or rely on police quotes (Chagnon 2018; Chagnon 2016; Easteal et al. 2015; Fairbairn and Dawson 2013; Bullock 2007; Ryan et al. 2006, 219; Bullock and Cubert 2002; Maxwell et al. 2000). What I inductively identified through discourse analysis is that the news largely focuses

on the routineness of policing and punishment, with a few stories spotlighting and sensationalizing police, courts, prisons, and punishment. That a few stories critique the carceral state is promising; however, the overwhelming pattern is that policing and punishment are good and the best way to address domestic violence in Canada.

Each of the five frames has implications for the role of the news media. The overwhelming reliance on the individualization frame suggests that the media are more focused on holding individuals rather than institutions accountable. Depoliticized thematic framing and carceral framing cover the machinations of the state, but less so social justice issues. Nicholas Chagnon (2016) referred to this as "progress without justice." However, the continued reliance on victim blaming tropes suggests that the progress is muted. The news is further advancing a racialized notion of belonging that suggests that Canada – implicitly White Canada – does not have a culture of violence against women. Instead, racialized communities in Canada and abroad are the violent ones, thereby distancing the violence from White Canada. The question becomes, what explains contemporary patterns of domestic violence news framing?

While there are different models to explain news production, I draw most heavily on Pamela Shoemaker and Stephan Reese's (2014) hierarchy of influence (HOI) model to conceptualize news production holistically. In Chapter 3, I explain the model in further detail. The HOI model organizes news production factors into five categories: social systems, institutional engagement, organizations, routines, and individuals (ibid; DeCillia 2017; Reese 2016). At the broadest level, culture, ideology, and political-economic forces may influence news production (Van Gorp 2007; Gamson et al. 1992; Herman and Chomsky 1988). Within the broader social system, various institutions may interact with the news media to influence coverage, including government, business, police, and so on (Simons and Morgan 2018;

Lindsay-Brisbin et al. 2014; Fairbairn and Dawson 2013; Gillespie et al. 2013, 11; Sampert 2010). Journalism and media organizations themselves follow their 'rules of the game' that might influence domestic violence news (Willig 2012; Ross 2001; Taras 2001; van Zoonen 1994; Giltin 1980). Within the organization, the daily routines and practices of news work might have a predictable influence on its news product (Wozniak and McCloskey 2010; Cottle 2007; Eliasoph 1988; Tuchman 1978). Even constrained and conditioned by news routines and practices, news is still written by individuals and their characteristics might influence how they gather facts, speak to sources, and write the story (Vliegenthard and van Zoonen 2011, 101; Cottle 2007, 10; Donbash 2004; Page 1996; Gans 1979; Cohen and Young 1973). The HOI model prompts questions and organizes research data around macro, meso, and micro factors that are most influential in news production (Reese 2001, 179).

The argument of this dissertation is that neoliberal economic and discursive factors condition, but do not predetermine, domestic violence news frames. The application of market logic to the media, the expansion of the carceral state, and selective rollback of anti-violence services all influence domestic violence news. This dissertation adds empirical evidence that shows how the application of market logic influences domestic violence framing. As journalists are overworked to put out news, they rely heavily on police sources and news wire content. These routines are naturalized. In Chapter 4, I argue that the relationships between journalists and the police are strongly influenced by the relative strength of police communication capacity. Neoliberal ideologies about individual accountability have also infiltrated how journalists view the role of journalism. This in turn influences individualized framing with local news.

However, the narrative is not simply one of neoliberal-carceral domination. As a broader political institution, the 'rules of the game' for journalism that go beyond neoliberal discourses

influence story selection, news wire selection and framing. Values of objectivity/fairness, relevance, identification, immediacy, sensationalism, novelty, and proximity (Deuze 2005, 447; Schultz 2007, 191) continue to mark the boundaries between 'real' and 'fake' journalism and, in turn, influence domestic violence news. Within organizations, the culture and practices play a significant role in shaping domestic violence coverage. For example, racism and lack of diversity within the newsroom might partially explain why issues of racism are often not discussed even in racialized stories. Racialized journalists are largely constrained by organizational hierarchy and newsroom routines to engage in news work substantially differently. While one might expect the same for women, I find that women write about domestic violence more thematically, suggesting that gender and race operate differently in Canadian newsrooms.

Outside the news organizations and media, sources play a vital role in shaping the news. Police shape not only what domestic violence stories make the news; police also influence how those stories are covered. Anti-violence advocates play a substantially less important role in shaping the news coverage, but are associated with more thematic framing. By focusing on sources, I add empirical evidence to the claim that news production is often the outcome of the interaction between two parallel institutions (Colistra 2012). Rather than advance the HOI model that places media within social institutions, there is more of a mutual interaction between police and media. Comparing the relationships between journalists and types of sources, it is also clear that the broader social context plays a significant role in shaping these relationships and in shaping how the sources engage with the media.

Taken together, there is no single answer or causal pathway explaining domestic violence framing patterns. Instead, various factors at the macro, meso, and micro levels play an important role in shaping what domestic violence stories are selected and what frame is used to cover them.

The macro level, I argue, plays a significant role. By focusing on empirical insights, I also add nuance to explain how and when macro level factors influence domestic violence framing. While the news media is not putting out propaganda, the muted resistance nonetheless speaks volumes about the deleterious effects of applying market logics to the news media – institutions that should be acting in the public good.

Anti-Oppressive Feminist Framework

To study news framing and production of domestic violence, this project takes an intersectional-type methodological and theoretical approach. I borrow from Rita Dhamoon's (2011) typology of intersectional approaches to shift the focus away from questions of identity to questions about how the news media potentially engage in processes of differentiation, such as racialization, and may be complicit with systems of domination, such as colonialism.[13] At the heart of this approach is an acknowledgement that domestic violence is the outcome of intersecting processes of differentiation and systems of domination. Patriarchy plays a role, but so too does White supremacy, colonialism, and classism (Chagnon 2018; Nixon and Humphreys 2010; Bograd 2005; Sokoloff and Dupont 2005; Morrow et al. 2004; Crenshaw 1991). Attention to intersecting systems and approaches requires careful attention to not only the implications for violence against women, but also other vectors of power and privilege.

This study is then guided by a broad commitment to feminist and anti-oppression methodological principles. I point to four specific principles. First, gender and racial equality and freedom are core research goals (Taylor 1998; Hammersley 1992). Research is not simply about

[13] Dhamoon answers the question – what about intersectionality should be mainstreamed? Rather than focus on identities (for example, Black woman) or categories (for example, race), Dhamoon argues that political studies should take up questions of processes of differentiation (for example, racialization) and systems of oppression (for example, racism).

explaining the social world; critical feminist approaches use "critical inquiry and reflection on social injustice…to *transform"* social order (Ackerly and True 2010, 2, emphasis in the original). Second, it is important to stay attuned to the power dynamics at play in past research and in the research process (Ackerly and True 2010, 22). Third, feminist researchers are accountable for the research process and product to communities beyond the academy (Ramazanoglu and Holland 2001, 14). For me, I am accountable to the anti-violence and anti-oppression communities. Fourth, it is vital to show your work and transparently and clearly explain the process of drawing the conclusions. While these principles may not be exceptionally feminist, feminist principles can be shared across methodologies (Ramazanoglu and Holland 2001). With these principles in mind and an eye towards social transformation, I document contemporary Canadian newspaper framing of domestic violence and explain the framing patterns.

Methods

This study uses several methods in which to document contemporary domestic violence news frames in Canada and explain patterns. I collected a sample of 823 news articles, columns, and editorials across 64 English-language newspapers covering the period from January 1, 2014, to December 31, 2016. To deductively assess the amount and type of coverage, I used content analysis. The method involves assigning content to categories based on rules and analyzing the relationship between the categories using an array of statistical techniques (Riffe et al. 2014, 19; Neuendorf 2011). To inductively identify new frames and to understand the meaning within and between the frames, I used discourse analysis. The method helps identify the obvious and hidden gendered assumptions, power relations, and systems of privilege and oppression supported, negotiated, and resisted in the text (Lazar 2007, 142). Analyzing these methods formed the basis

for understanding domestic violence news patterns and preliminary understandings of factors influencing news production.

To understand news production beyond the text, I also engaged in extensive interviews, shadowing, and observations with news organizations in four cities in Ontario, Canada. Between August 2016 and December 2017, I conducted over 120 interviews with journalists, editors, and executives at seven[14] different newspapers, and with police and anti-violence sources. I also observed three newsrooms for around a week each and shadowed five journalists for a day each.

Case Study Cities

I narrowed my focus to four cities in Ontario to avoid observing differences derived from different provincial domestic violence policies. I selected two larger cities (Toronto and Ottawa) and two smaller cities (Kingston and Thunder Bay) that vary in newspaper ownership, city size, circulation, and geographic location. The large newspapers (*Toronto Star* and *Ottawa Citizen* and *Sun*) are important given their influence in the Canadian news market. The *Citizen/Sun* combined newsroom is further illustrative of how Postmedia combined newsrooms might operate. The smaller local newspapers (*Kingston Whig Standard* and *Chronicle Journal*) are equally important to understand the plight of news production in local communities. The representativeness and influence are only one important factor in why I chose them. The specificity of each of the case study cities is also helpful in trying to understand local media, relationships to police, racialized communities, and anti-violence efforts.

[14] *Globe & Mail, Toronto Star, Chronicle Journal* (Thunder Bay), *Toronto Sun, Ottawa Citizen, Ottawa Sun,* and *Kingston Whig Standard.* On top of interviewing reporters in the combined *Ottawa Citizen/Sun* newsrooms, I interviewed former reporters who exclusively worked for one paper. I also only interviewed one journalist at the *Toronto Sun* and shadowed that reporter on two occasions. When I requested permission to interview staff at the *Toronto Sun*, the editors turned down my request.

Thunder Bay is considered to be a hub for the surrounding communities, including many Northern fly-in only Indigenous reserves. One daily newspaper, CBC, a multi-media organization, and weekly community news serve the residents. Owned by Continental Newspapers, the local newspaper *Chronicle Journal* is shrinking in staffing numbers, story count, and circulation. There are palpable tensions between the Indigenous community and police, while the police and newspaper, as I will illustrate in Chapter 4, have a cozy relationship. Thunder Bay was once called the most racist city in Canada and has recently frequented the news with evidence to support the claim, including an inquest into systemic police racism, failures to support Indigenous children in the community, and indictment of both the mayor and police chief, charges that were both later dropped. Domestic violence is high in the community and it had the highest rate of people reported to the police for family violence[15] (240 per 100,000) in 2016 police-reported data (Burczycka 2018). The community benefits from an active anti-violence community, including domestic violence shelters, anti-violence programs, sexual assault centres, and various support services. There are unique characteristics of Thunder Bay, as well as shared characteristics of a relatively isolated small city and regional hub.

Kingston, in contrast, is highly connected to the surrounding towns and cities. The residents during my time period could access a range of media, from a local daily newspaper owned by Postmedia, a local weekly also owned by Postmedia,[16] and various TV and radio stations. The local newspaper is the *Whig Standard*. Like *Chronicle Journal*, it is shrinking in staffing numbers, story count, and circulation. Crime is relatively low in the city. At a rate of 96 per 100,000, two-and-half times less family violence was reported to police in Kingston than Thunder Bay in 2016 (Burczycka 2018). However, domestic violence still makes up a large

[15] I am using the term used in the statistics Canada report, as it also includes other forms of family violence beyond interpartner violence. However, this is likely a strong approximation of domestic violence only.
[16] *Kingston Heritage* closed, without warning, after a newspaper swap between Torstar and Postmedia in 2018.

proportion of the crime statistics and police calls in the community. Studies have found that the police have, in the past, racially profiled Black and Indigenous people in the community (Wortley and Marshall 2005), although tensions between the police and racialized communities are lower today than in Thunder Bay. The community benefits from diverse community supports, from local domestic violence shelters, a rape crisis centre, and some additional support and prevention programming. Kingston, like Thunder Bay, is an interesting case study to consider domestic violence news as domestic violence is relatively low, the newspaper is a typical underfunded Postmedia brand, and both the police force and anti-violence community often make the news.

Ottawa is the national capital. The residents can access a range of media outlets, from Canada's public broadcaster, independent radio stations, corporate and independent radio stations for the gridlock drive to and from work, free daily papers, and two papers owned by Postmedia. Ottawa is one of the four major cities in Canada in which Postmedia owns most or all the newspapers and rather than keeping its promise to retain their independence, the two papers were merged in 2016. The same staff and stories fill both papers. The only remaining differences are the length of the stories, the headlines, and one is a broadsheet – the *Ottawa Citizen* – and the other a tabloid-style newspaper – the *Ottawa Sun*. Crime prevention is a high priority for the city as it is one among many of the cities with a dedicated crime prevention office and funding. Violence against women, often referring more to sexual violence, is one of the official priorities for the city and police chief (Ottawa Police Service 2018). Domestic violence is the lowest in the city of Ottawa proportionally, with a rate of 42 out of 100,000 reporting someone perpetrating family violence to the police (Burczycka 2018). The city is served by a diverse collection of anti-violence organizations and advocacy groups, no doubt higher than other cities due in part to the

city being the seat of national politics. Police in Ottawa have faced high profile trials for killing racialized men and, in one case, the preceding arrest came on heels of a sexual harassment complaint. Representing a typical newspaper environment with Postmedia dominance, Ottawa is an important case study for both its representativeness and its importance to the country.

Toronto is a large, diverse urban centre, with a large proportion of residents born outside of Canada living in the city. It is the largest media market in Canada, with diverse local news in multiple languages and foci. During the sample period, Postmedia owned three papers that operate in the city, while rival daily paid and free newspapers were and continue to be owned by diverse organizations. One of the key newspapers in this study – *Toronto Star* – is well respected for its left-of-centre investigative journalism, attention to local, provincial, and national issues, but has also faced extensive layoffs and cutbacks. The city is served by more than one police service, due in large part to its size. The central police service has a large communications office that is highly professionalized and the surrounding police services also have large communications offices. Police in Toronto have long been accused of racism, from carding predominately Black men (Cole 2016) to killing racialized men. Family violence happens at a comparable rate to Kingston, at 101 in 100,000 ((Burczycka 2018). Although, this means there are significantly more incidents of family violence given the massive difference in population size between Kingston and Toronto. Residents are served by numerous anti-violence agencies and advocacy groups and, unlike many of the other agencies, many are better funded through private and corporate donations. The cultural reach of Toronto and the *Toronto Star* is immense and cannot be overlooked as an agenda-setting case study.

Roadmap

Guided by two subjects of inquiry – contemporary domestic violence news content and news production – my dissertation unfolds in two sections. Rather than start the dissertation with two cumbersome chapters on literature and methods, each chapter includes its own in-depth discussion of the relevant literature and methods. **Chapter 2** examines news content of domestic violence, outlining the quantitative and discursive evidence for all the frames, finding that individualization is the most dominant frame. I also present evidence that the news media continues to blame victims and racialize the violence to communicate that people outside Canada and non-white people in Canada have a 'cultural problem.' Thematic framing, despite its promise of different coverage, is largely focused on the depoliticized machinations of the state without much discussion of systems of inequality. Carceral framing specifically focuses on police, courts, prisons, and punishments, normalizing this state response with little critique.

Chapter 3 explains the factors within journalism and the specific news organizations that influence these framing patterns. While the application of market logic to the media has largely created the working conditions to sustain some of the patterns, neoliberalism does not explain why many of these patterns have endured. Instead, journalism's ideology, newsroom culture, practices, routines, and women's experiences with gendered violence partially explain the framing patterns. Shifts partially caused by market forces to practices of journalism only intensified the patterns.

One routine that plays an important role is that of sources, who are also constrained and conditioned by the political-economic environment. This is the topic of the following two chapters. **Chapter 4** explains how and why police influence domestic violence news coverage in Canada. I find that police image management and communications play a key role in not only

influencing how domestic violence is covered, but also whether or not domestic violence is considered newsworthy at all. A large part of the explanation for the cozy relationship is the increased capacity of police. Additional factors that include how routine police-media relationships are and the agreement over the standards for facts and evidence also include the closeness of the relationship.

Chapter 5 explains the relationship between anti-violence advocates and news coverage. I develop a framework to explain contradictory evidence of how anti-violence advocates engage with the media. Past research suggested that theorizing the relationship between feminism and neoliberalism should go beyond resistance and cooptation (Eschle and Maiguashca 2018, 224). Heeding this suggestion, I develop four categories that classify anti-violence media engagement and its influence on news discourses: resistance, cooptation, compliance, or non-participation. The degree to which anti-violence advocates can themselves actively engage is conditioned by welfare state retrenchment, which does not provide public communications funding to service organizations. However, I also detail how the anti-violence movement is largely complicit with the carceral state and this often comes through in their media engagement.

In the **Conclusion**, I summarize the findings, highlight directions for future research, offer recommendations from anti-violence advocates on how to improve news coverage, and discuss the implications. This dissertation points to issues that go beyond domestic violence – the role and capacity of Canadian newspapers, journalistic norms, the relationship between police and local media, and the effects of market logic on news and their sources. However, the snippets of news stories do not tell the whole story of domestic violence. I end this dissertation as I started, with the story of someone who experienced domestic violence. In this case, my friend was murdered by her boyfriend. Rather than individualize domestic violence, the two stories that

bookend the dissertation reminds me that real people bear the burden of Canada's continued domestic violence problem. Some women are dead and some have survived and some are taking it day-by-day.

Chapter 2: Who's Responsible? News Framing of Domestic Violence

This chapter explains how Canadian newspapers cover domestic violence (2014-2016), identifying how they frame responsibility for domestic violence. Responsibility refers to two aspects of framing – that is, defining the people or factors responsible for the problem and identifying the people or institutions responsible for the solutions. The news, as a political institution and vehicle for providing information to readers, is in the business of *selecting* domestic violence stories and making *salient* key messages within stories about domestic violence. The *selection* and *salience* patterns distort the reality of domestic violence and participate in constructing the dialogue around addressing domestic violence. The question at hand is: **How does the news media frame responsibility for domestic violence?**

To answer the question, this chapter combines insights from a content and discourse analysis of a sample (823 stories) of Canadian newspaper coverage of domestic violence from 2014 to 2016. Most frequently, newspapers advance notions of individualized responsibility, holding individuals responsible for the broader social issue of domestic violence. Women as victims are partially held responsible as the media continues to blame victims, most frequently deriding their decision to stay with abusive men. This responsibility is always racialized, with unspoken Whiteness associated with discourses of aberrations, while racialized stories are narrated by "culture talk"[17] (see Razack 1994) and communalization (see Thobani 2007). Canadian culture is largely absent in the discussion of domestic violence. Instead, thematic stories focus on bureaucratic and depoliticized state responses. These stories rarely challenge racialized or individualized responsibility, just as stories rarely discuss systems of inequality.

[17] "Culture talk" refers to discussing the cultural causes and implications of violence. "Culture talk" is often used to politely talk about race and difference.

Instead, in carcerally framed stories, police, trials, punishment, and prisons are routinized as the solution to domestic violence. Overall, the news media supports narratives of the neoliberal carceral state in which individuals and racialized groups are the cause of the problem and responsible to fix their own lives. When the individual or racialized group fails, the technocratic carceral state might step in to bureaucratically or punitively deal with the 'criminals.'

This chapter will unfold as follows. I will first briefly define framing. I then rely on feminist and intersectional literature on domestic violence news to systematize the five frames – individualization, thematic, victim-blame, racialization, and carceral. I move on to explain the methods used, discussing the rationale and process of both the content and discourse analyses. I then discuss the empirical evidence of how the news media frames responsibility and I compare these findings with those of past research.

Literature Review: Framing Domestic Violence

A news story is never the full picture, as those involved in news production decide what information to include and how to present it. How the story is selected and presented refers to the process of framing and the resulting product is the news frame. Of the numerous framing definitions, I am partial to Robert Entman's. To frame a story, one "*select[s]* some aspects of a perceived reality and make[s] them more *salient* in communicating a text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation" (Entman 1993, 52, emphasis added). Frames organize complex events into neat packages that lay out the problem and its potential solutions.

There are two underlying factors in understanding this definition of framing – *selection* and *salience*. All news stories involve judgment about what is included or *selected* and what is

excluded. At the same time, news promotes certain information within the story and makes it more *salient* (ibid). Other scholars have called this the "focus," "emphasis" (de Vreese 2005, 53) or the "central organizing idea or story line" (Gamson and Modigliani 1989). To understand a frame, it is important to capture both aspects.

Scholars use the term salience to also explain how the media affects what the audience perceives of as important (Chyi and McCombs 2004; Scheufele 1999). The presentation of the news can influence how readers perceive the events (Price et al. 1997). By examining the framing of responsibility, salience comes to refer to the ways in which readers might be encouraged to think about the responsibility in a similar manner as the framed story proposes (Entman 1993).

How news patterns precisely influence readers is outside the scope of this study. Some research further suggests that the effects are hard to determine (Price et al. 1997; Entman 1993). I am, however, creating the conditions so that readers are more likely to reach similar conclusions by ensuring validity and reliability of the sample and the methods. There is also additional research that I point to demonstrating that domestic violence framing influences readers to think and report acting differently about the problem (Carlyle et al. 2014).

I am also interested in how the contemporary news compares to past research. Are stories still predominately episodically framed? Does the news media still blame victims? To measure patterns in contemporary Canadian news coverage, I describe the five frames – individualization, thematic, racialization, victim-blame, and carceral. By systemizing these frames, I create a framework that is quantifiable, as well as one from which to understand the meanings produced.

Individualized Frame

Domestic violence news often emphasizes the individuals involved, rather than discusses social causes (Easteal et al. 2015; Richards et al. 2014; Bullock 2010; Wozniak and McCloskey 2010; Post et al. 2009; Bullock 2007, 36; Maxwell et al. 2000). Shanto Iyengar (1991, 27) called this episodic framing – the news focuses on events as isolated incidents between individuals. For Iyengar and others, the frame itself is neither positive nor negative, but rather simply a pattern of how news reports events.

This frame, however, is inflected with neoliberal logics. Individualization, borrowing from Janine Brodie (2009, 179), "places steeply rising demands on people to find personal causes and responses to what are, in effect, collective social problems." Individualization also captures how domestic violence events tend "to generate a cultural definition of battering as an extraordinary event" (Kelly 2003, 73). I build on Iyengar's insights into the way news reports on issues episodically, but I use the language of individualization to unmask the ideological underpinnings of contemporary framing.

There are two types of questions that outline the presence of individualized framing. First, does the media perpetuate the notion that the batterer is deviant? This includes when the news pathologizes the batterer (Meyers 1994, 49) or focuses on the batterer's supposedly unique situation of unemployment or drug abuse (Nettleton, 2011; Consalvo 1998). Second, does the story focus on domestic violence as an "isolated incident" between two individuals (Gillespie et al. 2013, 13)? This could include an episodic focus or distorting language, such as the eight percent of stories Lane Kirkland Gillespie and her colleagues (2013, 13) found to portray domestic violence homicide as a shocking, unexpected one-time event. A newspaper, for example, reported a neighbor who "said the sight he saw in that house isn't something one would

expect to see in their close-knit neighborhood" (quoted in ibid). The frame suggests that domestic violence is not a larger social issue, but rather the result of a deviant individual.

Survivor-centric narratives are also included within this frame. On face of it, stories that amplify the voices of people who have experienced domestic violence may seem counter to the negative ideological overlay of individualization. They may also have an opposite effect of individualizing responsibility. One study found that readers reported increased empathy when reading stories anchored by a human face (Cho and Gower 2006). What remains unclear is the extent to which the development of this empathy translates into fostering social responsibility. A woman's story of abuse may make the reader feel 'bad,' but still view the violence as 'their problem.' With the effect unclear, the content is nonetheless clear – if survivor-centric stories focus on the violence as an "isolated incident" between two individuals (Gillespie et al. 2013, 13), the story is counted as individualization.

Previous research points to dominance of an episodic frame. Tara Richards and her colleagues (2011, 178; 184) found that stories more frequently portrayed the domestic violence "event as isolated" rather than rooted in social inequality. Studying Canadian news coverage of domestic homicide (1998-2002), Jordan Fairbairn and Myrna Dawson (2013, 1) argue that the news is characterized by episodic framing. Kellie E. Carlyle and her colleagues (2008, 177) also found that 88% of the stories in their two-year U.S. news sample were episodic framed and only 12% thematically framed. Cathy Ferrand Bullock and Jason Cubert (2002, 483) describes that individualized framing dominated their sample of Washington state news coverage of domestic violence homicides, with only 10% of articles placing domestic violence in a broader context and nearly 50% depicting the event as isolated from a cycle of abuse and from societal causes, a finding consistent with other studies (Rolle et al. 2014, 504; Gillespie et al. 2013, 16). My

findings then are placed within this broader legacy of individualized coverage, suggesting that individualization extends to non-fatal domestic violence stories.

Thematic Frame

The opposite frame to individualization/episodic framing is thematic framing in which the news discusses stories often beyond individuals or isolated incidents. Thematically framed stories discuss the issue topically or broadly (Carlyle et al. 2008; Bullock and Cubert 2002).

Solutions, such as stronger legislation, are central to identifying a thematic frame (Carlyle et al. 2008). This includes what Michele Lloyd and Shula Ramon (2017, 127) call "domestic violence campaigning." U.K. newspapers spilled ample ink to change the narrative or promote legal changes. Even the simple act of providing contact information for women's advocacy groups in news stories can draw attention to the societal causes of domestic violence (Fairbairn and Dawson 2013, 25). The question is always, what are the solutions proposed in the story?

Social justice framing, a sub-genre of thematic framing, is often held up as the ideal in feminist scholarship in which the broader context exposes social inequality and the solutions work towards redressing that inequality (Gillespie et al. 2013, 14; Mazurok 2010). It includes stories that explicitly name racism, poverty, sexism, or other sources of oppression as the cause (Berns 2004, 136). Social justice frames might include critiques of cultural or media coverage of domestic violence (ibid, 133). Social justice approaches can also discuss masculinity, power and gendered aspects of domestic violence (Anderson and Umberson 2011; Finn 1990). Not all thematically framed stories will include social justice themes and the question becomes: how many thematic stories consider social justice messages?

Based on this research, news reports may deploy thematic or social justice framing, but likely infrequently. Other studies found stories thematically framed in 10% to 12% of the sample (Carlyle et al. 2008; Bullock and Cubert 2002). This suggests that thematic and social justice framing will be under-used, compared to individualization, victim-blaming, and racialization.

Victim-Blame Frame

Feminist research is critical of victim-blaming in the news. When this frame is present, the news implies or explicitly states that a victim provokes or deserves the violence (Lloyd and Ramon 2017; Fairbairn and Dawson 2013; Taylor, Rae 2009; Bullock and Cubert 2002; Consalvo 1998). Victim-blaming can be as direct as commenting that the survivor somehow deserved or caused the violence (Berns 2004, 156-157). The article might hold the victim responsible, asking questions like "why did she (or he) stay?" These tactics include using negative language to describe the victim and highlighting the victim's history, sexual or otherwise (Taylor, Rae 2009). For example, Gillespie and her colleagues (2013, 13) found one story quoting a 'friend' of the victim "It's not no shock to me that she was killed. She would always be beat up by the men she was with." Blaming the victim is clearly problematic, as no one deserves to be abused.

Victim-blaming may be direct or indirect. Richards and her colleagues (2011) coded for direct and indirect victim-blaming. Direct victim-blaming includes reporting that victims failed to take appropriate measures to protect themselves by not reporting abuse, not seeking police help, failing to attend court dates, or for staying in the abusive relationship (ibid, 189). Indirect victim-blaming includes discussing the drug and/or alcohol use by the perpetrator or victim or mental health-related issues of the perpetrator or victim (ibid, 190). Both direct and indirect

forms of victim-blaming are worthy to study as both play into a gender-based violence supportive culture that blames women for the violence they experience.

One of the hallmarks of victim-blaming is a racialized analysis of deservingness. Critical race scholars argue that racialized victims are portrayed as more "deserving" of the violence enacted against them (Gilchrist 2010; Jiwani and Young 2006; Razack 2000; Meyers 1997). Often, Black and Indigenous women are not sympathetically described as innocent victims, but rather a party to their violence. These representations are likely influenced by Canadian racial hierarchies. By exposing that Indigenous women are deemed culpable for the violence against them, while Afghan women were labeled heroes, Yasmin Jiwani (2009a) argues that these racialized descriptions reveal Canadian "regimes of truth." One might expect, then, that news mediates racialized victims with more victim-blaming tropes and that not all racialized victims are marked with the same degree of worthiness/unworthiness.

Research in Canada and U.S. suggest news reliance on victim-blaming may be decreasing. A study examining domestic homicide news in Canada from 1998-2002 found that newspapers deployed a victim-blame frame in 14% of the stories (Fairbairn and Dawson 2013). Studying news in North Carolina from 2002-2007, Richards et al. (2011) found that victim-blame references decreased since the 1990s. Research has yet to investigate if recent Canadian news coverage still deploys victim-blame framing.

Racialization Frame

Racialization, a process of differentiation (Dhamoon 2009) and framing device, refers to a spectrum of news treatments regarding race and domestic violence. It is "the process by which [news subjects] are racially marked and subjected to institutional and everyday racism" (Gilchrist

2010, 374). Empirically, racial markers could be applied to individuals, groups, or the situation itself. Theoretically, racialization differentiates people along racial lines and explicitly or implicitly racializes responsibility.

Evidence about racialized crime reporting suggests that domestic violence stories will use racial markers. Some have found that news stories often activate racial stereotypes, emphasizing the fact that the perpetrator is non-white (Dixon 2006; Gilliam et al. 1996). Such a practice often relies on specific stereotypes of over-aggressive racialized and Black men, (Enck-Warner 2009) and is consistent with the coverage of other crimes committed by racialized individuals (Entman 1992). In cases of stranger rape, past research found a focus on either the victim's or perpetrator's cultural, racial, or social standing 'otherness', which advances a notion that rape is often the fault of 'othered' individuals and communities (Patil and Purkayastha 2015; Jackson 2013; Saroca 2013; Sampert 2010; Consalvo 1998). Race plays a disproportionate role in the coverage of non-white perpetrators of other types of crimes (McDonald 1999), thus confirming Whiteness as norm, as well as creating and reinforcing cognitive linkages in the minds of audiences between minority status and crime, poverty, or terrorism.

Racialization is not a monolithic category as racialized groups hold different places in the Canadian imagination. Take, for example, media treatment of violence against Muslim and Indigenous women. With the prominence of the 2009 Shafia murder trial and attention to Muslim women since 9/11, news reporting of violence against Muslim women has garnered scholarly interest (Olwan 2013; Jiwani 2009a; Stabile and Kumar 2005). Inderpal Grewal (2013), for example, argues that the focus on 'honour killings' in distant locations obscures violence in North America. Allie Shier and Eran Shor (2016) found that news presented 'honour killings' as a "clash of civilization" whereas the press framed spousal murders as individual psychological

defects. Nicholas Chagnon (2018) argues that news about violence against Muslim women uses the language of culture to reinforce an Orientalist binary of a gender-equal U.S. and "backwards" East. The studies point to hyper-attention to violence against Muslim women due to the post-9/11 landscape and imperialistic discourses of "saving" Muslim women.

In contrast, news either misses violence against Indigenous women (Gilchrist 2010; Jiwani and Young 2006) or advances colonial myths. Kristen Gilchrist (2010) found that news attention to missing White women dwarfed the news attention to Murdered and Missing Indigenous Women and Girls. When violence against Indigenous women is covered, the news has a tendency to conflate Indigenous women with sex work to communicate that violence against Indigenous women is deserved (Jiwani 2006; Razack 2002, 130). This does not necessarily translate to attention to intimate partner violence news coverage. At the very least, the categories of racialization may be very different in amount and type of attention.

Of course, the amount and way of covering violence against Indigenous women may have shifted in recent years. Indigenous women's activism, the MMIW&G Inquiry, and Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) Recommendations 84-86 on media and reconciliation all could influence the increased attention to violence against Indigenous women. Recent research suggests that the media covers violence against Indigenous women in waves, in which they will be intensely spotlighted for a moment followed by a void of coverage (Drache et al. 2016). It is likely, nonetheless, that the news will rely on different tropes within the racialization frame.

To make sense racialized framing, I find Sunera Thobani's 2007 book *Exalted Subjects* insightful. In it, Thobani theoretically disaggregates types of racialization within Canadian nation-making. Founded upon the colonial destruction of Indigenous ways of life, White settlers hold power (ibid). Forced migration of non-white settlers and slaves add to the foundational

racial make-up (ibid). Racialization then needs to be disaggregated by Indigenous and non-white racialization. Racialized immigrants import their supposedly "oppressive, backward culture" (ibid, 167) whereas Indigenous people are "doomed for extinction," (ibid, 12), "savage, primitive" (ibid, 28) and a burden for tax payers (ibid, 4). Both are portrayed as "deceitful," "intolerant to difference," "loyal to [their] cultural group" and "patriarchal" (ibid, 5), while only the immigrant "may receive conditional inclusion" (ibid, 18). Within the immigrant category, the specific forms of racialization will likely be inflected with the histories of inclusion and exclusion. The major fault line, for Thobani, is between Indigenous and immigrant communities.

Racialization is also a relational characteristic that compares coverage of crime committed by or against White and racialized people. For Thobani, society reinforces racialized notions of 'uncivilized' Indigenous and immigrant people to shore up white-washed notions of the White majority as "supportive of gender equality," "committed and tolerate of diversity and multiculturalism," and "compassionate" (ibid, 5). At the most basic level, the successes of the othered group are seen as exceptional, whereas the faults of the other group are seen as exemplary of the entire group. The inverse is true for White folks – the successes demonstrate the superiority of the entire group and a few bad apples are responsible for the faults. Domestic violence, then, is likely an individual deficit for White men and a cultural one for racialized communities (Chagnon 2018; McDonald 1999). The differential coverage of domestic violence consolidates patriarchy and White privilege, whereby non-white perpetrators become a synecdoche and represent an entire culture (Chagnon 2018; McDonald 1999, 111). The question becomes, to what extent does the news play into, rely, or potentially resist these notions?

Carceral Framing

The final frame is also well-supported in literature, but has not been systematically applied to understand domestic violence news to my knowledge. Existing research hints at the possibility of this frame, from noting a focus on domestic violence as a crime (Chagnon 2018; Chagnon 2016; Maxwell et al. 2000) to noting the inclusion of ample police information (Fairbairn and Dawson 2013; Ryan et al. 2006, 219). In an older study, for example, Bullock and Cubert (2002) argue that journalists sometimes report domestic violence stories from the perspective of the police. Another study argues that news often suggests that domestic violence should be addressed by courts and police (Bullock 2007). Each of these examples suggest there is another frame missing from the pantheon of frames – carceral framing.

Adapting the carceral state literature, carceral framing defines social problems as crimes and prescribes punishment as the solution. Some identify a similar frame for other topics – a "crime frame" (Gulati 2011; Berger 2009). For example, the news called the citizens criminals and supported harsher punishments and military-style policing after Hurricane Katrina (Berger 2009). I call it carceral framing to link news coverage of day-to-day policing, imprisonment, and punishment to the state structure.

The understanding of carceral framing is indebted to theorizations of the carceral state. In its most mundane form, the carceral state refers to people, and the institutions they represent, involved in enforcing the laws and maintaining order, from the police patrolling the streets, to lawyers and judges involved in trials, to prison guards dolling out punishment. What makes the modern carceral state different from its predecessor, according to Michel Foucault, is the state no longer relies on public punishment, heads on spikes, or public hangings to exert control. Instead, society is organized to control the population through diverse mechanisms of self-surveillance

and “factories, schools, barracks, hospitals” that resemble prisons (Foucault 1977/1979, 228). Instead, law and order are bureaucratized and normalized.

However, with the rise of the media spectacle, penal cultures are not hidden in the prison, as Foucault proposed in *Discipline and Punish* (Wacquant 2010). Rather, we have seen what Wacquant (2010) calls the “crystallization of *law-and-order pornography”* (206). Wacquant writes,

> …the theatricalization of penalty has migrated from the state to the commercial media and the political field in toto, and it has extended from the final ceremony of sanction to encompass the full penal chain, with a privileged place accorded to police operations in low-income districts and courtroom conformations around celebrity defendants… Everywhere the law-and-order guignol [French puppet-show] has become a core civic theater onto whose stage elected officials prance to dramatize moral norms and display their professed capacity for decisive action, thereby reaffirming the political relevance of Leviathan at the very moment when they organize its powerlessness with respect to the market (ibid).

‘Reality’ TV, news, and dramatic shows have supplanted public hangings (ibid) and, more recently, true crime podcasts. This is where news attention comes in. Through carceral framing, the news participates in “the law-and-order*”* puppet-show and dramatizes the role of police, trials, prisons, and punishments.

News participation in this dramatization likely affects readers. One study found that use of a “law and order frame” – focusing on the routineness and legitimacy of policing – to report on police brutality resulted in the reader reporting an increased positive view of the police (Fridkin et al. 2017). This frame encourages public policy preferences demanding increased police resources to address violence, rather than antiracism or de-escalation training for police (ibid, 3410). Since the test case had a Black woman as the victim of police brutality, these results are inextricably linked to race.

One might anticipate that carceral framing is racialized. Wacquant (2010, 205-206) argues that analyzing penal logic requires a race and class lens as “the penal dragnet under

neoliberalism has been remarkably discriminating" and it is skewed along "gradients of class, ethnicity, and place." This insight is shared by other scholars who study the carceral state and racial politics in the U.S. and Canada (Hinton 2017; Jiwani 2011). One needs to look no further than the high rates of Indigenous people in Canadian jails (Nichols 2017, 436). For example, Indigenous women are the fastest growing prison population and make up 40% of all incarcerated women (The Office of the Correctional Investigator 2018). As such, attention to the racial dynamics of carceral framing is key.

Methods

I chose two complementary methods of content and discourse analysis to answer the first research question – **How do contemporary Canadian newspapers frame domestic violence?** In this section, I detail the sampling technique and the two collection tools.

Sampling Technique

To understand Canadian news framing of domestic violence, I collected a sample of 823 news articles, columns and editorials[18] from 64 English-language newspapers from 2014 to 2016. I used a stratified constructed four-week sample to best capture the cyclic variation of media reporting (Lacy et al. 2001, 837). This means I collected a random four Mondays, four Tuesdays, etc. for each year, rather than randomly selecting 28 days from each year.

I used a comprehensive keyword search (see Appendix A) to search two databases: Factiva and Canadian Newsstand. Of the 93 paid daily newspapers and 19 free daily Canadian newspapers in circulation during the sample time period, the sample includes 58 paid and six free

[18] This excludes letters to the editor, excerpts that throw to bigger stories, and advice columns.

newspapers. All the major city newspapers and national newspapers are represented in the sample (see Appendix B for list of newspapers in the sample, Appendix C for regional variation Appendix D for ownership breakdown, and Appendix E for a fulsome discussion of the sample). I also collected stories from the newspaper in Thunder Bay from the Thunder Bay Public Library on Brodie Street, from the microfiche database at the Lakehead University Library, and through the newspaper's online database of recent digitized hardcopy versions of the newspaper.

The initial search across the two databases and manual collection of the *Chronicle Journal* (Thunder Bay) yielded over 1,500 stories. I narrowed the sample to stories that devoted substantial attention to an incident of domestic violence or domestic violence in general. Substantial focus was operationalized as either 30% of the paragraphs or if the lead paragraph centrally discussed domestic violence. Those that only mention domestic violence could warrant future study to understand when domestic violence is a newsworthy part of a broader story. In this case, I focused on the stories that themselves focused on domestic violence to understand the prevalent themes in how domestic violence is covered.

Content Analysis

To identify the frequency of the frames employed, I used content analysis. It is "the systematic assignment of communication content to categories according to rules, and the analysis of relationships involving those categories using statistical methods" (Riffe et al. 2014, 19; see Neuendorf 2011). Content analysis is useful for exploratory and other types of research questions (Krippendorff 2013, 1). It distills complex details into quantifiable variables.

To create meaningful categories to analyze, I developed a 93-variable coding grid (Appendix F). The unit of analysis varied from a sentence fragment to the story globally. Relying

on literature to identify independent variables (such as gender of reporter) and dependent content variables (such as the frame), I engaged in an iterative process to finalize the coding grid.[19] Six coders[20], then, coded the 823 daily newspaper stories.

Table 2.1: Individual Variables that Comprise Domestic Violence Frames		
Frame	**Variables Included in Composite Frame**	
Individualization	• Focus on a single incident • Calls domestic violence rare • The accused's behavior was out of character • The accused's behavior was related to a history of mental illness	
Victim-Blame	Mentions of a victim's: • History of abuse allegations • Sexual history • Criminal history	• Failure to report violence • Substance use and abuse • Lying about violence • Returning or staying with an abusive partner
Racialization	Normative Racialization: • Whiteness • Christian • Born in Canada • Called Canadian • Speaks English and/or French	Non-Normative Racialization: • Mentions of race or Indigeneity • Non-Christian religion, for example Muslim • Speaks non-official language • Born outside Canada • Called a non-Canadian nationality • Violence outside Canada
Thematic	Average Thematic: • Focus on IPV broadly • Prevention • Legislative changes • Ways readers can help	Social Justice: • Sexism and patriarchy • Racism, White privilege, and colonialism • Poverty • Precarious immigration status
Carceral	• Police source • Police brief • Story about a trial	• Victim's past criminal past • Victim's failure to report • Lawyers or judges as dominant source

Each of the literature-identified frames was assessed using nominal questions in the coding frame. In Table 2.1, I list the individual variables that comprise each of the composite domestic violence frame variables. Individualization, thematic, and victim-blame framing borrows from feminist research on domestic violence (Richards et al. 2014; Rolle et al. 2014;

[19] Friends and senior academics reviewed the grid. I test coded 12 stories from 2011. Once the grid was tested, I hired my first research assistant of five to test code an additional 10 stories. From there, I made adjustments to the coding grid for clarity and comprehensiveness (see Appendix G and H).

[20] I am deeply grateful to the five people who made the coding possible: Katherine Bowles, Anna Danyliuk, Linnea Kalchos, Tara MacDonald, Steven Patterson. I also coded some of the stories.

Gillespie et al. 2013; Berns 2004). The differences between normative and non-normative racialization borrow from the fields of racial mediation (Tolley 2015b) and gendered mediation (Trimble et al. 2013) and from literature on Canadian racial belonging and hierarchies (Olwan 2013; Gilchrist 2010; Thobani 2007). The inductively identified carceral frame borrows from feminist attention to domestic violence news (Chagnon 2016; Fairbairn and Dawson 2013; Bullock 2007; Ryan et al. 2006; Bullock and Cubert 2002) and broader scholarship on crime news (Gulati 2011; Berger 2009). Each of the individual variables assessing the frame were added together into a composite variable to assess the prevalence of the frame in each story.

Additionally, the coding frame documents the sources used in the story. This included whether a police, anti-violence advocate, or government source was present, how many words directly attributed to the source, source dominance, and additional sources. The coding frame did not include a question about quotes from victims/survivors or perpetrators/accused; however, none of the coders found that either party was quoted often or extensively. If anything, the news story might quote family, friends, colleagues, and the lawyer representing them in a trial. The source variables are significant. They outline how one source, the police, plays an important role in shaping domestic violence news.

That these stories were hand coded presented both opportunities and risks. Hand coding is beneficial when the variables are more interpretive (Tolley 2015a, 978). It also sets up the discourse analysis and allowed for both global and sentence fragment analysis. While automated coding would have been more cost effective and quicker, I would not have been able to capture the complicated and interpretive variables as accurately (Grimmer and Stewart 2013). The downside of hand coding is that it is more susceptible to human error and bias (Tolley 2015a). Coders can find whatever they are asked to find in the stories if framed in the right way. To

address this concern and broader issue of reliability, I undertook two countermeasures: comprehensive training of each coder (see Appendix G) and an intercoder reliability test (see Appendix H). After extensive training and two intercoder reliability tests (IRT), the data are highly reliable as the coders largely agreed on how to code the variables.

To analyze the data in the statistical software program SPSS, I employ two types of tests to measure associations between nominal data points: chi-square and Cramer's V. The chi-square test for independence measures the likelihood that the two variables are independent or somehow linked (McHugh 2012). The test is useful when measuring the association between nominal variables (ibid). The relationship is significant when the p-value is below .05, suggesting that there is a five percent or lower chance of the relationship being random (ibid). What chi-square tests do not tell the researcher is the strength of the association. For that, I turn to the Cramer's V test (ibid). The results of the Cramer's V calculation generally range from 0 to 1.00 (Chass n.d.). The lower the score the weaker the relationship (ibid). However, scores between .5 and .99 might indicate that the variable is measuring the same thing (ibid) or it might indicate a strong relationship. Caution is required when interpreting these results.

Despite the careful attention to the reliability and comprehensiveness of the content analysis, there are some notable drawbacks to this method. While the coding frame did attempt to measure latent content, it is argued that content analysis is not the best tool to analyze latent content (Van Zoonen 1994). Similarly, the process of distilling multi-layered, complex, and long news stories into quantifiable morsels risks losing the complex layers and context in which those morsels exist. Content analysis is not well-suited to inductively identifying new patterns. In my case, had I stopped at content analysis, I would have missed the theme of carceral framing. Each

of these shortcomings, however, can be addressed by adding another layer of analysis. For that reason, I also conducted an extensive discourse analysis of all the stories.

Discourse Analysis

A critical anti-oppressive feminist discourse analysis is useful to identify the meanings associated with domestic violence framing patterns and to identify new patterns. Discourse analysis blends analysis of the words and phrases used, with an analysis of "the dependence of texts upon society and history" (Fairclough 1992, 195). It situates and contextualizes the text, as both discourse and culture "are mutually constitutive" (Fairclough et al. 2009, 370). Feminist critical discourse analysis, more specifically, aims to identify "the complex, subtle, and sometimes not so subtle, ways in which frequently taken-for-granted gendered assumptions and hegemonic power relations are discursively produced, sustained, negotiated, and challenged in different contexts and communities" (Lazar 2007, 142). An intersectional feminist is "concerned with demystifying the interrelationships of gender, power, and ideology in discourse" (ibid, 144) and with understanding the systems of privilege and oppression supported and revealed through discourse (Dhamoon 2011). Discourse analysis goes beyond the content to consider to what extent news coverage challenges or reinforces the status quo (Kozol 1995, 650).

The process of conducting the discourse analysis was iterative. The coders recorded trends and phrases related to individual variables (see Appendix F), as well as notable passages, while coding the stories. With the complete 200 pages of discourse notes, I started the analysis by reading the corpus and re-reading all 823 stories. I identified, refined, and analyzed patterns from the notes by reading and re-reading the notes in light of the statistical patterns, the literature, and the observational and interview data. In the process, I noted any discrepancies of

stories that do not fit into the patterns and resolved or explained these discrepancies. Throughout, I looked for patterns of how the texts relate to power relations, asking questions about the implications for settler colonialism, Canadian racial politics, sexism, classism, and so on (see Kozol 1995). This difficult task is what makes feminist critical discourse analysis distinct and such a beneficial method to consider a text's relationship to societal hierarchies.

Like content analysis, discourse analysis also has drawbacks. Discourse analysis is often seen as a less rigorous method, more subject to interpretation, and less replicable (Widdowson 1998, 136; Toolan 1997). For example, Michael Stubbs (1997) argues that a discourse analysis is often impressionistic and makes claims that could and should be quantified. According to Stubbs, discourse analysis would benefit from adopting some sampling and analysis protocols associated with quantitative analysis (ibid).

One of the strengths of this research design is that I use both content and discourse analysis to counter the weaknesses of the other. In the case of discourse analysis, I rely on the rigorous sampling used in the content analysis to avoid cherry-picking stories that support my analysis. At the same time, the subjective and impressionistic nature of discourse analysis counters some of the rigidity of content analysis. Content analysis provides evidence of framing patterns, while I use the discourse analysis to unpack the meanings associated within the frames and between the frames, and it importantly uncovered carceral framing.

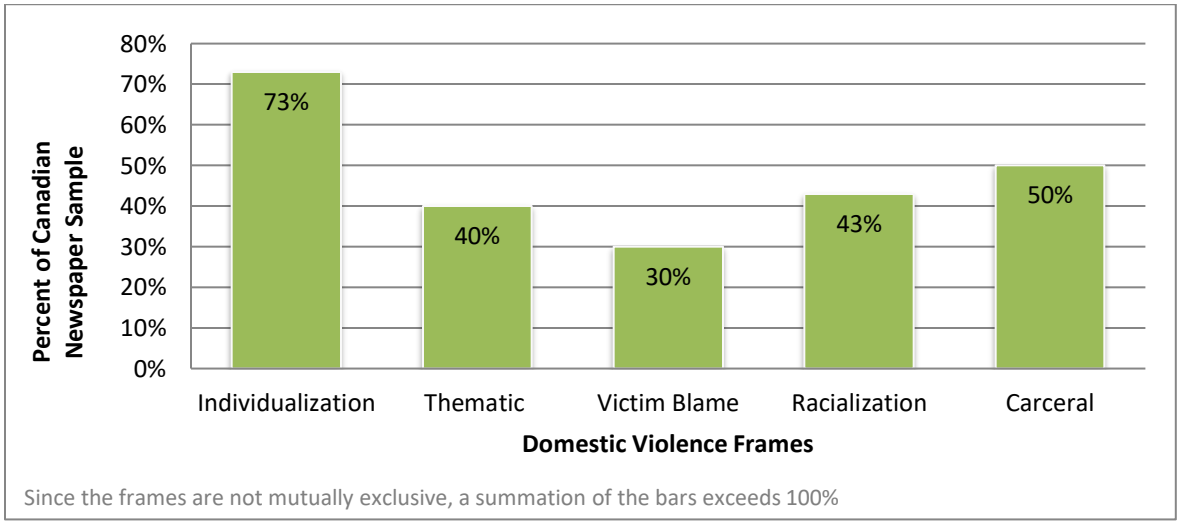
Findings

I found evidence of all five frames – individualization, thematic, victim-blaming, racialization, and carceral. Figure 2.1 depicts the prevalence of each frame. The most prominent pattern is that the news focuses on individuals and domestic violence incidents in isolation, often without any discussion of domestic violence broadly (thematic framing). This conveys that individuals are

responsible for what is effectively a social problem. I also found evidence of thematic framing. However, the social justice aspects are drowned out by the focus on the routines of the state – from creating legislation to policing to implementing programs. This includes some of the carceral framing, such as attention to the day-to-day police involvement in domestic violence. The news continues to blame victims, most frequently discussing why they stayed, or focusing on past abuse often without contextualizing the risks of leaving or challenges to leaving. All these frames are inflected with racialized meaning, as the news discusses the celebrity cases of Black U.S. athletes and uses "culture talk" to reinforce notions that racialized communities are somehow more violent and more responsible for the violence. The ample attention to police, courts, prisons, and punishment is recorded as carceral framing. Some of the stories play into a theater of punishment. Most normalize the carceral state.

To first understand how the news is covered, I first apply the *"provision-presentation distinction"* (Goodyear-Grant 2013, 19) to explain the types of domestic violence that are newsworthy. This section then briefly outlines the *selection* of stories, while the following five sections on the dominant news frames focuses on the *salience* of the stories.

Figure 2.1: Domestic Violence Frame Frequency



Domestic Violence News Provision-Presentation

In a similar vein of the distorted mirror perspective of news presented in the introduction, Elizabeth Goodyear-Grant (2013, 20) argues that media content is always a combination "of real-world events *provided* for coverage and of how those real-world events are selected, interpreted, and *presented* [or distorted] by the news media." The majority of this dissertation focuses on the latter – the processes that contribute to the *selection* of certain types of domestic violence and the processes that support various framing of domestic violence (*salience*). To first understand these processes, it is important to also consider the real-world events that provided for the coverage.

In this regard, domestic violence presents a challenge, as the real-world events are often hidden. Sometimes the hiddenness of domestic violence is legislated, such as bans on the publication of names. Other times, guilty parties act in their own self-interest to obscure or deflect blame. Some victims feel immense shame and trauma, which partially stem from the intimate nature of the violence (Lansky 1987). Other survivors place more significance on their right to privacy and family unity over state protection (Kelly 2003). The hiddenness of domestic violence presents a challenge for news coverage.

There is often an intermediary layer between the experiences of individuals involved in domestic violence and news coverage. That intermediary could be a trial, police report, academic study, or the witnesses to the crime. Rarely are journalists reporting on domestic violence events they witnessed themselves. Instead, third parties often mediate the events. I also had to rely on intermediaries to understand the differences between domestic violence and its news coverage.

To start, domestic violence is a large gendered problem for Canada. In 2017, nearly one third of all police-reported violence crimes were a form of intimate partner violence, affecting almost 96,000 victims (Burcyzcka 2018). This does not include forms of emotional, financial, or

psychological trauma or other forms of violence not reported to the police. The violence is sometimes deadly. There were 83 cases of intimate partner homicide in 2014, 83 cases in 2015, and 72 cases in 2016 (David 2017; Miladinovic and Mulligan 2015; Mulligan et al. 2016). Intimate partner violence in Canada is gendered. Women are four times more likely to be killed than men in relationships (Beaupré 2015). Women also report experiencing more violent forms of domestic violence than men (Burcyzcka 2018). The news coverage picks up on the gendered nature of the violence, glosses over violence in same-sex relationships, focuses on violence committed by and against celebrities, and selectively covers types of violence.

The stories, as expected, largely focused on physical assault (55%) or murder (30%). Stories noted how "he punched her, kicked her and hit her in the back of the head with a crowbar" (Waterloo Region Record 2016) or how he "struck her with a broom and later a pot" (Pazzano 2015a, 10). The focus on physical assault and murder is not a surprise. Domestic violence is often bloody and the news media tends to print more graphic forms of violence (Carlyle et al. 2008; Los and Chamard 1997; Meyers 1996).

The other two forms of violence were covered less; while mental abuse was covered more than I expected (21%), intimate partner sexual violence (IPSV) was covered less (11%). Mental abuse includes coercive control, stalking, harassment, verbal abuse, and so on. The news discussed a partner "threatening her…[and] refusing to let her leave the house" (Bowen 2016), "demeaning putdowns" (Waterloo Region Record 2015), and "controlling" behaviours (Bell 2014, 6). Despite the fact that emotional abuse is likely the most prevalent form of violence within relationships, the news has historically ignored it. Christy-Dale L. Sims (2008) found that emotional abuse was excluded from domestic violence news coverage for three months in 2008 in five U.S. cities. This is not the case across my three-year sample, suggesting either a change in

the news, differences between Canadian and U.S. coverage, or method differences. This is a welcome change, although other work suggests the news does not accurately represent some of the more technical ways in which abusers exercise coercive control[21] over their partners (Post et al. 2009). In this regard, there is room to better represent gendered experiences of survivors.

The same cannot be emphasized enough with regards to the lack of coverage of IPSV. That only 11% of stories discuss IPSV suggests that readers are getting a truncated picture of the violence, although it matches the low rates in police-reported statistics. Police-reported statistics in Canada find that spouses perpetrated only five percent of sexual assaults in 2014 (Conroy and Cotter 2017). This is down from the 17% reported in 2011 (Sinha 2013, 30). However, research in closely linked contexts suggests that prevalence of intimate partner sexual violence is higher than what people report to the police. In the U.S., it is estimated that 25-55% of women who experience physical violence from an intimate partner also experience sexual violence from that same partner (Logan et al. 2015; Black et al. 2011; Basile et al. 2007). In Australia, one out of every 11 women has been sexually assaulted by a male partner since the age of 15 (Cox 2015). That only 11% of the stories cover IPSV misses what anti-violence advocates know – "sexual violence is one of the main tactics of abuse, although women never want to talk about it" (Pamela Cross, Feminist VAW Lawyer, Interview, February 25, 2017). At the same time, the coverage reflects the silence around this form of domestic violence.

In contrast, the news more accurately reflects the gendered nature of domestic violence in Canada. In 80% of the stories, a man or men are positioned as perpetrators of domestic violence, while in 75% of the stories, women are labeled the victims or survivors of domestic violence. In only three percent of stories women are considered the perpetrator and men the victim. This is a

[21]Abusers typically interweave physical abuse with intimidation, isolation, and control (Stark 2009, 5).

far cry from Nancy Berns' (2004) finding that media over-represent men's victimization and gender symmetry. Instead, the news reflects the gendered nature of domestic violence, matching similar findings in the U.S. (Carlyle et al. 2014; Meyers 1997).

However, the news misses domestic violence experienced by and/or committed by gay, lesbian, gender non-conforming, and trans folks. Research suggests that domestic violence, namely coercive control, occurs at similar rates in same-sex and heterosexual relationships (Frankland and Brown 2014) and trans people face higher rates of intimate partner violence directed against them (Stotzer 2009). None of the sampled stories discuss violence by or against a trans individual, while one percent of the sample discusses LGBTQ+ victims or accused. This is consistent with a recent U.S. study that found a similar absence of attention to same-sex couple violence, noting that U.S. news attention to this violence is "more closeted than gayness itself" (Estes and Webber 2017, 1).

How these few stories about violence in LGBTQ+ relationships are covered points to a potential reason for the underreporting. Most of these stories use neutral language – a "woman…fatally stabbed her ex-girlfriend" (Pritchard 2016, A4). However, two of the 11 stories use sensational language to describe, for example, a man who "let those emotions take over him when he found…[his] male lover…in bed with a woman" (Martin 2015, A19). It is not an overwhelming pattern; yet, the example tracks with previously found media proclivity to mention titillating, bizarre, or sexualized details about LGBTQ+ relationship violence (Vickers 1996). Either same-sex domestic violence has become too normal to cover or not violent enough or reporters are not hearing the juicy details that would entice them to cover this prevalent form of violence.

Class and socioeconomic markers often are not included, unless the abuser is a rich Black man. Fewer than eight percent of stories mention a victim's job and fewer than seven percent mention the marginalized, working class, professional, and/or ruling class occupations of the domestic violence offender (see Appendix F for coding notes on occupation). The lack of attention to class is consistent with the argument that framing domestic violence as a "universal risk" downplays the financial implications for women with less means (McKendy 1997, 136). By universalizing experiences, the news hides lower class experiences and fixates on upper class experiences (ibid).

This bears out in the sample as 30% of stories reference a perpetrator's celebritized occupation, including professional athletes, actors, and radio personalities. One Black NFL player dominates this category – Ray Rice. Sports news, regular news, and columns are obsessed with discussing the 2014 elevator footage of Rice knocking out his then-fiancée Janaya Rice, the NFL's poor response, the investigation into the NFL's response, and the Baltimore Ravens' (in)ability to bounce back without Rice. While the focus on Rice and other celebrities demonstrates the disproportionate focus on violence in the lives of those already in the spotlight, I argue below that the focus on Rice demonstrates the racialized *selection* criteria that influences domestic violence news. Rice's violence was not only the case of celebrity domestic violence during my sample period, yet he received a significant amount of attention. The lack of discussion of class and, as I argue below, socioeconomic factors, limits the understanding of domestic violence's causes, experiences, and solutions.

There is ample material that the news could use to flesh out the complexities of this social problem. If a reporter wanted to, they could exclusively cover domestic violence. 96,000 victims in 2017 is a lot of news fodder. Domestic homicides alone would produce a story every fourth

day. This does not account for the broader picture aspects of domestic violence – the ongoing challenges with policing, the incompatibility between family and criminal court, and the underfunded support services. It also does not get at the way in which domestic violence could be woven into almost any story. Stories about Alberta's recession could include a discussion of its effect on domestic violence (Graveland 2016). The slashing of francophone services in Ontario could include a discussion of how that might negatively influence anti-violence agencies struggling to provide services in two languages. There is no shortage of material. Instead, the question becomes, **How are these stories of intimate partner violence framed and why?**

Who is Responsible? The Individual!

From 2014 to 2016, Canadian newspapers most frequently employed individualized framing. Nearly three-quarters (73%) of the news stories focus on a single incident or a series of domestic violence incidents between two individuals. The amount of individualization is similar to previous studies. Carlyle et al. (2014) found that 88% of their U.S. news sample episodically covered domestic violence. The higher amount of episodic framing in this study is likely related to the operationalization of frame variable and the story selection. Despite the small differences, the prominence of individualization is consistent with other studies of domestic violence newspaper framing in Canada and the U.S. (Rolle et al. 2014; Fairbairn and Dawson 2013; Gillespie et al. 2013; Richards et al. 2011; Bullock and Cubert 2002).

For this study, I find that the individualized news coverage is invested in logics of responsibility in which the news frames the violence as an outcome of behaviour between isolated individuals. To capture the discursive and political undertones of this framing, I use the language of individualization. As I explained above, individualization, rather than simply

episodic framing, accounts for the shift towards focusing on individuals as the causes for and solutions to broader social problems (see Brodie 2009, 179). This discursive construction of domestic violence reinforces erroneous notions that the violence is an isolated or extraordinary event in Canada (see Kelly 2003, 73), when, in fact, one-third of crimes reported to the police are related to spousal abuse (Burcyzcka 2018). This does not include the people experiencing domestic violence who do not report. Individualization distorts the reality of domestic violence and reinforces most victims' worst fears – "you are alone."

There are generally two broad types of discourses that one can take into account to understand individualization: justification or aberration. In seven percent of the stories, an individual man who should be accountable for his violence is either pathologized or justified. This paradox is that the overall individualization frame focuses on individuals as responsible, while occasionally also excusing or justifying individual men's behavior. Within this small pattern, stories either discuss the batterer's mental illness or use direct excusing language. Mental health as a contributing factor in the violence is discussed in 60% of these stories. This includes references that a perpetrator "failed to see through treatment efforts for alcoholism and potential mental health issues" (Landry 2015, B2) to noting that the accused is "struggling with various psychological challenges including depression, anxiety and a neurocognitive disorder" (Davis 2014, A3). That the news discusses mental illness, as a contributing factor itself, is not problematic and does not necessarily excuse or defend the batterer. However, this type of information contributes towards painting a picture that the violence is somehow exceptional or pathological, not part of a broader pattern (Berns 2004; Meyers 1994).

The point becomes clearer when considering race and mental illness. The access is associated with unspoken Whiteness. Of the 35 stories that mention the accused's mental illness,

only one each labels the perpetrator as non-white and as White. The remaining stories do not give direct clues about the racial or ethnic makeup of the batterer. While this is not strong evidence, it can be read in light of other evidence that suggests that White men are more likely to be pathologized as deviant and Black men are more likely to be framed as culturally violent (McDonald 1999; Meyers 1994). That 97% of the stories that mention mental illness do not racialize the perpetrator suggests that there is support for these findings, as racialized men are not given the defense of mental illness, while non-racialized men are afforded this defense.

The differences between the two stories that racialized mental health drives home this point. The reporter suggests that a White man in the story represents all White men and mental illness. The story explains why this particular White man committed the violence, noting, "older, Caucasian men are less likely to reach out for help if they are feeling depressed because they still carry a stigma around mental illness" (DeRosa 2014, A1). Joseph Melvin Desroches, "a man who said he has struggled with mental illness" is charged with first-degree murder of his wife Rosa Maria Desroches (ibid). The reporter compares the case to a murder-suicide in an upper-middle class neighbourhood of Cadboro Bay in Victoria, BC, where another man "struggled with depression" (ibid). The story conveys that Mr. Deroches represents a broader issue of older White men with untreated mental illnesses that might kill their wives.

Conversely, the story about mental illness and the "Iranian" man is primarily about Canada's national security. The man "of Iranian origin" who was facing charges of "forcible confinement in the context of domestic violence" was "sent for psychiatric evaluation after claiming…that he had provided information on the recent attacks on military personnel in Ottawa…prior to the events occurring" (Sherbrooke Record 2014, A3). While he was deemed "sane," the article identifies a possible mental health concern when the "Iranian" man claimed to

have a "long history of providing information to Canadian authorities…[including] about a potential terrorist attack" (ibid). His mental health is flagged because he claimed to be acting in service of Canada's national security. What is unspoken but hyper-present is the archetype of the Muslim terrorist. This story relies on a commonsense understanding that it is *insane* for an Iranian man to be helping Canadian authorities, while the Cadboro Bay resident represents an epidemic of untreated mentally ill White men about to kill their wives.

Additionally, three percent of the sample uses direct language to justify or excuse the batterer's actions. For example, the *Sun Media* franchise newspapers reprinted a news wire story about football player Greg Hardy[22] beating up his then-girlfriend and throwing her onto a pile of semi-automatic rifles, with a title that seemed to sympathetically explain the athlete's violence: "Defending Hardy" (Kryk 2015, 39). The coverage of Hardy, a rich Black man, highlights how violent racialized men have access to excuses and justifications previously reserved for White men when they are rich. The other story that justifies the perpetrator's actions quotes the perpetrator's defense lawyer talking about how their client was "desperate to see his sons, riven with fear…" and only "wanted to lash out" and while "he didn't go there to kill her, he was provoked by the stabbing" (Blatchford 2015). This type of individualization is more extreme in which domestic violence is framed as the outcome of a provoked man.

Most commonly, individualized stories frame domestic violence as an isolated incident between individuals, a societal aberration, or out-of-character for the individual batterer. Nearly three-quarters (73%) of the individualized stories or over half the sample (54%) focuses on an individual incident of domestic violence. In these stories, there is no discussion of the political situation, the socioeconomic context, or systems of inequality such as sexism, racism, or

[22] Hardy was initially convicted of threatening and assaulting his former girlfriend. Upon appeal the judge threw out the case when his former girlfriend stopped cooperating and received a financial settlement out of court (Bonesteel 2015).

colonialism. This framing is not overt. Indeed, less than one percent (0.7%) of the sample explicitly notes that domestic violence is rare. Instead, the majority of the stories focus on individuals without putting the violence into a broader context.

One might contend that individualization positively spotlights individual women's stories. Indeed, a generous interpretation of some of the stories confirms that individual women's accounts of abuse are newsworthy. The news does not obscure domestic violence as a private matter. However, as I note below, Indigenous women's stories are erased as the news focuses on communalizing violence as an Indigenous community problem. More to the point, the overall pattern of focusing on episodes of domestic violence often without contextualizing the violence reinforces individual culpability for the broader social problem of domestic violence.

This framing, I argue, responsibilizes individuals for a social problem. To be clear, individuals need to be accountable for their individual actions, but not broader social problems they cannot control alone. Instead, I would argue we have collective accountability to address the underlying causes, and individuals also must be accountable for their abusive behavior. Individualized framing obscures collective accountability and focuses on individuals. This reinforces what Chandra Talpade Mohanty (2013, 971) and others call neoliberal governmentalities, which "discursively construct a public domain denuded of power and histories of oppression, where market rationalities redefine democracy and collective responsibility is collapsed into individual characteristics." In discussion of societal problems, institutionalized systems of inequality such as racism, classism, etc. are substituted with "individual prejudice and psychological dispositions" (ibid). For domestic violence, the news is not focusing on gendered inequality or racism. These are supplanted by discussions of anger

management, mental health, unhealthy relationships, and, most prominently, isolated cases of individuals involved in domestic violence.

Who is Responsible? The state?

At the same time, unlike previous studies, I found more thematic framing in which the news discusses domestic violence broadly. In 39% of the sample, the stories are thematically framed. In other studies, the rate hovered around 10% (Easteal et al. 2018; Rolle et al. 2014, 504; Gillespie et al. 2013, 16; Bullock and Cubert 2002). Some of the differences in numbers are related to sampling as many of these studies had narrower search terms or focused on domestic violence homicides. At the same time, it is fair to say that Canadian news evidences more thematic framing. Since feminist research often holds up thematic framing as an ideal (Sutherland et al. 2015; Post et al. 2009; Carlyle et al. 2008), the question becomes: Is it a (positive) change?

Thematic framing can be broken into two categories: social justice framing and depoliticized thematic framing. Social justice framing – the focus on systems of inequality – occurs much less frequently than depoliticized thematic framing. Newspapers more frequently discuss legislative changes, prevention ideas, and the carceral mechanisms of the state. In 21% of the sample, one or more sentences mention state solutions and/or prevention strategies. These stories that focus on the machinations of the state comprise over half (54%) of the thematically framed stories, a finding similar to U.S. news attention to VAW (Chagnon 2016).

In a typical example, the story focuses on a "new law, the first of its kind in Canada, [that] provides paid and unpaid leave for victims fleeing from abusive relationships" in Manitoba (Bielski 2016, A3). This *Globe and Mail* story has three general themes. The reporter first

focuses on the bureaucratic aspects of the legislation – the process of passing the bill and legislative process. Another aspect of the story focuses on the justifications for the bill in terms of its positive effect for the economy and companies: these bills "also make good economic sense for employers, since domestic violence decreases productivity and increases lateness and absenteeism" (ibid). Finally, the reporter introduces and closes the article with human interest stories,[23] including a secondhand report of one woman's murder that the law might have prevented. While the story is punctuated with narratives that explain how economic inequality contribute to women's decisions to leave abusive relationships, two-thirds of the themes in this particular story focus on the bureaucracy of the bill and the "get-back-work" rationale. The role of economic inequality is never fully unpacked. Instead, the general trend in this story, thematically framed stories, and throughout the sample is a focus on the technocratic machinations of the state.

Canadian news discussion of domestic violence solutions and prevention often supports neoliberal forms of individual accountability and bolsters penal responses to domestic violence. For example, a few stories explicitly discuss solutions that involve increasing the reach of the carceral state, from police expansion of their "domestic violence unit[s]" (Morton 2015, A8) to "training [for] security guards" (Sinnema 2015, A4). References to the carceral state form of a pattern that I have identified as carceral framing.

When the solution is not carceral, the reporting focuses on technocratic options. It is depoliticized even when the solution itself is rooted in political feminist movements. For example, one story discusses increasing the scope of Saskatchewan "domestic violence related death" committees (Hamilton 2015). Domestic Violence Death Review Committees

[23] Human interest stories focus on an individual human story, face, or emotion (Semetko and Valkenburg 2000).

(DVDRVs)[24] in Ontario provide the model for this solution and were partially the outcome of feminist intervention into the inquests of two murdered women, Arlene May in 1996 and Gillian Hadley in 2000 (Cross 2017). The story neuters the committee's mandate to focus on systemic causes, focusing on the procedure and bureaucracy of the work instead. The same can be said of the stories that discuss "prevention efforts…[of] family violence" (Canadian Press 2015, A5). The focus on "family violence" reveals the depoliticization, as the term obscures how domestic violence is gendered (Koshan and Wiegers 2007). The focus on technocratic solutions pervades thematic framing.

There were, however, a handful of stories that politicized the prevention of domestic violence. One story quotes anti-violence advocate Hilla Kerner of the Vancouver Rape Relief and Women's Shelter, "welfare rates need to be increased" (Luba 2014). This quote focuses on solutions that challenge the beliefs in individual responsibility. It is no surprise that an anti-violence advocate raises this concern. In Chapter 5, I explain the relationship between anti-violence advocates, journalists, and domestic violence frames. This specific story stands apart as one of the few that blatantly politicizes domestic violence solutions and prevention. The majority of the thematic frame focuses on technocratic solutions that support measures of individual accountability and carceral options.

The recognition of the gendered nature of the violence is the exception to this trend. In 16% of the sample, the story notes that domestic violence is gendered. Some of these stories strongly declare the gendered nature of the violence – "this is an issue of public safety for vulnerable citizens, particularly women" (Times Colonist 2015, A11). More often, however, the story labels domestic violence as "violence against women" (Luba 2014). Making up 40% of the

[24] DVDRCs are panels of experts who review domestic homicides and "provide recommendations for change and advice" to governments to prevent similar deaths (Cross 2017). DVDRCs do not assess criminal culpability and their recommendations are not legally binding (ibid).

thematic frame, this finding is not surprising given the overall coverage of almost exclusively men's violence against women and that past research found that news often genders domestic violence (Carlyle et al. 2008).

This discussion of the gendered nature of domestic violence is often itself depoliticized. Using the passive voice in which the actor (or batterer) is missing is what Sharon Lamb (1991) labels a form of linguistic avoidance. The stories rarely discuss *men's* violence against women. Victimization, not perpetration, is gendered. These men are set up as individuals rather than part of a "problem rooted in misogyny and patriarchy" (Meyers 1997, ix).

The use of statistics illustrates this point. Rarely does the news note that the majority of perpetrators are men. Instead, they quote statistics that identify that, for example, "in the Yukon, rates of violence against women are three to four times the national average" (Russell 2014, A2). These statements draw attention to gendered vulnerability without discussing gendered perpetration. While research is clear that women are indeed likely victims of domestic violence, this type of gendering avoids the more uncomfortable discussions of male perpetration.

The discussion of violence against Indigenous women is an exception, which includes several RCMP statements that it is men in their communities that are killing Indigenous women (Kirkup 2015, A5). In the few stories about domestic violence against Indigenous women, Indigenous men are mentioned as the problem. Indigenous vulnerability and perpetration are gendered. As I argue below, this racialization reinforces the notion that Indigenous communities are more violent.

There are a few counterexamples that bring attention to masculinity. For example, Soup Sisters founder Sharon Hapton is quoted saying "domestic violence isn't a woman's problem, it's a man's problem" (Cox 2014, C12). Overall, that the news genders domestic violence as

violence against women or gender-based violence positively balks any notion that domestic violence is a clinical, degendered, individual problem. However, the absent gendered aggressor haunts the gendering of domestic violence. The gendering of domestic violence may be a pervasive pattern, but it is one-sided and racialized.

This type of coverage is largely depoliticized, as evinced by the fact that few stories discuss systems of inequality (including sexism) or the intersectional factors that contribute to the pervasiveness of the violence. Less than five percent of the sample discusses sexism, racism, colonialism, and/or socioeconomic systems of inequality (social justice framing). One story quotes Angel MacDougall, the executive director of Battered Women's Support Services, "we need to put the emphasis on gender inequality" (Pemberton 2016). Other stories quote anti-violence advocates who identify the intersectional vulnerabilities of some people who are subjected to domestic violence. For example, Marc Hull, the executive director of Shelter Movers of Toronto, is quoted saying, "violence against women disproportionately affects women of colour and women experiencing poverty" (Dolski 2016). The framing of domestic violence using social justice language is held up as an ideal for feminist scholars and, despite the promise of increased thematic framing, it is nearly absent from the sample.

Instead, even though thematic framing occurred more frequently than identified in previous U.S. and Canadian studies, the thematic framing maps onto neoliberal approaches to state responses to social problems. Writing about domestic violence and VAW, Kendra Coulter (2009) identifies how domestic violence solutions of "economic security and real shelters from the storm of violence" are incompatible with the "technocratic, so-called pragmatic approaches" of the neoliberal state (39). In the thematic frame, there is a general focus on the machinations of

the state, an acknowledgement of the gendered nature of domestic violence victimization and not perpetration, and little discussion around systems of inequality.

Who is Responsible? The Victim!

The news also includes victim-blaming tropes in 30% of the stories. That a news story suggests that victims provoke and/or somehow deserve the violence is well-studied (Lloyd and Ramon 2017; Gillespie et al. 2013, 13; Taylor, Rae 2009; Consalvo 1998). The references can directly comment that the survivor caused the violence (Berns 2004, 156-157) or subtly note the mutuality of responsibility for the violence (Easteal et al. 2015). Blaming the victim is clearly problematic, as no one deserves to be abused. Thirty percent is too high and higher than predicted by past research.

Previous research found lower frequencies of victim-blaming tropes. From 11% to 14% of news coverage in Canada and the U.S., this research suggests that victim-blaming is decreasing (Fairbairn and Dawson 2013; Richards et al. 2011). In 11% of Richards et al's (2011, 189) sample of North Carolina news (2002-2007), stories reported that victims failed to take appropriate measures to protect themselves by not reporting abuse, or seeking police help, or for staying in the abusive relationship. The 15- to 20-point difference between previous research and this study suggests that either there are differences in the method or there is more victim-blaming now than before.

Part of the explanation of the differences between the above studies and mine is methodological and part is contextual. Since this sample includes stories that are duplicated across newspapers owned by the same large parent company, one might assume that the increase can be explained by the duplicated content. However, the proportion of victim-blaming tropes is

identical in both the duplicated content and the unique stories. The measures of victim-blaming also closely mirror previous studies, (Fairbairn and Dawson 2013; Richards et al. 2011). However, the big difference is that I examined non-fatal, fatal, and general domestic violence stories. Previous comparable research with these lower percentages often only examined domestic homicides. What this suggests is that victim-blaming might be more prevalent in stories about non-fatal domestic violence cases and general discussions of domestic violence.

Proportionally, the sample bears this out and also evidences a higher proportion of victim-blaming tropes in murder stories. Women who experience sexual assault or mental abuse in a relationship are more subject to victim-blaming tropes. In 55% of stories about mental abuse and 42% of the stories about sexual assault include one or more victim-blaming tropes. Both stories about murder and assault are narrated with victim-blaming tropes 35% of the time. These figures are higher than previous studies. The selection criteria partially explain the difference and victim-blaming itself is also on the rise.

As such, the news continues to normalize responsibilizing the victim. In a sense, victim-blaming can be seen as a parallel discourse to individualization. Individualization holds individuals responsible for what are effectively collective problems (Brodie 2009). Victim-blaming shifts that responsibility onto individual and collective victims. While some of the stories in the sample deploy these tropes as a means to expose patterns of abuse or critique media coverage, the majority of the stories directly or indirectly communicate that the victim is wholly or partially responsible for the violence.

Direct vs. Indirect Victim-Blaming

Consistent with previous studies, I find the stories vary in how directly they blame the victim (see Richards et al. 2011). This is also consistent with feminist research on rape culture that suggests that gendered violence is often framed as risk reduction (Barca 2018; Gotell 2008). I argue in Chapter 3 that journalists' adoption of risk discourses partially explains this type of framing. Rather than focus on systems of inequality, the news focuses on how the survivor is explicitly or implicitly responsible for their violence enacted on them because they did not reduce their risk. Importantly, I find that these discourses are racialized, a key finding I discuss in the following section.

Figure 2.2: Proportion of Victim-Blame Tropes within Victim-Blame Frame

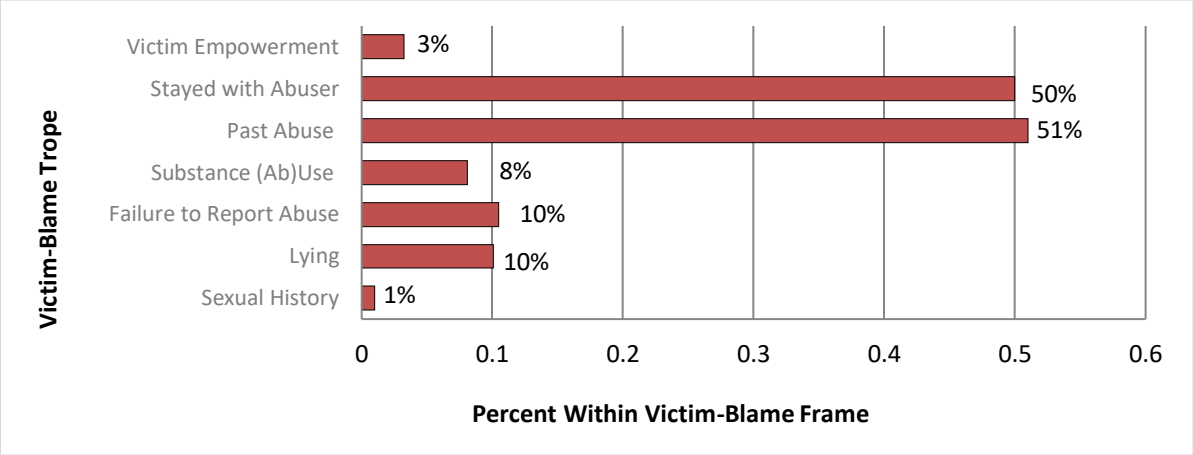


Figure 2.2 highlights the proportion of victim-blame tropes in the composite frame variable, with an average of 1.5 tropes per victim-blame story. If any one of the tropes was present, then the frame of victim-blaming was coded as present. Figure 2.2 does not include references to the victim's criminal history or gender symmetry as they occurred in less than one percent of the victim blame frame. The two most frequently used tropes focus on the victim experiencing past abuse or staying with an abusive partner, representing 15% of the sample each and 50% of the victim-blame frame. The other tropes of calling a victim a criminal, whore,

alcoholic/drug-user, or liar as reasons for the violence ranged from less than one percent (criminal) to three percent (liar) of the sample. In three percent of stories, it is noted that the victim did not report the violence. From the discourse notes, it is rare for these stories to explain vulnerabilities or the cycle of violence. Instead, the overall pattern conveys that victims are one of the causes of domestic violence.

To provide theoretical clarity, the difference between direct and indirect forms of victim-blaming hinges on the attribution of agency to victim. Directly, the news frames the victim as the actor, who engages in risky behavior. From staying with an abusive partner to not reporting the violence, the frame implies that the violence might not have happened if the victim made another choice. Indirectly, stories mention histories of past abuse or use minimizing language that does not directly attribute responsibility to the victim. Use of both direct and indirect victim-blame tropes play out across the types of victim-blaming and I offer further examples of each to illustrate the differences.

Across all types of victim-blaming, the victim becomes the actor whose actions could have stopped the violence sooner. The second paragraph in a 2015 *Edmonton Journal* article about workplace protection for people experiencing domestic violence focuses on the murdered woman's decisions as if to say that her death is partially her fault. "Prior to her murder, the woman never pressed charges against her spouse and didn't ask for a restraining order. Police encouraged her to limit contact, but couldn't act further, since her spouse didn't assault her in public" (Sinnema 2015, A4). This prominent paragraph suggests that the violent murder could have been prevented if the victim reported the violence. The woman, as the subject of the sentence, does not act to prevent her own murder. In the story, there is no discussion that trying to leave is a very dangerous undertaking, no discussion of how police might not believe her, and

no discussion of the responsibilities of perpetrators to stop abusing. The story does not read, "before he murdered his wife, the man did not seek help." The way the story explains the murder plays into the myth that rational women do not stay in violent situations.

Other stories write the victim in as a willing participant in the violent relationship. For example, "The suspect was under a protection order to stay away from Wilson, say Winnipeg Police. However, Wilson said despite the break up and the protection order she went back" (Maxwell 2016). Another story discusses how the victim "was having an affair before she was killed" (Hamilton Spectator 2016a), as if to suggest that her sexual activity killed her. While it would be just as problematic for stories to treat victims as passive, these direct forms of victim-blame do not contextualize the woman's agency and choice. That she "repeatedly returned to Thomas despite his drunken beatings and demeaning put-downs" (Waterloo Region Record, 2015) or that "she did not seek outside help for her domestic problems" (Keung 2014) attributes a degree of agency to the victim. These stories do not discuss constrained choices, patterns of abuse, or, often, perpetrator culpability. Her affair did not murder her. Her decision to return did not kill her. The man's lack of control over his emotions or socialized inability to see a woman as human caused the murder. This is not what is being discussed in the direct forms of victim-blaming in which women and victims are positioned as agents associated with well-known victim-blaming tropes.

There is also indirect victim-blaming. For example, one reporter draws heavily on the police to note how "a woman was cut with a razor, burned with a lighter, and assaulted with a crowbar earlier this week in what Chatham police say was only the latest incident of domestic violence in her relationship with her boyfriend" (Windsor Star 2016, A3). In this story, the reporter makes it clear that the victim is staying with this abusive boyfriend who has an affinity

to use household objects to torture her. This, however, is more indirect than the above examples in which the narrators associate the victim with some action that precedes the violence. In the indirect stories, those actions are implied.

For both direct and/or indirect forms of victim-blaming, context is generally missing. Except for the stories I discuss below, the victim-blame stories do not discuss why women stay or explain the cycle of abuse. Allusions to past abuse without explaining the cycle of violence might lead the reader to erroneously see the violence as a deficit of the victim, rather than a pattern of men's violence against her (Berns 2004). This can be extrapolated to other forms of victim-blaming references that paint a picture that domestic violence is solely a woman's responsibility to report, escape, and avoid.

Racialized Victim-Blaming

Victim-blaming tropes are also associated with racialization. One or more of the victim-blaming tropes were found in 36% of the racialized stories. The flipside of the equation is even more compelling: over half (51%) of the stories that employ one or more of the victim-blaming tropes are racialized. The relationship is significant ($p=.002$), but weak (Cramer's $V=.110$). There are two factors driving this correlation. Journalists and columnists were highly critical of Janay Rice's decision to stay in a relationship with Ray Rice. Other stories conveyed that racialized victims are liars. One story, for example, labels both Lin (the victim) and Yousef (the accused) as liars (Rankin 2014, A1). Taken as an overall pattern, one might think that racialized victims are more culpable for the violence enacted upon them. It is certainly the case, as I argue below, that racialized communities are responsibilized for the violence. The weak association between victim-blaming and racialization adds to that understanding.

Exposing Victim-blaming

These direct and indirect forms of victim-blaming can be distinguished from the few references that either use victim-blaming tropes to expose victim-blaming or use these tropes to explain cycles of violence and patterns of vulnerability. This smaller pattern cuts across the types of victim-blaming tropes. For example, the author queries, "Why don't [domestic violence victims] leave?" and answers, "It could be the lack of social support or financial resources" (Calgary Sun 2014, S12). Joan Jack, a retired Indigenous lawyer, is quoted, "Some women in indigenous communities are reluctant to come forward to talk about the abuse, which is a product of colonialism" (Kirkup 2016). These stories stand in stark contrast to the ones above. Here, rather than list alcohol or staying as causes of the violence, the article explains the complex ways that women cope with situations and the ways in which their choices are constrained. These references are welcome reprieves from the broader dominant pattern in which victims are identified as part of the problem – they stayed, they picked bad partners, they returned, they lied, and they did not report the violence – without discussion of how systemic factors or cycles of abuse likely influences these actions.

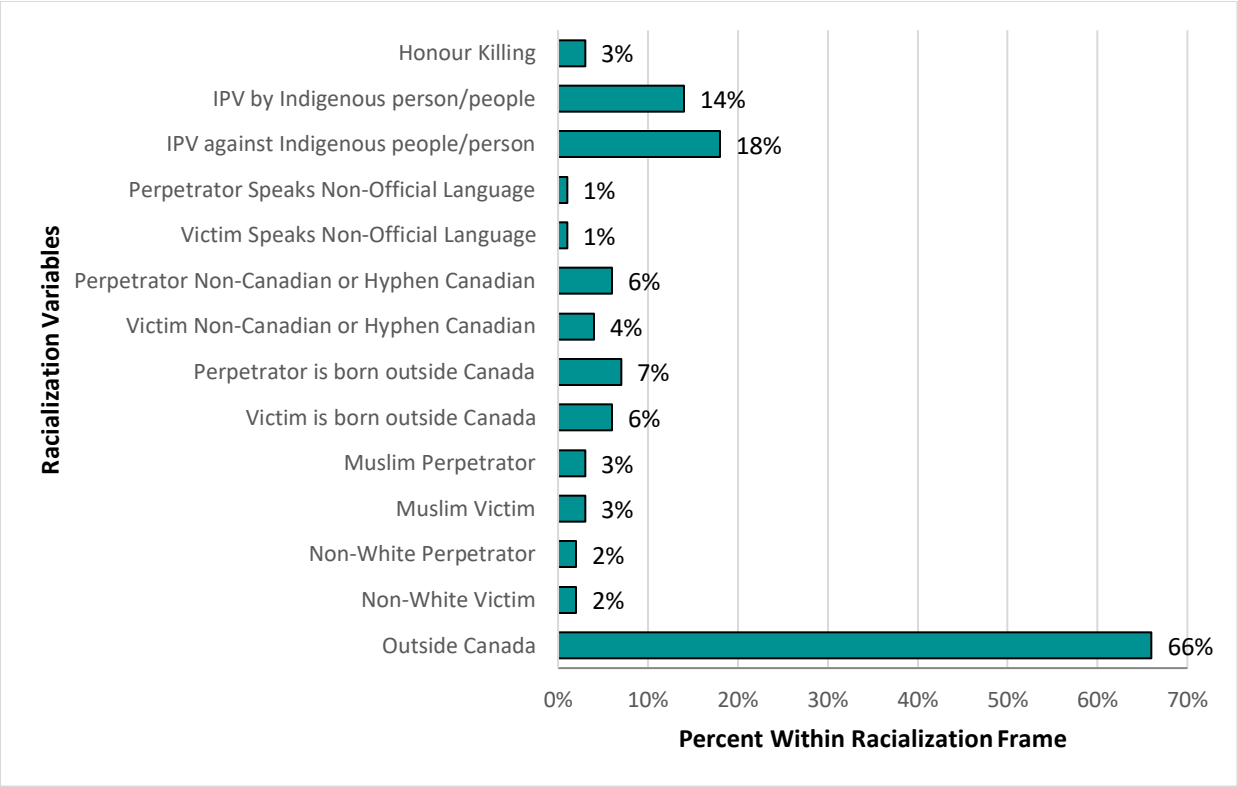
Who is Responsible? Black, Immigrant, and Indigenous communities!

Each of these dominant frames is racialized – that is, extending racial meaning to events or differentially covering domestic violence with racial signification. Racialized framing is not simply another frame. Racialized framing of domestic violence is rooted and advances racialized understandings of belonging, citizenship, and nationhood.

Overall, 43% of the sample racializes domestic violence. The racialization frame is composed of 14 variables shown in Figure 2.3. Two-thirds of the racialized stories focus on

violence outside Canada and this is driving the frame. Aside from the category of honour killing, the remaining variables compose personal racialization and accounts for 40% of the frame. In answering the first research question about the patterns and meanings associated with recent Canadian domestic violence framing, I unpack what these stories communicate about responsibility and belonging. I explain how domestic violence is framed as external and non-Canadian or a communal Indigenous problem. Using what Sherene Razack (1994) calls "culture talk," the news advances the notion of the barbaric, racialized community. Each of these themes cut across both personalizing and externalizing forms of racialization.

Figure 2.3: Proportion of Racialization Variables Within the Racialization Frame



Personal Racialization

Personal racialization includes the stories that explicitly identify the person or people involved as Black, Brown, immigrant, Indigenous, non-Canadian, Muslim, or similar. Mentions of both non-

white and Indigenous racialization buck previously identified research trends, while explicit mentions of Whiteness are largely unspoken. Research in the U.S. market suggests that media are obsessed with violent, racialized bodies (Oliver 2003; Dixon and Linz 2000; Gilliam et al. 1996). These references, however, compose only 17% of the racialization frame in this study. On the other hand, previous research identified a general silence on violence against Indigenous women (Gilchrist 2010). Yet, mentions of violence by or against Indigenous people account for an additional 23% of the frame. I argue below, however, that the news is more interested in the violence within Indigenous communities rather than individual Indigenous women's experiences. As expected, however, there were few – less than two percent - explicit mentions of Whiteness. This confirms the notion that "whiteness is considered the universal norm and allows one to think and speak as if Whiteness described and defined the world" (Tator and Henry 2002, 41). This personal racialization is nonetheless significant as mentions of non-white and Indigenous racialization often advance notions of othering.

Violence outside Canada

Aside from personal racialization, covering domestic violence outside Canada is a key driving force behind racialization. Representing 66% of the racialized frame and 27% of the overall sample, I argue that these stories represent a pattern of externalization. I borrow this logic from Grewal (2013) who argues that the media's focus on honour killing, especially in distant locations, obscures the violence in North American societies and amplifies the notion of the barbaric other. Others similarly argue that attention to violence against women outside North America tends to draw on Orientalist and imperial logics in which the 'othered' and racialized victims abroad represent more violent cultures as foils for the more 'civilized' and 'gender-

equal' Canada and the U.S. (Chagnon 2018; Patil and Prukayastha 2015). Two trends emerge: stories about violence outside Canada either focus on U.S.-based Black athletes or stories about violence outside North America focus on violence in predominately non-white countries.

Canadian newspapers regularly reprinted stories about Black athletes who engage in violence. These stories rarely identify the athlete as Black, but readers likely know that, for example, Ray Rice is a Black man. Rice's case garnered regular news wire coverage and impelled a few Canadian sports columnists to weigh in, for example, on the culpability of the NFL in such cases (for example, Sutcliffe 2014). Other Black athletes with histories of domestic violence also made the news, including Floyd Mayweather, OJ Simpson, Daryl Washington, and Adrian Peterson[25]. None of these stories discussed racism, just as Mary G. McDonald (1999) found that coverage of Black athletes' violence in the U.S. also did not discuss racism. Canadian newspapers glom onto sensationalized coverage of violent Black athletes and do not pay the same attention to White athletes.

At the same time as Rice, Slava Voynow, a White NHL player, received less coverage as he was facing domestic abuse charges. In some of the same sport briefs as Rice, Canadian newspapers reprinted information about "the Russian defenseman arrested on suspicion of domestic violence" (Toronto Star 2014, S6). Attention to Voynow's case may have been driven by Rice's case, as research has found that domestic violence spectacles typically increase general news coverage of domestic violence for the time period the trial or celebrity case is being covered (Maxwell et al. 2000). That Rice was the spectacle was obvious in the amount of news wire and columnist attention to the case. In contrast, my sample included no editorials, columns, or longer than 100-word stories focusing on Voynow's case. There are additional factors that

[25] Adrian Peterson is included because the stories say he was convicted of domestic abuse without mentioning that the victim was his child. I did not remove stories by going beyond the information provided in the text.

influence this difference. Rice's abuse was caught on camera and he is arguably more famous and now infamous. At the same time, the comparison is stark. Black man's violence received ample attention, while the White athlete was a footnote in a few news briefs about Rice. Rather than simply excuse the difference as an over-reliance on U.S. news, editors are selecting stories that both distance domestic violence from Canada and reinforce racist stereotypes about violent Black men.

When not discussing Black athletes, the stories are more likely to focus on domestic violence in predominately non-white countries. Outside North America, there are eight stories from South Africa; three from India; two each from St. Vincent, France, and Nigeria; and, one each from Pakistan, Croatia, Scotland, Columbia, South Korea, the Netherlands, and England. For example, one story notes how "an abused Nigerian woman" faces deportation even though "she's a Christian whose village was attacked by the terror group Boko Haram and was a physically and mentally abused wife" (Sanders 2014, A10). Three-quarters of the stories about violence outside North America focus on predominately non-white countries.

Reprinting press releases from other countries import the racial baggage as much as they demonstrate racial hierarchies in Canada. Take, for example, the stories about violence in South Africa. All focus on the sensational story of Oscar Pistorius, an elite White disabled athlete who was tried and acquitted of killing his White model girlfriend. He was found culpable for her murder and was sentenced to five years in prison. On the face of it, these stories contradict my argument. However, what is being reprinted along with attention to this sensational case is the local racial baggage. Malose Langa and his colleagues (2018) argue that the trial and media coverage of Pistorius' trial are haunted by the ever-present, but absent aggressive Black man. Since the trial relied on a commonsense and sometimes unspoken understanding that Black

intruders are common in South Africa, Pistorious' response of shooting his girlfriend because he thought she was an intruder is justified (ibid). Canadian newspapers are inviting in Black South African ghost when they reprint coverage of the case. Just as Rinaldo Walcott (1997) argues that Blackness is an "absented presence" in Canadian discourses, Lang et al's analysis highlights how racialization can operate as an absence. Walcott and others also argue that Canada is founded upon anti-Black racism. The context here is that reprinting press releases invites racial dynamics and reinforces racist hierarchies in Canada.

These stories also reinforce the notion that domestic violence is not a Canadian problem and that Canada is an exceptionally gender-equal place (see Chagnon 2018; Patil and Prukayastha 2015; Grewal 2013). For stories that focus on the violence committed by Black men in the U.S., the news imports this racialized baggage, while also using the U.S. as a foil to demonstrate Canada's racial exceptionalism. In Chapter 3, I explain the values that journalists rely on to select news wire content, which in turn drives much of the racialization. The issue at hand is not that Canadian newspapers pay attention to VAW abroad – the news media should bring attention to these atrocities in Canada and abroad. This pattern of externalizing racialized stories, however, brings into focus the racial underpinnings about what violence is considered newsworthy and the potential racialized meanings associated with these stories. Reprinting press releases about Black athletes in the U.S. and stories about violence in predominately non-white countries brings with it the racial baggage from the country, as well as reinforces that domestic violence is not wholly a (White) Canadian problem.

Indigenous Communalization

Within Canada, Indigenous domestic violence news focuses on the violence as a community problem. Stories rarely focus on individual Indigenous women's stories, confirming that Indigenous women's experiences are not newsworthy (Gilchrist 2010). Individualization may be an undesirable frame that names individuals as culpable for social problems. The lack of attention to particular Indigenous women's stories renders individual Indigenous women invisible and voiceless. Instead, the news responsibilizes Indigenous communities without discussing the responsibility of colonial society.

Nearly all (92%) of the stories about Indigenous domestic violence overlap with thematic framing. Consistent with the rare mentions of systems of inequality, there is inadequate discussion of colonialism (17%). In them, Dawn Memee Harvard, the head of the Native Women's Association of Canada, is quoted, "the Canadian government has a legal obligation to address the situation, to protect vulnerable populations so they have an obligation to protect indigenous women and girls to prevent the violence" (Galloway 2015). Linking Indigenous women's vulnerability to historical and ongoing colonialism is not driving the relationship between news attention to Indigenous communities and thematic framing.

Instead, the most repeated quote in the sample misinterprets the causes of MMIW to focus on intra-community causes. Then-Minister of Aboriginal Affairs Bernard Valcourt is paraphrased, "he knows who is killing aboriginal women – and its aboriginal men" (Galloway 2015). Valcourt's notion that Indigenous men explain the bulk of MMIW cases is repeated frequently in the sample, most closely linked to the release of the RCMP report on Indigenous family violence. In that report, the RCMP miscategorize 'johns' as 'known to this victim' (RCMP 2014). The report made no distinction between customers, serial killers, bodyguards, and

friends. Instead, the report focused on Indigenous men as the problem and Indigenous women too as part of the problem for engaging in risky behaviour. I explain in Chapter 4 why the police are associated with the news focusing on domestic violence within Indigenous communities.

There is an important caveat needed in discussing this finding – it is the media's job to report what people in power say. News should cover the RCMP report and the then-Minister's erroneous statements attributing the violence to almost exclusively "aboriginal men." Ideally, these stories would also explain why "Aboriginal women continue to be most frequently killed by men they know" (Kirkup 2015, A5). Yet, the majority of these stories do not mention colonialism or other factors contributing to the violence. If they do, these systems of inequality are not the focus. Instead, the story amplifies the notion that the RCMP are successfully solving the murders of Indigenous women, with the longer articles quoting the spokesperson for the Status of Women: "The RCMP has said itself in its own study that the vast majority of these cases are addressed and are solved through police investigations" (ibid). The newspaper removes any hint of a broader discussion and instead amplifies the police narrative that "it is aboriginal men" killing Indigenous women and the police are successfully solving the cases.

The communalization of domestic violence by and against Indigenous people draws on narratives about Indigenous people. Thobani (2007) argues that there are foundational myths that made and continue to make possible Canada's nation-making. This nation is predicated on racialized and gendered hierarchies (Thobani 2007; Razack 1994). To start and continue the colonial project of erasing Indigenous people, Indigenous communities are deemed "savage" and "doomed for extinction" (Thobani 2007, 12). This then justifies civilizing projects. That the news communalizes violence in Indigenous communities reinforces these discourses of "backwards" Indigenous communities that are killing each other off. It does so by mentioning domestic

violence without discussing precipitating factors of residential schools, the 60s scoop, high rates of incarceration, Indigenous kids in foster care, genocide, and broader colonial structures that rupture the fabric of Indigenous communities and place less value on Indigenous people's lives.

I want to avoid any misunderstanding – every community, including Indigenous communities, is responsible to address and prevent domestic violence and the news has a role to play in covering Indigenous domestic violence. Silence is dangerous. Ruana Kuokkanen (2015) articulates how political correctness among feminists often silence Indigenous women wanting to talk about intra-community gender-based violence. Indigenous community members also silence the issue because it paints them and the community in a bad light (ibid). The purpose of my discussion of communalized Indigenous domestic violence is not to silence the issue, but rather to draw a distinction between the way in which violence is framed outside Indigenous communities. White violence is never assumed to be the result of a White culture in this sample or broadly in Canadian society. Indigenous domestic violence, however, is almost exclusively communalized.

The problem with this coverage can be restated in a quote by an anti-violence Indigenous organization from Saskatchewan, Sisters Rising – "Being Indigenous is not a risk factor, colonialism is the risk factor" (Girl Manifesto 2018, personal correspondence). The news is focusing on the former when it thematically frames violence in Indigenous communities. The risk to experience domestic violence is framed as loving an Indigenous man or growing up in an Indigenous community. Alternative framing would focus on the interconnections between intra- and inter-community colonial relationships. The alternative framing would not silence the issue, but it would shift the discussion away from advancing racist notions of 'savage' and 'backwards' Indigenous communities towards the brutality of a broader social system.

There is also another important distinction in the sample between the treatment of domestic violence in Indigenous communities and stories that racialize the batterer or victim as Black, Brown, Muslim, or an immigrant. Racialization, as a frame, is predicated on the notion that racially signifying the violence communalizes the violence. The logic goes, by mentioning that a batterer is Black, the story is relying on and reinforcing racist tropes of hyper-aggressive Black men. The racial signification itself evokes communalization as it relies on racist tropes of violent non-white communities. In these cases, attributing responsibility to the community is implied. In the case of Indigenous communities, the majority of the stories explicitly suggest that the problem is a community one.

'Culture Talk'

One of the most prominent themes is that stories about racialized batterers and victims and stories about violence outside North America employ what Razack calls "culture talk" (1998, 56). Culture talk is as it sounds – discussing the cultural causes and implications of violence. On the face of it, these types of discussions can be neutral or even positive. Razack (1994, 896) identifies that marginalized women may rely on "cultural considerations…for contextualizing oppressed groups' claims for justice, for improving their access to services, and for requiring dominant groups to examine the invisible cultural advantages they enjoy." However, culture is also weaponized to both minimize the harm caused by racialized men as simply cultural and to reinforce the notion that violence is a non-white, non-Canadian cultural attribute (ibid, 907). The effect "take[s] the emphasis away from white complicity" (Razack 1998, 56). Rather than holding individuals responsible for what are social problems (individualization), 'culture talk' and communalization hold racialized communities responsible for what are broader social

problems (racialization). In the discourse notes, I identified three permutations of 'culture talk' – discussions of culture explicitly, honor killing, and racialized patriarchy.

Discussions of culture are largely reserved for racialized stories. Two stories by the same author discuss the "cultural epidemic" of GBV on St. Vincent (Yang 2015; Yang 2014, WD4). More frequently, culture refers to an "immigrant culture" (Sinnema 2015, A4). For example, Allen Benson, chairman of a death review committee, talks about a dangerous immigrant culture, saying, "she was in Canada for about four years and was influenced by an *immigrant culture* that kept her silent" (ibid, emphasis added). Culture may indeed be involved in these cases. What is striking is that culture is not wielded to explain why 238 women were murdered by their spouses between 2014 to 2016 in Canada unless those women were racialized. Culture becomes a polite way to talk about difference and reinforces that domestic violence is an imported problem.

One story demonstrates this point. The news story focuses on a batterer's cultural defense of his violence that in Africa – it does not specify which country – abuse by men is allowed. The article entitled "Sex attacker blames culture for domestic violence" starts:

> An African immigrant sentenced Wednesday to seven years in prison for a violent sex attack on his girlfriend told corrections officials physical force against women is acceptable in his culture… [The Crown said] "it is very clear and illustrated by the presentence report that there are substantial cultural differences in the way women are treated in (his) country of origin and Canada." (Pritchard 2014, 4)

The story does not provide context for the cultural claim, demonstrated by the lack of identification of the specific country of origin. Africa is a massive continent where different countries, communities, and people espouse diverse cultural views about VAW. The story also takes the batterer's claim at face value. If Razack's (1994) assessment of court filings still holds true today, the man may have been offering a strategic cultural defense in a bid for a lighter sentence. Instead of providing context for cultural differences or challenging the batterer's

motivations for making such a claim, the news amplifies both the perpetrator's reference to culture and the Crown's adoption of the excuse. The story does not unpack either the terms of "African immigrant" or "cultural differences." Instead, the story relies on and reinforces the trope of the sexually aggressive Black man (see Ferber 2007; Jackson 2006, 111), in which Africa is a racial signifier of Blackness, regardless of its accuracy.

A specific form of cultural talk – "honour killing" [26] is mentioned in just under two percent of the stories. The frequency of honour killing mentions is less than what I expected as previous research found ample attention to 'honour killing' (Montoya and Agustín 2013; Olwan 2013; Gill 2006). The meaning of the term is debated. Some see it as an opportunity to talk about how toxic masculinity ties women's behaviour to men's concepts of self-honour. Most critical race scholars, however, argue that the term advances Islamophobia (Olwan 2013). The term carries racial baggage that does not reflect the reality of domestic violence – men from various backgrounds offer excuses of wounded pride or harmed honour to justify their violence (Meetoo and Mirza 2007). The news stories, in turn, externalize and exoticize the violence in Muslim communities (Grewal 2013). In two percent of the sample, the news uses the term as shorthand to culturalize, communalize, and sensationalize domestic violence.

The strongest example is a column about Bill S-7, *The Zero Tolerance for Barbaric Cultural Practice Act*. Columnist Naomi Lakritz praised then-Immigration minister for not "pussyfooting around…the truth" of multiculturalism and cultural relativism (Lakritz 2014, 4). Lakritz argues because "feminists have insisted on force-feeding us" the myth that intimate partner violence and honour-killing are rooted in the same issues, women and girls are suffering "under various patriarchal and tribal practices" in Canada (ibid). The difference, in the text, is

[26] Honour killing encompasses more than domestic violence. It includes any male relative killing a woman family member because of a perceived slight on family honour. Many mentions are excluded from my sample.

that domestic violence may or may not end in death and is "generally opportunistic," while honour killing is "premeditated" murder by a father, brother or uncle, not a spouse. The crux of the article differentiates between the imported and premeditated violence – honour killing – committed by Muslim men and the "freedoms that Canadian women" experience (ibid). This column is an extreme example, but it lays bare the logic behind the term. Honour killing is used to signify both racist notions of imported cultural violence, while also white-washing the toxic roots of violence in Canada.

Mentions of patriarchy and sexism in racialized and non-racialized stories also expose the prevalence of culture talk. Patriarchy and sexism are rarely explicitly discussed. Nearly half of the references discuss these systems of inequality in non-white and Indigenous communities. Patriarchy, sexism, and misogyny discussed in racialized stories reinforce the notion of a violent culture. One guest columnist writes, "it is precisely the patriarchy embedded in Indian culture that make it imperative for wives to be protected against forced sex by their husbands" (Dhillon 2016). Another writes about "Pakistan's deeply traditional patriarchal society" (Hamilton Spectator 2016b). The terms show up in some of the other examples listed above, when, for example, the "cultural epidemic" in St. Vincent is a "patriarchal" problem (Yang 2014). This is the difference between the racialized and non-racialized mentions of patriarchy and sexism. Racialized stories employ 'culture talk' to discuss the supposed exceptionalism of non-white and Indigenous communities in Canada and abroad.

Who is Responsible? Police, Prisons, and Punishment!

In addition to the above four frames, I found that Canadian newspapers relied on another frame: a carceral frame. Adapting the literature on the carceral state, carceral framing defines social

problems as crimes that are best redressed by agents of the carceral state (police, prisons, etc.), and the individuals or groups seen to be committing these crimes need to be punished and incarcerated.

To my knowledge, carceral framing, as a concept, has not been applied to domestic violence news coverage, but some studies lay the groundwork for advancing this theoretical insight. Chagnon's (2016) dissertation examines U.S. news attention to VAW and argued that the news regularly focuses on policing, trials, and the machinations of the state. Other scholars have found that the news largely relies on police to make their claims about domestic violence (Fairbairn and Dawson 2013; Gillespie et al. 2013; Taylor, Rae 2009). Bullock and Cubert (2002, 493), for example, identified that news employed what they call a "police frame" in which newspapers rely heavily on official police sources, "dehumanizing the crime by omitting information from people who knew the victim and perpetrator." This evidence, however, does not fully identify the degree to which the news employs carceral framing.

Carceral framing exposes the ways in which Canadian news plays into the "theatricalization of penalty" (Wacquant 2007, 206) and normalizes carceral responses to domestic violence. The crux of the frame for domestic violence is that it spells out who is responsible and what are potential solutions. Carceral framing paradoxically suggests that these carceral institutions (police, trials, prisons, and punishment) are the solutions to domestic violence, while continuing to hold individuals and racialized groups responsible for the problem. The reliance on carceral framing confirms what Wacquant (2007, 206) calls the "crystallization of *law-and-order pornography"* in the media.

Relying on existing variables, I calculated that 50% of the sample uses carceral framing. Carceral framing is present when one or more of the following elements is coded yes: a police

source, a police brief, story about a trial, victim's criminal past, victim's failure to report, and lawyers or judges as the dominant source (see Appendix F for coding frame). Stories about prison that did not include one or more of the above variables are not captured in the composite carceral framing variable, suggesting that 50% may be conservative. Since I identified carceral framing inductively from the discourse notes, I did not develop specific variables to capture the presence of carceral framing in the content analysis. The reason for this is simple – carceral framing is a new theoretical innovation. While there is ample research on the carceral state and carceral feminism, these terms are rarely used to think about Canadian news.

There are four themes from the sample. First, the lion's share of the stories focuses on the routineness of policing and punishment. The coverage plainly reports on convictions, arrests, and charges. Second, some of the stories about police and trials are sensational. Race-baiting headlines and blow-by-blow trial coverage are meant to entertain and normalize the carceral state. The coverage of the trials of racialized men cements the claim that the state relies on and reinforces racial hierarchies. Third, some stories explicitly include references for increased police power or harsher penalties. Finally, and most infrequently, the outliers critique the carceral state. Even so, the message in some of the stories matches the general carceral framing message – policing and punishment are good. The critique is that the carceral state is not robust enough. A few stories, however, include more fulsome critiques of the carceral state.

Routine, Everyday Policing and Punishment

What struck me when first reading the sample in its entirety was the plethora of stories that reported, sometimes very briefly, on the machinations of the carceral state. The coverage, at times, is monotonous. At times, it reads as though the stories are on a carceral loop: arrest,

charge, try, convict, repeat. Rather than the theatricalization of punishment, much of the carceral framing normalizes it.

In my sample, the stories are more focused on the beginning of the carceral loop when police are involved. As police are quoted in 30% of the overall sample, they end up also driving much of the carceral framing. Part of the reason why there are a lot of police stories, I explain in Chapter 4, relates to newspapers' self-interest in reducing liability and an increased demand on journalists' time. However, the reliance on police goes beyond economic calculations and journalistic habits. The news media's use of carceral framing mirrors the way Canadian society largely uses blunt instruments, police and punishment, to address domestic violence.

The stories specifically cover the routineness of policing. A few focus on police going about daily routines – "Montreal police [are] searching for suspect in domestic violence case" (Meagher 2016). The police are investigating domestic violence cases or searching for suspects. These stories could convey that police have not been successful. However, they read as examples of the process of catching batterers and charging them. There are also many stories focusing on the success of domestic violence policing. The topics of these stories are police arrests and charges. For example, some of the headlines read:

> Hotel assault results in charges (North Bay Nugget 2016, A2).
> Man charged after domestic call (Telegraph-Journal 2016, B6).
> Arrested for breaching conditions (St. Catherine Standard 2015, A3).
> Domestic disturbance results in charges (Chronicle Journal 2014, A3).

These stories sometimes go in-depth about the case and sometimes are police briefs. The coverage often reads monotonous, normalizing the role of police in addressing domestic violence.

There was also a small pattern of attention to police getting injured while attending domestic violence incidents. In these stories, the police injury is often listed before the discussion

of domestic violence. For example, in a story covered in the *Edmonton Journal* and *Sun* before Postmedia amalgamated them, both stories only focus on the injury of the officer in the headline. "Mountie attacked" writes the *Sun,* and "Officer injured in arrest attempt" writes the *Journal*. Both stories start the lead sentence by focusing on the violence against the RCMP officer and both list the exact same set of charges in the same order starting with the offences against the police officer. The similar order in wording suggests both reporters are copying police information or they viewed the story similarly. Given the symmetry, the former seems much more likely. In the *Edmonton Sun*, journalist Catherine Griwrowsky (2014, 3) writes:

> Whitefish Lake First Nation resident Dominic Timothy Jackson, 26, is facing seven charges in relation to the day's events, including assault on a police officer causing bodily harm, attempting to disarm a police officer, theft of a vehicle, flight from police, and Resisting Arrest [sic]. Jackson was also wanted on four separate outstanding warrants totaling 19 criminal charges including Domestic assault, domestic assault with a weapon, break and enter, and uttering threats.

For the *Journal*, Andrea Ross (2014, A6) writes:

> Dominic Timothy Jackson, 26, of Whitefish Lake First Nation faces seven charges in relation to the incident including assault, attempting to disarm a police officer, vehicle theft, flight from police, and resisting arrest. Jackson was wanted on four separate outstanding warrants totalling19 criminal charges including domestic violence, assault with a weapon, break and enter, and uttering threats.

The stories differ in length, as the commonly understood pro-police *Edmonton Sun* contextualizes the incident by reminding readers that the RCMP in May 2014 were also involved in a violent incident with a different suspect in a different community. Neither story dwells on the domestic violence warrant that led up to the confrontation. The same is true of the other stories about police injured while attending domestic violence calls or trying to arrest suspects. I want to be clear here – violence against police officers is newsworthy. However, these stories speak to a broader pattern. The newsworthiness revolves around the police getting hurt, not the victim of domestic violence.

These two stories also provide clues about the relationship between racialization and carceral framing. There is an association between stories that focus on domestic violence committed by and against Indigenous people (p=.01), as 62% of the stories about Indigenous domestic violence are carcerally framed. The relationship is very weak (Cramer's V=.09), so I am tentative here about drawing conclusions. The above story points to two factors that might have driven the newsworthiness of the story – police injury and a violent Indigenous man. That violence committed by Indigenous men is considered newsworthy throughout the sample suggests that this might have contributed to why a story that happened two hours away from Edmonton was selected. At the very least, both reporters deemed the Indigenous demographic information important enough to contextualize the story about violence against police officers. Since journalists largely told me racialized demographic information is rarely relevant to the story (see Chapter 3), its inclusion should not be overlooked. The policing and imprisonment of Indigenous people is a small, not notable part of the fabric of domestic violence news coverage.

There were also an additional 14% of stories that focus on criminal trials. The majority of these stories discuss the routine of court, including these headlines:

> Man pleads guilty to violent domestic violence (Sacheli 2015)
> 13 years for man who killed spouse (Martin 2015, A19)

The stories typically graphically describe the violence as if to justify the court's decision. In some cases, the story explicitly views the imprisonment of the batterer as the solution to domestic violence. The headline of one story reads: "Boyfriend's reign of terror ended by jail sentence" (Pritchard 2015, 11). The stories complete the carceral loop, demonstrating that the system is working to convict batterers and get justice. What are not unpacked are the effects of the carceral state and the meaning of justice.

Sensations and Spectacles

Routine trials are covered alongside sensational trials. For a new trial to become a spectacle, there must be a cultural story to catch the eye of the public. Toni Morrison (1997), writing about the OJ Simpson trial, suggests that its spectacular coverage was gigantic and enduring because of the "commercial value," and "the force of the cultural narrative." For Morrison and others, the cultural narrative driving the news spectacle of the OJ Simpson trial was the tried-and-tested tropes of a violent Black man (see Harris 1995-1996). Spectacular and sensational coverage, then, warrants examination.

Between 2014 and 2016, news attention to Jian Ghomeshi[27] and Ray Rice were both spectacular. While only a few stories about the Ghomeshi case popped up in my sample, there were several days of stories about Ray Rice, his apology, the NFL's response, his wife's decision to stay, the effect on his football team, and so on. Rice's story provides insight into the ways in which Canadian news coverage both import anti-Black tropes from the U.S. and also uses stories from the U.S. to reinforce stereotypes about Black men. The story, however, is not as much about punishment and the carceral state. Instead, there are smaller sensational stories that offer insight into the relationship between spectacle and carceral framing and the cultural tropes that play out in the stories.

Similar to the story of the African immigrant blaming his culture, another story uses racialized language to shore up myths of hyper-sexualized and violent immigrants and the prowess of Canada's carceral institutions. The headline reads: "Crown wraps up case against Cuban" (Pazzano 2015b, 9). At the outset, the reader knows that the 'bad guy' is an outsider:

[27] The former CBC radio host was accused of sexual harassment and dating violence. I discuss in Appendix A how the keyword search excluded and included aspects of his case. By the definition of IPV outlined in the introduction, Ghomeshi's case is included when the person claiming injury was a girlfriend or an ongoing sexual partner.

> Guillermo Valle-Quintero was "officially warned for pimping" in Cuba before he emigrated to Canada and terrorized two lovers, including a massage parlor worker whom he nearly killed, court heard Tuesday. (ibid)

That Valle-Quintero is from Cuba is mentioned five times in a 222-word story. Instead of using his name, the *Toronto Sun* court reporter refers to the perpetrator as "the Cuban" (ibid). The focus on his immigrant status reveals one of the key reasons why this story, out of the full Toronto Court docket, received the court reporter's attention. The reporter additionally sensationalizes the story, while simultaneously diminishing the intimate relationship between Valle-Quintero and the victims, by using the term "lovers" and by using the euphemistic term for a sex worker, "massage parlor worker" (ibid). The sensational coverage, on the one hand, reveals the ineptitude of the immigration system to keep out known abusers, while, on the other, the success of the carceral state to apprehend the 'bad guy.' The issue at hand is not that the story received attention. The point is that the reporter relies on anti-immigrant sentiment, racist tropes, and sexualization to write a sensational story shoring up the successes of the court system.

Neither the 'African immigrant' nor the 'Cuban' received the same amount of attention as Rice or Ghomeshi, but each of the stories tells us something about the role racial myths play in shaping news. In the sensationalized coverage of the two immigrants, the stories advance a notion that the local court system is doing its job, while the immigration system is failing to screen and exclude violent men. By putting the stories in conservation with the notion of spectacle, I am arguing that, as Morrison argues about the OJ trial, both are working towards selling newspapers and reinforcing cultural narratives.

More Police and Punishment Please

In addition to the routine and sensational stories, there are a few stories that advance the notion that the carceral state needs to be expanded. There are a handful of stories that directly called for increased police powers. The comments are often borne out of critiques of police responses to domestic violence, but the argument is for more police involvement and sooner.

> Heard and Poirier had both filed emergency protections orders against each other, but those orders didn't spur full investigations. The inquiry judge recommended police consider changing that approach and said generally police could be more involved in domestic violence before charges take place. (Tumilty 2015).

> Women who come to the shelter fleeing abusive relationships frequently complain of weak police response that does not leave them feeling any safer from their partners and haphazard enforcement of restraining order breaches, she [Hilla Kerner, Vancouver Rape Relief and Women's Shelter] said…It's up to the police to stop this man (Luba 2015).

These stories may start critiquing the police, but the solution advanced is that police need to be involved earlier or police resources need refurbishment. Regardless of one's views of the ideal role for the carceral state in addressing domestic violence, the empirical pattern suggests that Canadian newspapers do indeed rely on carceral framing.

There are stories that call attention to short prison sentences. A story might use a minimizing word or write a headline that highlights the 'ridiculousness' of the sentence.

> A man who disfigured his ex-girlfriend by dousing her with acid sentenced Tuesday to four-and-half-years in prison. However, with time served, Nikolas Stefanatos has **just** 16 months left behind bars. (QMI Agency 2014, 3 emphasis added)

> Wife Killer Gets 7 Years (McLaughlin 2016, A21).

The stories seem to be goading the reader to ask: Only 16 months left? Only 7 years? The incredulity is dripping off the pages. Yet, the stories generally shy away from calling for harsher penalties, suggesting there is a limit on the support for carceral responses to domestic violence.

This is not the case for the numerous stories that communicate that reporting the violence to the police will fix the problem. In addition to the three percent of stories that critique the

victim/survivor for not reporting their violence, there are local stories from across Canada that included detailed information about reporting the violence to police.

> Mounties say domestic violence is widely unreported and urge anyone in an abusive situation or know someone who is, to talk to police or community support partners (Calgary Sun 2014, 6).

> For those suffering domestic violence – no one has the right to abuse you. Please do not hesitate to reach out to Kingston Police or some of the other valuable support services and resources in the Kingston area (Kingston Whig-Standard 2015, A3)

There were additional stories that concluded with contact information for the police and, sometimes, other agencies. Providing contact information may encourage women to seek help and is lauded by some feminist researchers as positive anti-violence news (Fairbairn and Dawson 2013). It is likely best to list several services to give the woman a choice. However, the goal of reporting to the police itself may not be in the best interest of the victim, despite the pleas from the police to do so. In provinces that have mandatory charging policies,[28] the victim risks also being charged if police cannot accurately assess the dominant aggressor (Poon et al. 2014). While some studies claim that arrests are likely to deter future violence (Zorza 1993-1994), others note that women might face retaliation, economic hardship, or repeated violence (OWJN 2016; Felson et al. 2006). Research also suggests that women who call police often do not want their partners arrested and charged, but rather they want the abuse to stop (Landau 2000). The news stories do not cite the potential risks of reporting when chastising women for failing to report or calling on current and future victims to report to the police. Instead, the news reprints the police request for more business.

[28] To reduce the amount of domestic violence case attrition, several jurisdictions in Canada implemented mandatory arrest and charging policies (Landau 2000). For police, these policies require that they arrest and lay charges in domestic violence cases (ibid). The policies are meant to reduce police discretion (ibid).

The Carceral State is Not Working

In contrast, there were a few stories that explicitly critiqued the carceral state and its various components for not working. The critiques ranged from drawing attention to police victim-blaming of survivors (Hitchen 2016, A6) to criticizing the RCMP for not releasing the names of homicide victims (Pruden 2015). In a column written by Hillary Aitken, the Program Coordinator of the Victoria Faulkner Women's Centre Whitehorse, the author offered a caution to reporting violence to the police: "As an educated, employed woman with supportive family and friends, some familiarity with my legal rights, and no past trauma or legacy of colonization to combat, I'm still not sure that I would report an incident of sexualized assault or domestic violence to the police" (Aitken 2014, A7). In another, the reporter unpacks why the domestic violence victim is the one languishing in jail while the man who abused her is free (Rankin 2014, A1). The news use of carceral framing is not without its critics. The news does not unilaterally advance pro-police and pro-prison discourses. There is variation in the sample. Yet, just as the attention to systems of inequality is overshadowed by the more frequent discussions of individual and racialized responsibility, the critique of the carceral state is overshadowed by the stories normalizing the routines of the carceral state.

Concluding Thoughts

This chapter presented the *selection* and *salience* patterns of domestic violence news coverage and answered the first research question – **How are contemporary Canadian newspapers covering domestic violence?** Having found that domestic violence is considered newsworthy, the first task was to understand what about domestic violence makes the news. From the real-world events providing the coverage, the news evinced a proclivity to cover violence against

women within heterosexual relationships, especially when the man involved is a Black celebrity. Intimate partner sexual violence is underreported, and violence experienced or perpetrated by gender minorities is almost all together absent. It is also clear that news relies on third parties to mediate the real-world events. As I argue in Chapter 4, the police play a disproportionate role in shaping domestic violence news. The *selection* pattern and reliance on intermediaries suggests that the news may be distorting an already distorted image back to their reader.

This analysis of domestic violence news, however, goes beyond questions of *selection* and *distortion.* The *salient* central organizing idea running through the coverage is a delineation of responsibility – who or what is responsible for domestic violence and its solution. Most frequently, the media frames individuals as responsible for domestic violence, in isolation from discussion of any social causes. This likely does not foster a sense of social responsibility for the violence, a critical component required in addressing domestic violence prevalence (Gracia 2004). Thirty percent of the stories went as far to suggest that victims were directly or indirectly to blame for the violence. For stories that present a broader picture of domestic violence, the depoliticized and technocratic state is often the central actor. While these thematically framed stories held the promise of discussion of social inequality, only the gendered nature of domestic violence was highly visible. Questions of racism, colonialism, socioeconomic status, and immigration were obscured by attention to the day-to-day operations of the state. Relatedly, I identified a new frame – carceral framing – that defined police, trials, prisons, and punishment as key parts of the solution, reinforcing the normality of the carceral state.

Responsibility and belonging are largely racialized. Part of the sample relied on international news wire coverage to both distance domestic violence from Canada and import racialized baggage to reinscribe racialized hierarchies in Canada. I find that Indigenous violence

is communalized and decontextualized, while racialized victims are mediated by polite and sometimes sensational discussion of culture (see Razack 1994). With discussions of Whiteness and Canadian culture largely absent, the racialized coverage re-constructs Canada as a more gender-equal and peaceful place plagued by imported immigrant violence and unfixable Indigenous 'savagery' (see Thobani 2007). Just as Thobani (2007) argues that media attention of the so-called "'terrorist threat'" (251) reinforces racialized understandings of belonging, I argue that the media's everyday coverage of *regularized terrorism* also communicates a racialized understanding of belonging and responsibility.

Understanding the text-based evidence for the *selection* and *salience* of domestic violence is only one piece of the puzzle (Philo 2007). Equally important and wholly understudied are the power relations and media processes that produce these domestic violence patterns. In the next three chapters, I turn to consider how political economic power relations, inter-institutional engagement, organizational factors, media routines, and individual factors influence domestic violence framing patterns.

Chapter 3: Hierarchical Influences on Domestic Violence News Production

This chapter offers insight into the institutions and practices that influence domestic violence news patterns, addressing gaps in knowledge about contemporary news production. First, there are strong critiques that news production studies either offer a high-level analysis of political economic factors or focus on the fine-grained details of the daily grind of news (Schudson 1989, 268). While there are newsroom ethnographies that connect the close-up and the overview (for example, Usher 2014; Ryfe 2012), no study to date has done so to explain domestic violence news patterns. This brings me to the second gap. Scholars identify a need to explain how news patterns are produced, rather than simply studying either news production or content (De Vreese 2005; Scheufele and Tewksbury 2002; Shoemaker and Reese 1996). Finally, explaining news production processes around one persistent form of gendered violence has never been more vital. News is a key component of a thriving democracy. Yet, many of the staple newsmakers are crumbling at the very moment that gendered violence is receiving more attention. In this chapter, I offer empirical insights into the contemporary state of Canadian newspapers and their coverage of domestic violence by focusing on how journalism as a social institution, media organization, routines, and women as journalists influence domestic violence *selection* and *salience.*

Based on insights from observing three newsrooms, shadowing five journalists, and interviewing over sixty news workers in four Canadian cities, I argue that domestic violence news production is constrained, but not predetermined, by neoliberal economics and discourses. As a result, news organizations rely heavily on sources and wire and duplicated content, while also engaging in less investigative journalism. Journalists incorporate discourses of risk and accountability to understand domestic violence. Other factors also strongly influence domestic violence framing, including journalism's ideology, newsroom culture, and women journalists as

potential survivors of gendered violence. The constellations of factors suggest that economic constraints and neoliberal discourses condition, but do not predetermine, how domestic violence is covered.

This chapter will briefly repackage the findings from Chapter 2 as outcomes of news production, before moving on to describe the Hierarchy of Influence (HOI) model (Shoemaker and Reese 1996; 2014) in which news production is articulated as the outcome of five interrelated levels: political-economic and culture, social institutions, media organizations, routines, and individuals. After describing the methods used, I jump to the findings, focusing on journalistic ideology, media organizations, routines, and individuals. Given the complexity of news production, it is not surprising that no single factor influences domestic violence news. However, with the augmented HOI model, this chapter illustrates how shifting economic pressures play a significant role.

Outcomes: Domestic Violence Frames and Newsworthiness

Chapter 2 documented the types of domestic violence that are *selected* to be covered and what *salient* features about domestic violence are emphasized in the coverage. In this chapter, I explain the processes and relationships that produce the *selection* and *salience* patterns.

The concept of 'newsworthiness' is useful in explaining the *selection* patterns. It refers to the "qualities journalists believe make an event worth reporting" (Meyers 1997, 18). This term captures the gatekeeping quality of news; not all events make the paper (Tuchman 1972). This chapter, then, explains why certain types of domestic violence are more newsworthy than others. Why, for example, are stories about Black athletes very newsworthy while intimate partner sexual violence and LGBT domestic violence are covered less than real life patterns might warrant?

From the evidence presented in Chapter 2, a number of questions also emerge about the patterns of domestic violence stories. Why does the news most frequently frame domestic violence as an isolated incident and the individuals involved as responsible (73%)? Under what circumstances are stories more likely to be thematically framed (40% of the sample)? Why do the majority of thematic stories focus on technocratic state responses rather than systems of inequality? What explains the two types of racialization (43% of the sample): externalizing the violence and communalizing the violence? Why does the news continue to use implicit or explicit victim blaming tropes (30% of the sample)? What contextual factors and relationships contribute to half the stories focusing on police, trials, prisons, and punishment? Under what conditions are certain frames selected over others? Just as the meanings associated with each of the frames are nuanced and sometimes contradictory, the answers to these questions are complex.

Explanations: Hierarchy of Influence Model

To understand domestic violence news patterns, I draw on Pamela Shoemaker and Stephen D. Reese's (2014) hierarchy of influences (HOI) model. They argue that news production is the result of an interplay of social systems, social institutions, organizational factors, media routines, and individuals. Normally drawn as five concentric circles, the model suggests that each level is constrained by the larger encompassing levels. While individual journalists report and write the news, they are embedded within routines and practices and a broader media organization. This media organization interacts with other social institutions, all which is encompassed by a social system. The model helpfully organizes news production theories into these five levels, asking the researcher to assess under which conditions do these levels matter:

1. **Social System Level:** Ideology[29] (Herman and Chomsky 1988) and culture (Van Gorp 2007) influence how news reports on issues. Frames, for example, exist culturally and are not invented by individual journalists to make sense of the world (ibid, 62), as I highlighted with the story in Chapter 1 about the *Globe's* #MeToo stories. Instead, journalists draw on culturally available frames to communicate the news (Gamson et al. 1992). Often the news reinforces the status quo (Herman and Chomsky 1988). In this case, the most relevant ideological, political-economic force influencing domestic violence news is neoliberalism. As a reminder from the introduction, I conceptualize neoliberalism as both a political economic force, restructuring social relations, and a discursive force, restructuring discourses of self, belonging, relationships, and responsibility.

2. **Social Institution Level:** Within a shared social system, various institutions have the potential to influence news coverage. The news media is conceptualized as a social actor among social actors, such as governments, public relations, police, and courts. All social institutions are governed by their own sets of rules, as they interact with other institutions (Bourdieu 1998). Sometimes the relationship is more one-sided, as courts restrict what and how stories can be covered through libel laws, regulations, and verdicts. At the same time, the news media might also influence these institutions (Benson 2004). For example, the hotly debated research on political mediatization contends that media logic has altered political communication (Strömbäck 2008; Mazzoleni and Schultz 1999). For domestic violence, research identified that elite sources typically dominate the coverage, including police information (Simons and Morgan 2018; Lindsay-Brisbin et al. 2014; Fairbairn and Dawson 2013; Gillespie et al. 2013, 11; Richards et al. 2014) and court information (Sampert 2010). These social actors are also influenced by culture, ideology, and political economy.

3. **Media Organization Level:** The ideology, culture, rules, and regulations within media organizations also have the potential to influence news content. Typical factors include examining news ownership, diversity in the newsroom, internal rules, division of labour, and beat systems (Ross 2001; Taras 2001; van Zoonen 1994; Meyers 1992; Giltin 1980; Gans 1979; Tuchman 1978). Because news ownership is concentrated in Canada, the level of the news organization is a flexible category (Taras 2001). It could refer to the individual newspaper itself or the broader news corporation.

4. **Routines and Practices Level:** The day-to-day rituals of researching, writing, and editing the news potentially influences news content (Tuchman 1978). From sourcing and quoting practices (Wozniak and McCloskey 2010; Tuchman 1972) to event-based reporting (Eliasoph 1988), practices are important to news production. There is an empirical question about the extent to which digital and economic changes in the industry have changed the rituals (Usher 2014).

5. **Individual Level:** Demographic characteristics such as gender, race, class, education, and upbringing and personal details such as ethics, training, or competition with other journalists might influence the individual journalist in how they report the news (Donbash 2004; Page 1996; Gans 1979; Cohen and Young 1973). While some studies start with the individual level, I find it useful to include it last to contextualize the four factors that are constraining individuals as they do their work. Most convincingly, studies have shown that the influence of individual characteristics on news content are often minimized as journalists largely adhere to the same journalistic ideology and they write news in similar routinized manners (Vliegenthard and van Zoonen 2011, 101; Cottle 2007, 10).

[29] Ideology is hard to define. I understand it as the discursive horizon that constructs, limits, and encourages "what is *sayable*" in a society or moment (Laclau 2006, 114). Ideology, however, is not fleeting. Its key feature is that it endures and becomes almost unnoticeable at times.

The key benefit of this approach is the balance between agency and structure – something some other theoretical frameworks struggle to accomplish. There are theories that solely emphasize the macro structures' influence on journalism, downplaying the agency of individual journalists (Reese 2016). For example, Edward S. Herman and Noam Chomsky (1988; 2002) argue that ideology contributes to generating hegemonic news content. Their propaganda model positions journalists as dupes.[30] On the other side of the spectrum, several studies emphasize the influence of individual characteristics on news content and challenge the degree to which individuals are passively transmitting ideological messages (Speer 2017; Potter and Baum 2010, 455; Donbash 2004). By emphasizing individual characteristics, these studies risk understating the influence of routines, organizational pressures, and pressures outside the news organization. What the HOI does instead is suggest that all these factors play into news production, balancing the agency of journalists and editors within the newsroom practices, institutional field, and broader social structure.

Hierarchy of influence is not the only model that offers insights into the relationship between structures and agents. Structuration is a popular sociological theory used in news production studies (Usher 2014; Larsson 2012; van Rooyen 2013), but is not the best fit for this study. Structuration theory identifies "the conditions governing the continuity or transformation of structures" as agents and structures interact to reproduce social systems (Giddens 1984, 4). Structures are psychological "memory traces" within the agent's mind that either enable or constrain the agent's action (ibid, 17; 173). While these "memory traces" might be useful to

[30] The propoganda model also fails to attend to differences within the media industry (Lehrer 2004). In the update of their 1988 book, Herman and Chomsky argue that the differences between the media are insubstantial – the news may disagree on how to cover the Vietnam war, but the papers do not challenge the premise of the war (2002, lx). I make an analogous argument. Canadian newspapers may differ in how they cover domestic violence, but few challenge that domestic violence should be dealt with by the carceral system.

explain the relationship between agency and structure, they are also one of the key reasons why the theory is not right for this study. That structures are located within the mind downplays the political economic environment and the reality of social structures (Den Hond et al. 2012; Craib 2011, 28; Stones 2005, 61). Despite its application to explaining news production, its limitations led me to disqualify it as a theoretical framework to explain domestic violence news.

The hierarchy of influence model also has limitations (Hackett 2006). Analyzing five levels of analysis is daunting (Shoemaker and Reese 2014, 11).[31] It is hard to assess which combination of levels best explain news content and provide deep explanations of each level. There is a degree of fuzziness between the explanatory powers of the levels. As a result, studies using the HOI model come to vastly different conclusions, from one end of the spectrum arguing content is largely shaped by micro factors (Fahmy and Johnson 2012) to suggesting that meso-level influences are more important (Napoli 1997). These limitations are overstated for this study, as my task is not to explain all news production but rather what factors within each level and which interactions between the levels best explain domestic violence *selection* and *salience* patterns.

I nonetheless accounted for these limitations in my application of the HOI model, using two strategies. First, I approached the model as a "theoretical umbrella for research" (Shoemaker and Reese 2014, 8) that raises questions and organizes data into macro (social systems and ideology), meso (social institutions and media organizations), and micro (routines and individuals) forces (Cillia 2017; Reese 2016; Hackett 2006, 6). The model provides a blueprint to build a more sophisticated understanding of the factors that influence frame patterns (Vlienthart and van Zoonen 2011; Scheufele 1999). Second, I relied on a strong set of empirical data to

[31] Studying all five levels is not unprecedented, as one study examined the gatekeeping processes and argued that news decisions are indeed shaped at all five levels (Vos and Heinderyckx 2015). It is simply more common for the analysis to focus on two to three levels of explanation (Shoemaker and Reese 2014).

assess news production theories at the macro, meso, and micro levels. Since news production is a multi-faceted endeavor, it is unlikely that a single level would sufficiently explain domestic violence *selection* and *salience* patterns. In this chapter, specifically, I focus on explaining what factors related to journalists, news organizations, and journalism best explain domestic *selection* and *salience* patterns, leaving aside the importance of sources for the following two chapters.

Methods

To empirically ascertain which factors influence domestic violence news production, I interweave insights from the content analysis with rich qualitative data. Between August 2016 and December 2017, I conducted over 120 interviews with journalists, editors, and executives at seven[32] newspapers, and with police and anti-violence advocates. I observed three newsrooms for about one week each and shadowed five journalists for about one day each. I obtained ethics approval from Queen's University's General Research Ethics Board (Appendix I). I narrowed my focus to four cities (Toronto, Ottawa, Kingston, and Thunder Bay) in Ontario to avoid observing differences derived from provincial domestic violence policies. The case selection includes Canada's largest media market, a typical Postmedia conglomeration, a typical local Postmedia newspaper, and a typical local newspaper. My qualitative research in these four cities strengthens the inferences drawn from the pan-Canadian content analysis because these additional methods elucidate "how organizational variables as well as selection and production decisions influence the presentation of news" (Chermak 1994, 562).

[32] *Globe & Mail, Toronto Star, Chronicle Journal, Toronto Sun, Ottawa Citizen, Ottawa Sun,* and *Kingston Whig Standard.* I interviewed former reporters who worked for the *Citizen* and *Sun* before the merger in Ottawa. I only interviewed one *Toronto Sun* journalist and shadowed that reporter twice. When I requested permission to interview staff at the *Toronto Sun*, the editors denied my request.

Interviews

To understand the dynamics within the newsroom and the perceptions of journalists and other news workers, I interviewed as many people as I could at the *Toronto Star, Ottawa Citizen/Sun, Globe and Mail, Kingston Whig Standard,* and *Chronicle Journal* (Thunder Bay). To gain access, I first negotiated permission with managing editors or editors-in-chief at the newspapers. To identify who to interview, I used a combination of total population purposive sampling and snowball sampling. I identified journalists who had written stories in my sample and journalists who had written a story about domestic violence. I also took recommendations from managing editors and my interview gatekeepers about potential interviewees. At the end of the interview, I asked for recommendations for others to interview as a form of snowball sampling. In the smaller newsrooms (*Kingston Whig Standard* and *Chronicle Journal),* I interviewed almost all the journalists and editors. For the larger newspapers, I focused on general reporters, crime, police, and justice reporters, health reporters, breaking news reporters, and the various editors they reported to who have or might cover domestic violence.

In my interviews, I employed an open-ended question, semi-structured interview design (Galletta 2013). Using an interview guide (Appendix J), I sought to understand the interviewees' perspectives on domestic violence news, their day-to-day routines, and the broader structures that they inhabit. I used various interview techniques, including probing for clarification, creating space for reflection, and opening the interview to challenges from the participant (Galetta 2013, 73- 89). I did follow-up interviews and clarifications by email and phone as needed. A few interviewees also reached out after their interview to clarify their responses to questions or change the amount of "red" (off-record responses) or add detail. When an interviewee consented, I recorded the interview and transcribed the majority of the interviews.

Interviews are forms of "situated knowledge" (Haraway 1988). Interviewees answer questions based on their perceptions of news production, their role in it, and the interview itself (see Appendix K for a brief discussion of positionality). Since "all knowledge is produced in specific circumstances and those circumstances shape it in some way" (Rose 1997, 305), the interviews give insight into the interviewee's perceptions, broader social structure, and interview context.

I analyzed the transcripts in a four-stage thematic analysis (Fereday and Muir-Cochrane 2006; Aronson 1995). A thematic analysis relies on a process of carefully "reading and re-reading of the data" (Rice and Ezzy 1999, 258). First, I read through the interviews and identified prominent themes. A theme is "a pattern in the information that at minimum describes and organizes the possible observations and at maximum interprets aspects of the phenomenon" (Boyatzis 1998, 161). Second, I synthesized and analyzed the common themes across interviews (Galetta 2013, 150; Leininger 1985, 60). During this stage, I carefully thought about vectors of comparison – newspaper, interviewees' role, location, and demographic information. Third, I re-read the themes in light of the findings from the content analysis and news production theories. This stage was critical for both deductive (assessing the applicability of each level in the HOI) and inductive (developing a model that explains domestic violence news patterns) analysis. Stages one through three occurred iteratively as I gathered new data over 16 months of fieldwork. Fourth, I re-read the interviews individually and collectively to identify any missing pieces of information that might contradict the findings or might add insight into the existing themes.

I attribute the quotes to people exactly how they ask to be identified. When possible, I list the name, organization, and date to create more transparency in the research. As Nikki Usher

(2014) wrote about her *The New York Times* ethnography, identifying journalists by name mirrors how journalists try to build trust with the reader by naming their sources. I am also conscious to not bring any harm to participants and strive to avoid attributing comments that might be read particularly negatively.

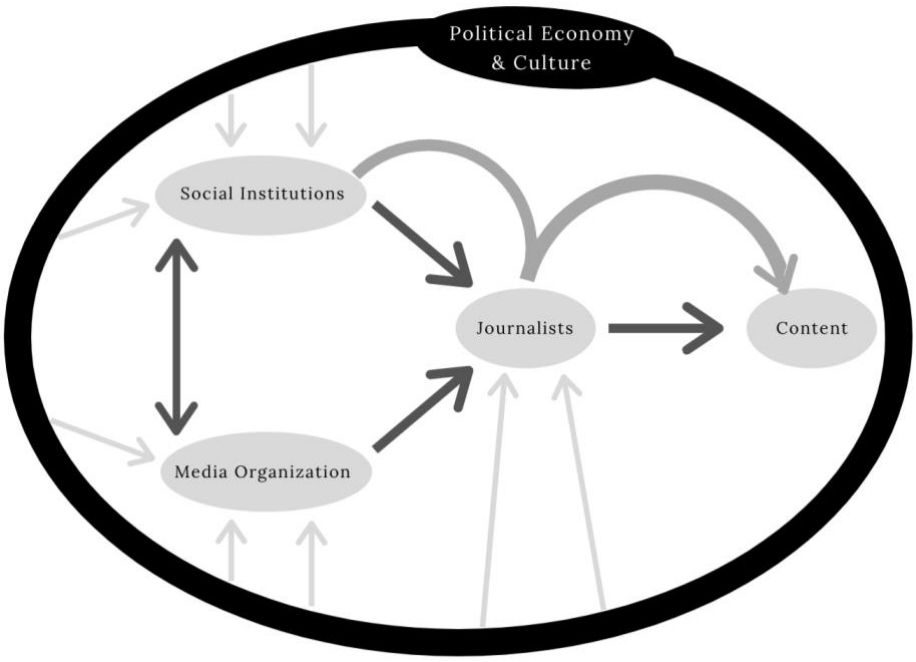
Observations

I read the interviews in light of my observations of three newsrooms and five journalists, partially answering the call for more newsroom ethnography (Cottle 2007, 9). I spent up to a week each in the *Kingston Whig Standard, Toronto Star,* and *Globe and Mail*, attending story meetings and sitting with editors and reporters. At the request of each newspaper, I conducted interviews during the observation period. While a longer observation time might have shed additional light on the daily practices of journalism, newspaper editors often restricted the time I was allowed in the newsroom. I nonetheless applied an "ethnographic sensibility" to this topic, which means being "attuned to the social relations and interactions between people that produce meaning in everyday practices" (Henderson 2016, 30). Each short observation allowed me to see journalism at work, confirming interview themes or bringing up questions to investigate further.

I also shadowed five justice, police, or court reporters for up to a day each. Shadowing or "observation-on-the-move" fits the character of present-day newsrooms better (Czarniawska 2011, 95). Shadowing also partially addresses the problem with interview veracity. People are likely to act differently while being observed. They likely will not change their practices completely. Being on the move with reporters in the field allowed me to understand the journalists better, contextualize their interview responses, and encounter, if briefly, their day-to-day environment as they do.

Blending insights from interviews, observations, and textual analysis, this study provides empirical insight into the factors that influence domestic violence *salience* and *selection* news patterns. Since no study to date has considered what factors influence domestic violence framing, I relied on the HOI model to organize potential explanations into five levels of analysis. The model suggests that all five levels influence news framing and selection. While journalists write the news, they are constrained by multiple factors. To explain domestic violence framing, one must go beyond the individual and consider the routines of news work, the ideas of journalism, the role of other institutions, and, importantly, the political economic environment (Usher 2014; Gitlin 1980; Tuchman 1978). By observing the routines of two better-resourced newspapers and one struggling local newspaper and interviewing over 120 people involved in news production, I explain the factors influencing domestic violence *salience* and *selection* patterns.

Figure 3.1: Hierarchy of Influence Model



Findings

From the analysis, I found economic pressures and neoliberal discourses condition domestic violence news patterns, but do not tell the whole story. The overall weakening of the news media has opened the door for police to strongly influence the news. This is the topic in Chapter 4. Below I introduce how sourcing routines influence domestic violence news. Economic constraints also influence the over-reliance on wire stories, along with journalist ideology about what is newsworthy. Neoliberal discourses of accountability and risk have infiltrated how journalists view their profession – the journalistic ideology of the media as a social institution. More traditional ideas about journalism also explain news patterns. Within media organizations themselves, the resource constraints have clear effects in terms of the time and ability to cover domestic violence differently. At the same time, racism and sexism within media organizations nuance the explanation as to how internal dynamics affect news production. Less related to economic pressures, women empirically write domestic violence differently.

By organizing these insights around the HOI model, this chapter outlines key factors influencing domestic violence news production. I find that the relationships between the levels are not best represented in its classic form of concentric circles. I follow Rita Colistra's (2012) lead to illustrate social institutions and media organizations as parallel institutions that influence each other (see also Benson 2004). Figure 3.1 represents the HOI model that best suits domestic violence news production. To Colistra's model I add another arrow in which social institutions, especially strong sources like police, create their own news by involving journalists (Chapter 4). In the spirit of the original illustrations of the HOI, the entire process is encapsulated in a broader social system. Rather than simply viewing neoliberalism as 'something out there,' this chapter provides empirical insight into how it influences the news production process.

This is the only study that I am aware of that offers empirical insight into the macro, meso, and micro factors affecting domestic violence news framing and selection in a moment of media weakening. Rather than theorizing about the effects of media restructuring, I empirically link how it affects media organizational capacity and routines. I also point to examples from journalists that suggest that it has also colonized their perspective about the role of journalism. Not all aspects of news production are obviously influenced by neoliberal economics and subjectivities as key pillars of journalist ideology continue to shape the *selection* and *salience* of domestic violence news. I am not presenting a neat, causal story. By organizing the evidence around the HOI, I identify a constellation of factors influencing news production. These findings also offer insight into the broader Canadian news landscape – the weakening of the media has created opportunities for source control over the material, but journalists' personal experiences, routines and journalistic ideology also shape news selection and framing.

Journalism's Ideology and Values

Journalism as a semi-autonomous social institution operates by its own internal logics that transcend individual media organizations to influence domestic violence media patterns. To conceptualize the media as a social institution, I turn to Pierre Bourdieu's field theory. Bourdieu (2010 [1984]) argues that the modern world is differentiated into specialized spaces, such as journalism, (or fields, *champs* in French) each governed by their own "rules of the game" (Willig 2012; Schultz 2007; Benson 2004; Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992). How actors can engage depends on both their agency and their field position (Thomson 2014, 66) or the "structuring structure" of habitus that "organizes practices and perception of practices" (Bourdieu 2010 [1984], 166). Ida Willig (2012) sums up how Bourdieu's concepts apply to journalism:

> Looking at journalism as a field means understanding journalism as a semi-autonomous field with its own logics of practice and as an ongoing game or struggle over defining what journalism is, what good journalism is, and so forth. The journalistic *doxa* is the unspoken, unquestioned, taken-for granted, understanding of the news game and the basic beliefs guiding journalistic practice. The journalistic *illusio* is the necessary belief in the game, the unquestionable conviction that the journalistic game is worth playing. Journalistic *habitus* is the specific way of playing the news game, the certain dispositions which the player (agent) has for positioning himself in the game, or, more simply, the embodied 'feel for the game'. Journalistic *capitals* are the resources the agent (media or journalist) can put into the game, resources that are recognized in the field and by other agents in the field. (374, emphasis in original).

"The basic beliefs guiding journalistic practice" (*doxa)* and "the necessary belief in the game" (*illusio)* are worth unpacking to understand what domestic violence stories are considered newsworthy and how the rules of the game encourage certain frames (ibid). Putting news content into a field perspective, I argue that the rules of the game – as journalists related them to me – transcend individual media organizations to influence domestic violence framing patterns.

The field approach offers is a way to study how journalism is both constructed and contested by journalists. Here is where the concept of *habitus* is useful, which works as a "structuring structure" (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992, 126). What this means is that an "individual is always (and at the same time) social" (Schultz 2007, 193) as they are also agents. Bourdieu (1989, 14) characterizes this approach as reflexive sociology, "constructivist structuralism," and "structuralist constructivism" in which social facts are neither wholly subjective nor wholly objective. Instead, both symbolic systems and "objective structures independent of the consciousness and will of agents" exist (ibid). Methodologically, the perceptions of individual journalists about the rules of the game are both subjective and objective since they are the ones recreating the rules of the game. As Schultz (2007, 193) contends, "journalistic habitus thus implies understanding of the journalistic game." Now, the rules may be based on a player's relative position in the game (editor vs. beat reporter) and based on a player's relative *capital.* In analyzing the interview transcripts, I did not find significant variation in a

player's understanding of the game based on their relative position. Instead, the disagreements were largely in contesting key boundaries between what journalism should do and be.

The rules of the game or journalistic ideology are meant to reproduce the boundaries between 'real' and 'fake' journalism (Deuze 2005, 444). The boundaries are marked by values. For example, a 'real' journalist strives for objectivity or neutrality; a 'fake' journalist is biased or has an agenda (ibid, 448). In the wake of technological upheaval, news crises, and changing conditions, journalists continue to "struggle over the dominant interpretation of journalism's locus in society," culture, and identity (Hanitzsch and Vos 2017, 133). Some values are discarded and some are reinforced. In addition to the values of objectivity, relevance, identification, immediacy, sensationalism, novelty, and proximity (Schultz 2007, 191; Deuze 2005, 447), I argue that neoliberalism has infiltrated how journalists view domestic violence through the lens of individual accountability and risk. Some of the tried and true 'rules of the game' continue to influence domestic violence *selection* and *salience*, but neoliberalism has augmented the journalist's *doxa*. This, in turn, partially explains some of the domestic violence patterns. This section operationalizes the ideology of journalism as they relate specifically to domestic violence news.

Infiltrating Discourses: Accountability and Risk

Since I argued in Chapter 2 that discourses of accountability and risk are prevalent in news attention to domestic violence, it might logically follow that journalists hold some values that contribute to the patterns. Two themes in the interviews support this logic – some journalists view their role as holding *individuals* rather than *institutions* ***accountable*** and risky victims as partially culpable. These self-understandings of the role of journalists in turn contribute to individualized and victim-blame framing.

There are two assumptions that foreground this discussion. First, neoliberalism is as a political rationality, rather than a purely economic one (Brown 2003). Neoliberalism has rearranged public life, news production, and discourses. The articulation of individualization, rather than episodic framing, captures the cultural way in which individuals are largely being held accountable for what are effectively social problems (see Brodie 2009). Second, the neoliberal influence cannot be overdetermined or predetermined. Instead of imagining that journalists reproduce neoliberalism because they are neoliberals, it is more productive to examine how journalistic practices and perceptions reproduce and potentially challenge neoliberal conceptions (Phelan 2014, 5). This is where accountability and risk come into play and its relationship to individualization and victim blame framing.

The relationship between accountability and journalism took on two meanings in the interviews: institutions need to be held accountable and individuals need to be held accountable. The latter, I argue, is an internalization of neoliberal discourses, while the former relates to the ideal role of media. One of the justifications for press freedom in a democracy is that the news will act as the fourth estate to hold elites and governments accountable (Whitten-Woodring 2009, 595; Ettema 2007, 143). This may be the ideal, but it is an empirical question as to who or what journalists view as the object of their focus.

Journalists from a range of newspapers articulated the importance of holding institutions accountable. For the *Unfounded* series, for example, the investigative team editor discussed how "the primary thing here is accountability…because I think police forces would be really happy to just walk away after they reviewed cases" (Dennis Choquette, Head of Enterprise, Globe & Mail, Interview, October 27, 2017). Holding the police accountable is different from carcerally framed stories. While I argue below that this focus on institutional accountability is partially conditioned

by the relative wealth of the *Globe*, the quote represents a prevalent theme found in interviews in which institutional accountability was deemed the goal. This suggests that some of the thematic stories, whether or not they achieve the goal of institutional accountability, likely are influenced by the perception of what good journalism does.

Then there were those who talked about holding individuals-as-institutions accountable, in what I call quasi-neoliberal accountability rhetoric. Journalists named individuals as a stand in for social accountability. By this logic, individualization is actually a way to hold society accountable. However, this is the very thing that individualization problematically does, that is, make individuals responsible for what are effectively social problems (Brodie 2009). Journalists from newspapers large and small, local and national, and with diverse ownership suggested the role of newspapers is to hold individuals who stand in for institutions or society accountable.

> Our job is to hold all players [in the government] accountable. (Renata D'Aliesio, National News Reporter, Globe & Mail, Interview, October 23, 2017).
>
> One of the media's roles is keeping people, not just elected officials, but society accountable. (Matt Vis, Reporter, Chronicle Journal, Interview, September 26, 2016).
>
> People do bad things whether they're police officers or not. Those people need to be held accountable. (Alyshah Hasham, Court Reporter, Toronto Star, Interview, October 24, 2016).
>
> Covering significant crimes, like Bill Cosby or Johnny Depp,[33] serves a purpose. It reminds people that, as much as you can fawn over these people, if they do something wrong the police are going to look into it and they might get held accountable for it. (Greg Giddens, Managing Editor, Chronicle Journal, Interview, September 26, 2016).

This blurred accountability might lead to individually and thematically framed stories, in which, for example, a domestic violence story of a public official might be discussed in relation to the legal context that facilitated silence around the official. This blurred accountability discourse is differentiated from holding individuals accountable, whether they are powerful or not.

[33] Bill Cosby was convicted of sexual assault on April 26, 2018. Over 30 women said he assaulted them. Amber Heard said that her ex-husband, Johnny Depp, physically abused her when she filed for divorce in May 2016. Depp has strongly denied what Heard claimed.

The strongest adoption of neoliberal rhetoric is evident when journalists focus on holding individuals accountable. One might counter that newspapers have long relied on episodic framing (see Iyengar 2010) and this has nothing to do with neoliberalism. One might also argue that individual accountability is not necessarily neoliberal. However, I argued in Chapter 2 that the majority of stories that use individualization does not connect domestic violence to social structures, thereby creating the illusion that "structural inequalities are regarded as individual problems" (Scharff 2011, 121). Domestic violence results from systems of inequality in which the individual may be complicit but cannot stand in for the broader social problem.

The strongest example of this was from a court reporter at *The Kingston Whig Standard*. The court reporter, Sue Yanagisawa, discussed the importance of recording the names of all people who make their way through court in Kingston to record and name people and their 'bad deeds.' Yanagisawa, along with her editors, talked about rebuffing requests to have people's names removed from the public record. Their logic was that people should not have done the crime if they did not want their name associated with the crime. This applies to both domestic violence cases and other cases. Interestingly, because Yanagisawa also strongly thinks that victims should not be further victimized, these court cases that involve domestic violence charges are unlikely to be reported in a manner wherein the victim can be identified. To protect the identity of the victim, the crime is not reported as domestic violence to ensure that the accused's name can be listed without outing the victim. Here are two hypothetical vignettes for the court roundup to demonstrate the current practice and an alternative.

> Current Practice: Jim Reynolds was convicted of assault with a deadly weapon.
> Alternative: A man was convicted of assaulting his wife with a deadly weapon.

While both would be coded as episodic framing, the current practice focuses on individual accountability and the latter focuses on detailing a pattern of violence. Rather than making the

identified man – Jim Reynolds – the sole identifiable issue, the latter lays the groundwork to consider a gendered pattern of spousal abuse.

To a lesser extent, journalists also used the language of risk. Risk is a core concept that establishes that victims of gendered violence are rhetorically to blame for the violence they experience. This analysis is strongest in the literature on sexual violence (Gotell 2008; Jiwani and Young 2006). However, this can be applied to an understanding of domestic violence news discourses and the way journalists conceptualize the violence. One former reporter discussed how, earlier in their reporting career, they subtly blamed victims for staying in risky relationships: "It baffled me. Why don't these women just leave? If I was in an abusive relationship, I would be gone in a second. **Why risk staying?** I later learned that it is a lot more complicated than that. A lot of women are killed as they are trying to leave. Why don't women leave? It is very difficult to leave" (Former Reporter, Interview, March 2017). While this reporter later learned about the nuances of domestic violence victimization, they started from a framework that women who stay are taking too many risks and therefore are somewhat to blame.

Just as victim blaming exists culturally, framing domestic violence as the result of risk factors exists culturally as a frame outside journalism. In academic work and government rhetoric, risk factors are a prevalent way of examining domestic violence victimization. For example, one reporter recounted a story they wrote about domestic violence: "I looked at the **risks** that bisexual women face in particular relationships that turn violent …It's a huge problem. Bisexual women face immense **risk** from partners who are jealous:" (Zosia Bielski, Senior Writer, Globe & Mail, Interview, October 24, 2017). Here, the reporter is drawing on the academic way of framing gendered violence – risk factors. Rather than identifying the systemic risk resulting from systems of inequality, contemporary Canadian news framing suggests that an

individual's demographic features are the risk. That journalists recounted thinking about domestic violence in the terms of risk partially explains the use of victim blame tropes. The language of risk points to the way some journalists view their role as reporting on these factors. By including this in the discussion of journalistic ideology, I am arguing that the rhetorics of accountability and risk go beyond individuals espousing them and have embedded themselves partially in the ideology of journalism. The view that journalism is meant to hold individuals or individuals-who-stand-in-for-institutions accountable offers insight into the dominance of individualized framing and, to a lesser extent, victim blame framing.

Facts and Objectivity

Accountability and risk are not the only discourses that influence domestic violence news selection and framing. The individualized, distilled reporting of domestic violence is partially indebted to a journalistic perception of their practice as the purveyors of objective truth and facts.

> Our job is to find facts and fairly represent them. (Aedan Helmer, Journalism, Ottawa Citizen, Interview, March 24, 2017)

> I just take the facts and be as clear as possible. I need to stick to the facts. This isn't my story. I focus on being unbiased and sticking to the facts. I don't own this story, it is never mine. My name is only on this story because I organized it for my reader because I see stories as puzzles you have to organize for the reader so they fully see the picture. (Steph Crosier, Journalist, Kingston Whig-Standard, Interview, June 2, 2017).

These journalists and other interviewees confirmed that the focus on facts and objectivity or the synonymous concepts of fairness or impartiality continue to be central components of the journalistic occupational ideology (Deuze 2005; Schudson 2001).

That journalism is invested in reporting facts may seem obvious, but it is influential in how stories are selected and framed. Indeed, a field analysis demands that researchers take "a critical look at the naturalized taken-for-granted positions in the journalistic field such as the serious newspaper or good journalism" (Willig 2012, 383). Rather than reporting a subjective

narrative, the news focuses on the facts and the who, what, where, when, and, sometimes, why. There are different values that would produce different stories. If, for example, journalists valued reporting subjective narratives, facts and the various routines that ensure that journalists obtain these facts may come secondary to the story. The focus on facts forecloses on rhetorical devices and constrains how journalists work. A journalist would not and could not use the techniques of some qualitative scholars such as creating composite characters. News stories instead rely on individual real people to generate a factual and verifiable narrative. The question at hand is not one of whether the focus on facts is correct, but rather the question is about its effect. The focus on facts, objectivity, and fairness influences how journalists write about domestic violence and creates challenges in covering the full range of abuse.

For domestic violence, a lot of the stories cannot really be fact-checked in a way that satisfies journalists. My interviewees explained how "he said, she said" stories are outside the purview of journalism. They cannot assess responsibility without further evidence, often in the way of police reports, medical evidence, legal cases, or, less reliably, friend and family testimony. If this information is absent or difficult to obtain, the story is difficult to report. As there are fewer reporters and more demands on their time, some domestic violence stories may be too subjective and without verifiable facts to report.

To create a veneer of objectivity and fairness, reporters often try to seek the "other side." Tuchman (1978) identified how the practice of balancing quotes is essential to reinforcing this professional attachment to objectivity. One reporter explained,

> Domestic violence stories are at the heart of it, a "he said, she said" story, and that's really tough to write because you strive to be balanced and try to be objective in all your stories as best you can. If you have someone who approached you alleging domestic violence, your obvious reaction is what does the other guy have to say, what is the other side of this. It's difficult because it's usually the victim who wants to talk and say this is what happened. You have to detach yourself a bit but still be open to believing them. You often want to get their story out because it's important.

> But you have got to weigh that out with, is that true? What does the other person have to say? (Jeff Labine, Reporter, Chronicle Journal, Interview, September 27, 2016).

In this case, the journalistic value of objectivity and balance becomes a skeptical reaction to any story of 'what is the other side.' To solve the problem of belief, journalists identified two strategies. First, journalists can rely on elite sources like police to bear the burden of producing 'the facts.' Second, journalists might equally weigh the statements of the 'he' and 'she.' This might lead the reporter to use less sympathetic language to create a veneer of balance. If neither of these strategies are possible, then a reporter is likely to not report a victim-led story.

The focus on facts and objectivity can also be connected to the technocratic reporting in many of the thematically framed stories. The emphasis on facts positions the fourth estate as good (Phelan and Salter 2017, 163). The good is further operationalized when journalists appeal to values of "transparency, accountability, and publicness that are some of the normative linchpins of journalism practice" (ibid). These values, however, distance journalism from neoliberal ideological positions by appealing to "a technocratic rationality that cites facts, evidence, and "bipartisan" endorsements" (ibid). The paradox is that in the very moment journalists appeal to facts and objectivity to demonstrate their post-ideological stance, they reinforce the notion that individuals are rational actors devoid of the entrapments of ideology. The journalistic habitus collides with neoliberalism in the very moment that it claims post-ideology through its demonstrated commitment to factually representing the world (Phelan 2014). In other words, the appeal to facts and objectivity are themselves an appeal to neoliberalism, and partially explain why the thematic stories are largely technocratic and depoliticized. In short, the focus on these values of facts, objectivity, balance, and fairness

influence how domestic violence is covered, the process of reporting on the stories, and the selection of the stories.[34]

Public Risk and Public Interest

There is an additional news value that influences how and whether domestic violence is covered: a perception of public risk. Journalists are assessing the "expected importance to the public as a whole or to the specific audience of a given media" (Schultz 2007, 197) to determine a story's newsworthiness. Given that journalists view themselves as working in the public interest, this value logically follows from that self-conception. However, the narrow application of public risk and interest has the potential to exclude important domestic violence stories. For domestic violence, the journalist might be asking if the readers might view themselves in danger, whether it is from the actual perpetrator on the loose or an analogous perpetrator. One reporter noted, "the reader wants to know what they've been charged or if police apprehended the person. Is public safety at risk?" (Jacques Gallant, Staff Reporter, Toronto Star, Interview, October 27, 2016). Because domestic violence is perceived to hold less of a public safety risk, journalists articulated that it is of less newsworthiness than stranger sexual violence, where there might be an unknown subject terrorizing the public. This perception is flawed, as some abusers privately and publicly abused their partners and other members of the public, and domestic violence as a category of violence disrupts the fabric of society. However, some journalists do not view domestic violence as inherently newsworthy because of its private rather than public risk.

[34] In the wake of accusations of fake news and production of fake news online, facts and objectivity have taken on new meaning. Rather than acknowledge the inherent subjectivity of the news, journalism is doubling down on its fair, objective, and fact-focused reporting. One can see the risks in ceding any ground – by acknowledging the constructed nature of the news, journalism risks becoming only fake news. However, doubling down itself is a risky undertaking as failure to be factual is a failure of the industry. What is often missing is the acknowledgement that news almost always has an agenda. There is no neutral news. The battle against fake news is not won by setting up journalism to be exposed as never objective.

Public interest dovetails with the carceral state and, by extension, carceral framing. First, both judges and journalists weigh the broad understanding of public interest and risk in assessing cases of domestic violence. For judges, it influences their sentencing and conviction decisions, and for journalists, it influences how and whether they cover domestic violence cases. Second, if a judge convicts a domestic abuser, a journalist might see that as shorthand that the case is in the public interest. The same can said of police, as I argue in Chapter 4 that journalists rely on police to assess the newsworthiness of domestic violence. It is then easy to understand why news about domestic violence is carcerally framed and often matched with individualized framing of individual responsibility when one examines how discourses of public risk and interest shape journalists' assessments of newsworthiness and the subsequent framing.

There is an economic reason for focusing on public risk and interest, even if the assessment of risk is flawed. Stories that are in the public interest, which could include stories that focus on public risk, even if the story includes false information, are less at risk of facing a libel lawsuit. One editor explained: "Public interest also precludes us for libel. If a story is in the public interest, we can then justify it in court. And legally, we are okay." (Jan, News Editor, Kingston Whig Standard, Interview, May 25, 2017). For libel to be proven, the plaintiff must prove that the message is indeed defamatory, it refers to the plaintiff, and it was published (Brown 1994). To defend against defamation, defendants have several defenses at their disposal. A true statement cannot be defamatory (CJFE 2015). Fair comment in the public interest is allowable, a right of news organizations made stronger by the Supreme Court of Canada (SCC) decision in *Grant v Torstar Corp.* (2009)[35]. Despite the expansion of news organizations'

[35] After running a story about businessman Peter Grant's plans to build a private golf course and his political and financial ties to then-Progressive Conservative Premier of Ontario Mike Harris, Grant sued the *Star* for libel (Job 2010, 196-197). Because the original story included a quote from an opponent of Grant that called the case a done deal, the *Star* was not allowed to make a responsible journalism defense at the initial trial (ibid). The jury found the

defenses against defamation, the laws can nonetheless influence coverage, including the assessment of whether or not information about domestic violence is in the public interest.

Defamation can influence coverage in two matters – "libel chill" and not publishing publicly important, non-veritable information. Libel chill was described in the *Grant v Torstar* (2009) case, reflecting that previous interpretations of libel law were too strict. Chief Justice McLaughlin stated in the decision, "this, in turn, may have a chilling effect on what is published. Information that is reliable and in the public's interest to know may never see the light of day" (ibid, para. 50). Libel chill may lead organizations away from certain topics after a court case, such as when the *Toronto Star* was sued after publishing a domestic violence story.

One reporter wrote about a boxing gym for women who have experienced violence, naming one woman a survivor of domestic abuse without reaching out to the husband for comment (Reynolds 2016). Since one can identify the potential abuser by labeling a case a form of domestic violence, the abuser reached out to rebuke the *Star*. The story is now prefaced with a revision note:

> This article was edited from a previous version because it did not meet the Star's standard of fairness. The Star's Newsroom Policy and Journalistic Standards Manual states that "The Star is obligated to obtain and publish all sides of any story it reports. Before publication, every effort must be made to present subjects with all accusations." The article had referred to a Toronto woman's claims of violence by her husband. While the man was not named, he was not given opportunity to respond to those allegations, as should have been before the article was published. (Toronto Star 2016).

Several journalists recounted the details of the case to me, which illustrates that it may have a potential chilling effect on reporting domestic violence cases.

Star guilty and awarded Grant $1.475 million in damages (ibid). After the Court of Appeal of Ontario overturned the decision, the case made it to the SCC. Grant appealed and lost. The majority judgment, delivered by Chief Justice McLaughlin, provided a new template to defend against defamation lawsuits – responsible communication (ibid). It "allows journalists to report false allegations if the news is urgent and of public importance, and if the journalist made an effort to verify the information" (CJFE 2015). Chief Justice McLaughlin described the defense as "a reasonable and proportionate response to the need to protect reputation while sustaining the public exchange of information that is vital to modern Canadian society" (Grant, *supra* note 2, para. 86).

> A reporter got in trouble over the summer because he was writing about a boxing gym for women who had experienced inter-partner violence. The main character said she had been abused by her husband. After the story was published, the husband came forward and denied this. I think the Star had to do a payout. I'm not sure if there was legal action. But if we had had any sort of police documents or paperwork, any court files or anything, that would have saved us that trouble. (Jackie Hong, Staff Reporter and Year-Long Intern, Toronto Star, Interview, November 5, 2016).

Without health records or a police case, journalists might shy away from reporting someone's experience of violence, lest they be sued for libel. Libel likely influence journalist's and organizational practices.

Human Interest, Individualization, and Victim-Blame

It is one matter to write a story in the public interest and it is another matter entirely to write a story that captures the public interest. There are many tools and practices that journalists use to achieve the latter, including the human-interest story. These stories put a human face to "an event, issue, or problem, so it makes people regard the crisis as serious, urgent, or dangerous" (Cho and Gower 2006, 420). In the case of domestic violence, this might mean focusing on a victim to draw the reader in. One journalist explains it as follows, "You hear that X number of women or men every year face domestic violence. But hearing one person's story about how they couldn't escape that situation, that's way more compelling for readers and it helps them understand a topic they wouldn't normally understand or think about" (Lauren Pelley, Reporter, Toronto Star, Interview, October 24, 2017). These stories are often longer, as they dive into life circumstances of the story and they are almost always individualized. But, rather than think about human interest stories as a type of writing alone, it is useful to unpack the values undergirding this type of writing and its relationship to domestic violence news patterns.

Putting a face to the story has a potential positive effect of supporting the development of empathy (Cho and Gower 2006). This empathy development is something one of the journalists

talked about quite passionately: “I'm still in the education phase and the empathy phase of building empathy by sharing visceral stories and hearing from front line workers” (Zosia Bielski, Senior Writer, Globe & Mail, Interview, October 24, 2017). For Bielski, the individualized and visceral human interest stories are a means to connect with the audience. In a study of human interest stories, one study did find that these types of stories did build empathy in the readers (Cho and Gower 2006), suggesting that there might be real value in these individualized, human interest stories, as well as adds another explanation for prevalence of individualized framing.

Building empathy, however, is undermined when victims are portrayed as responsible for the violence (Carlyle et al. 2014). In fact, one study found that respondents reported feeling less empathy and willingness to engage in prosocial behavior when news stories blamed the victim (ibid). What the content analysis shows from Chapter 2 is that victim blame, subtle and overt, still persists in 30% of the sample. Further, the longer individualized stories also tend to have significantly higher proportions of victim blaming than shorter domestic violence stories. Fifty-nine percent of the longer, individualized stories include victim blame tropes, compared to only 16% in the shortest stories and 39% in medium-length stories. While not all longer stories are human interest stories, human interest stories are not briefs. That these longer individualized stories also include victim-blaming tropes reinforces discourses of individual responsibility and undermines attempts to build empathy. Trying to capture public interest through writing human interest stories is associated with individualized and victim blame stories.

Relevance and Racialization

Journalists’ occupational ideology and the value of relevance also helps to understand racialization. Local racialization makes up a small proportion of the racialization frame; yet it is worth understanding under what circumstances race might be mentioned in a story written by a

Canadian journalist. The majority of journalists I interviewed said they rarely would identify someone racially, and the content analysis bears this out, as only 10% of the local stories are racialized. Previous research suggested that various racialized groups are overrepresented on American television and in crime news, creating a sense of racialized fear (Peffley et al. 2010; Chiricos and Eschholz 2002). This does not seem to be the case in Canadian newspaper coverage of domestic violence. Instead, journalists argued they rarely included racialized mentions because they were rarely relevant. The question, then, is when is it relevant and why?

For some, racialization is relevant when the case is culturally motivated. The strongest example is honour killing. As reported in Chapter 2, I was surprised that there were so few mentions of honour killing (1.5% of the sample) as previous research found it prevalent in the news (Jiwani 2014; Olwan 2013). Nonetheless, one reporter suggested that they would still call violence honour killing if the case warranted the label and if the police released that information.

Bailey Gerrits: When would you include race or ethnicity or cultural background information?

Steph Crosier: If it is included in the assault. If a White guy is dating an African or a White guy is dating a Muslim and called her a terrorist. Or if it is a Shafia situation. Honour killing is obviously relevant. But, a super Christian White person can still commit an honour killing, I think?

Bailey Gerrits: What do you mean?

Steph Crosier: If a far, far, far into the sunset right person's daughter or son found out they had sex before marriage and then killed them, that would be an honour killing. It is the same situation. I would also rely on the name. Doug Smith or Mohammed Shafia. You can tell [the race/ethnicity of the people involved]. I don't know if the police would release that information, no, I think they probably would. (Journalist, Kingston Whig-Standard, Interview, June 2, 2017)

From this discussion, a few themes explain racialization framing in the news sample and potentially predict future racialization. First, a lot of journalists rely on the police to tell them about the importance of releasing this information to the public. So, if a police officer calls a

case honour killing or brings up race, journalists might simply follow (Chapter 4). Second, even when the race is not identified in the story, the interview evidence suggests that journalists rely on other cues – such as names – to fill in and assume racialized information. This might not show in the reporting, but it might influence the assessments of newsworthiness. Third, mentions of race and ethnicity may be rarer because journalists are looking for obvious cultural patterns. This explains the partial overlap between racialization and thematic framing, something strongest for attention to domestic violence by and against Indigenous people (Chapter 2).

Relevance is also specific to the racial tensions most culturally perceptible of the day. While honour killing may have taken up a lot of space post-9/11, the discussion has turned to violence against Indigenous women and, to a lesser extent, against immigrant women. One reporter made this point by comparing the hypothetical coverage of Indigenous and immigrant women's experiences of domestic violence. When I asked when they would include information about ethnicity, they responded "Never." She continued:

> …unless it is an aboriginal woman, because it is a larger context. Out of that context, it would be racist. Reporting the ethnicity of the victim is also relevant when it comes to cultural sensitivities. For example, I might mention it for a recent immigrant. I would also try to find out more about the person: What she was? Where she came from? Who is this person? How did they end up here? I would ask about reporting her ethnicity: What value does it have? What is the relevance? (Meghan Hurley, Former Reporter, Interview, March 30, 2017).

Here the reporter points to two racialized categories that are relevant today: Indigenous and immigrant women. The former is related to the crisis of MMIW&G. The latter is likely related to the unique circumstances that come with immigrating to a new country. This explains, in part, why racialization is associated with thematic framing. The reporter is explicitly saying that she only includes race when it relates to something broader, supporting the argument that racialization is associated with thematic framing.

Hypothetically, racialized framing could identify how racialized structural factors influence domestic violence experiences, yet this was largely absent from the sample. I draw your attention to the infrequent discussion of racism – only 20 stories (2.4% of the sample) mention racism or colonialism directly. One reporter drove home that race often does not matter: "what is the point of identifying a man as Black when it has nothing to do with his relationship, his struggles, his history." (Journalist, Interview, October 2016). Similar studies of news attention to race similarly found that journalists do not view race as an important topic (Tolley 2015b, 183-184; Drew 2011). But, when could someone's racialized experiences have nothing to do with their relationships? Are we not the sum of our experiences, which are always racialized and gendered? This colour-blind journalistic practice, in which "all people [are] to be judged as individual human beings without regard to race or ethnicity" (Ryan et al. 2007, 618), may have swung too far away from identifying the social structures at play. In a study of news attention to race in the U.S., a Latino journalist told the researcher: "White people's inability to talk openly about matters of race is a professional handicap, keeping them from ever getting to the heart or root of half the issues" (quoted in Drew 2011, 363). Instead, racialization is left for police to decide, reliant on simplified measures of context, or for the rare investigative piece to dig deeper into the lives of people in violent relationships.

New(s)

One of the strongest professional ideologies influencing contemporary coverage of domestic violence is the understanding of news as something new. Ida Schultz (2007, 197) calls this timeliness: "the closer to the media deadline the story is, the more timely it is." For some

reporters, domestic violence is not new(s). For example, I present an excerpt from my field notes from October 2016.

I almost did not get approved to conduct interviews at the *Toronto Star*. I emailed various editors to try to gain access to the *Star*. Someone passed me off to a senior reporter to vet my request. She balked at my access request because I was looking at coverage of domestic violence. In our back-and-forth exchange, I learned that she was surprised that I was not looking at the 'newest' and 'newsiest' form of gender-based violence – sexual violence. Why was I only researching domestic violence? She implied that I could not interview staff at the *Star* if I was only going to ask about domestic violence. I reassured her that domestic violence could include sexual violence. This was not enough. I had to reframe all my introductory emails to include a discussion of gendered violence, not just domestic violence. When I asked why not domestic violence, she said:

"Well, [long pause] I was going to say it's not news. But it is news. It's been done before. It was groundbreaking at the time. We wouldn't do it today because it wouldn't be groundbreaking." (Reporter, October 24, 2016)

I later followed up on this point to ask about the impetus to cover new topics. "I think people come to newspapers to learn something they didn't know already…I don't think there is any point in telling stories that doesn't surprise or that doesn't give the reader anything to take away." (Reporter, October 24, 2016). For this reporter, and the gatekeeper of my interviews with journalists at the *Star*, domestic violence just was not new enough to be news.

If one stops to think about the premise that readers already know about domestic violence causes and prevalence and, therefore, domestic violence is less newsworthy, it makes less sense. Readers likely know a lot about other topics that often is news – politics, homicides, traffic accidents, war, etc. – but these are considered newsworthy because each incident, every homicide, every big traffic accident are worth reporting. Readers also do not understand everything about domestic violence. Despite the flawed logic, the staleness of domestic violence as a news topic was a theme in my interviews.

This relates to the way that domestic violence is hyper-present in Canada. Everyday domestic violence is too normal and too daily to make the news. Various reporters confirmed this:

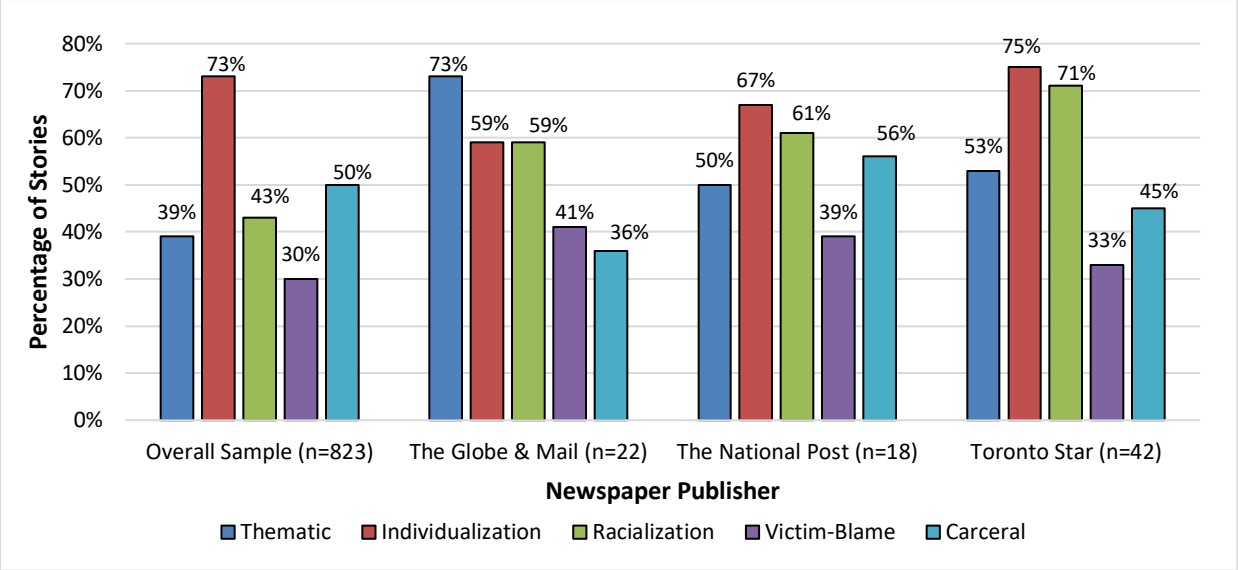
> A woman's struggle with domestic violence is not newsworthy in my opinion. I hate to say it. It's like writing about a car accident where no one was injured…We would need to hire a lot of staff

> reporters to cover the violence. I don't think the public would benefit from us writing about a single isolated case. (Meghan Hurley, Former Reporter, Interview, March 30, 2017).
>
> But every individual case is not newsworthy…The sad reality is that domestic violence exists isn't news. That these heinous crimes occur because no one reported their domestic violence, or there wasn't early intervention or because signs were ignored by other folks, or because abusers were flouting the system, or because the system couldn't protect victims, [is newsworthy]. But these issues can't always be illustrated by some of these minor cases. (Shaamini Yogaretnam, Police and Crime Reporter, Ottawa Citizen, Interview, April 3, 2017).

For both reporters, the high rates of domestic violence suggest that individual stories are not newsworthy unless that individual story is emblematic of a broader issue or, to explain the dominance of individualization, the individual case is somehow new.

Other reporters shared the idea that the role of journalism is to break 'new' ground, and they also lamented the time it takes to cover 'old' stories in 'new' ways. One reporter succinctly noted, "any story could be newsworthy, but we can only tell so many stories." (Renata D'Aliesio, National News Reporter, Globe & Mail, Interview, October 23, 2017). As Hurley mentions above, covering domestic violence well in a new way takes considerable time and resources, something that no newspaper has at the moment.

Figure 3.2: Framing Proportions of National Newspapers and Overall Sample



Organizational Factors

News is also a product of a media organization and its culture, norms, ideology, and routines (Reese and Shoemaker 2016, 400). The question becomes: what role does the media organization play in shaping domestic violence news? There are several considerations at this level: resources, ownership, organizational ideology, newsroom sexism and racism, and division of labour. Given the importance of economic pressures outlined in the introduction and organizational ideology, I start by explaining why the framing patterns are different for *The Globe and Mail, Toronto Star,* and *National Post*. Relatedly, I offer insight into the challenges of producing strong investigative pieces and the potential effect they have on domestic violence *selection* and *salience*. I finally consider how persistent racism in the newsroom partially explains why stories may be racialized, but do not discuss racism. I do not consider sexism in this section, as I have combined it with a fulsome discussion at the end of this chapter. What is different about sexism and racism is that the former may be enabling certain women to tell their stories, while the latter is silencing issues related to racial inequality and intersectional experiences of violence.

Resource and Organizational Factors

Three news organizations evinced different *selection* and *salience* patterns than the rest of the media organizations. Figure 3.2 illustrates that the *Globe, Toronto Star,* and *National Post* frame domestic violence differently as compared to the overall sample, suggesting that organizational factors might influence framing patterns. They employ thematic framing more than the average newspaper in the sample (see Appendix B for framing breakdown for all newspapers). Both national newspapers – the *Globe* and *National Post* – employ individualization less than the overall sample. Racialization is also higher in each of the three newspapers than in the overall

sample. The *Toronto Star* published the most stories about domestic violence compared to any single newspaper. The question becomes: what explains these differences and what do the differences indicate about the role organizations might play in the news production process?

That the *Globe*, *National Post*, and, to a lesser extent, the *Star* cover domestic violence differently is the result of their mandates to cover national news. The *Star* considers itself both local and national, with plans to expand its national reach (Star Staff 2018). The national focus partially explains the reliance on thematic framing. For the two national newspapers, neither is focused on the daily grind of local city council meetings or police reports. Both newspapers are explicitly invested in national questions and often include longer pieces that dig deeper into a topic, thus, lending itself to thematic framing, explaining the higher proportion of thematically framed stories and lower proportion of individually framed stories. However, the mandate does not explain the variation completely as the ideology of the paper also matters.

Ideology and mandate are particularly important in explaining the *Toronto Star*'s framing patterns. With its dual focus on local Toronto issues and national issues, the reporters are guided by editorial principles espoused by Joseph Atkinson, the first publisher of the *Toronto Star*, who was primarily concerned with "injustice, be it social, economic, political, legal, or racial" (Toronto Star, n.d.). The *Star's* journalistic standards page lists six values, the Atkinson Principles, the paper's journalism should support: a strong, united and independent Canada; social justice; individual and civil liberties; community and civic engagement; the rights of working people; and, the necessary role of government (ibid). Several interviewees cited these principles to explain why the *Star* is different, suggesting that journalists are socialized into a particular newsroom culture as earlier studies suggest (Ericson et al. 1989). In turn, the *Star's* explicit focus on social justice partially explains the higher proportion of thematically framed

stories, as well as the higher proportion of published stories about domestic violence compared to any other newspaper. The mention in the principles of racial injustice might paradoxically explain the significantly higher proportion of racialization of domestic violence. As I learned from my interviews, journalists at the *Star* saw their reporting as addressing social injustices. While journalists from other papers may have taken a similar view of journalism, the *Star* is unique in the organizational support and mandate to pursue stories of injustice.

The different framing and selection patterns of these three well-read newspapers suggest that the role of organizations and their culture matter in how news is reported and framed. Earlier studies suggested that reporters learn what is newsworthy through socialization with other news reporters and are habituated into the newsroom culture (Ericson et al. 1989). These cultures are implicated with a sense of who their audience is (national/local) and the idealized role these newspapers play in the news media sphere in Canada. Each of the three papers, and the *Globe* and *Star* especially, also has more journalists and funds to pursue their mandates and agenda. In turn, these organizational factors play a significant, but not over-determining, role in shaping how domestic violence is covered, and their investigative reporting teams are another key area that differentiates the *Globe* and *Star* from local papers.

Who Investigates?

The amount and type of investigative journalism is constrained by economic conditions (Houston 2010; Haxton 2002). Investigative journalism is the practice of "unveiling matters that are concealed" and "the analysis and exposure of all relevant facts to the public" (UNESCO 2018). Excavating concealed matters requires time and resources, often lacking in today's newsrooms. Fostering meaningful public debate and checking government power is "compromised by

growing commercial constraints prompted by the media deregulation and privatization" (Chambers 2013, 92). The threat to investigative journalism, in turn, might influence domestic violence news.

What I found is that longer stories are more likely to be thematically framed. Coding investigative journalism would be nearly impossible, but it is reasonable to assume that longer pieces took longer to report and involved more investigation. Because the length variable is not normally distributed, I did not run a bivariate regression analysis. Instead, I recoded the length variable into terciles – three equal proportions of the length variable. The short stories ranged from 19 to 253 words. The medium length stories ranged from 254 to 612 words. The long stories ranged from 614 to 3078 words. The relationship between thematic framing and the terciles of the length variable is significant (p=.000) and very strong (Cramer's v=.427), with only eight percent of the thematically framed stories shorter than 253 words. While one cannot assume that all long stories are investigative stories, it is likely that short stories are not. Long stories also take more time to gather and write. This confirms, at the very least, that the reliance on short briefs and shorter stories likely produces less thematically framed stories.

Journalists also confirm that thematic framing is partially the victim of constrained resources and less investigative journalism because thematic framing often takes more time. In explaining that "there's not always enough time and resources" to unpack the social systems at play, this *Toronto Star* reporter explicated how it specifically affects domestic violence news:

> I'm sure most advocates would say there's still a lot of work that needs to be done to improve resources to people in dangerous relationships. Certainly, we could, as a newspaper, explore these issues more. It's important for us to shine a light on those issues and to explore them more. Yet, resources are so tight. It's very difficult to dedicate someone or a few people to just do that for a little while. (Jacques Gallant, Staff Reporter, Interview, October 27, 2016).

Gallant explains why journalists struggle to pursue domestic violence stories beyond the copy-and-paste stories or short pro forma write-ups. This concern is coming from a newspaper that continues to produce investigations, but is also constrained in the amount of investigative reporting it can afford. The state is worse for local journalism at smaller newspapers in that rarely are they able to engage in longer investigations. As previous studies note, one of the main causes of the demise of investigative reporting is economic constraints (Chambers 2013; Houston 2010; Haxton 2002).

A few journalists identified strategies they employed to conduct smaller local investigations, illustrating the oppressive weight of the daily grind of reporting. From spending their occasional spare minutes tracking longer stories, to keeping a personal record of all court cases, reporters indicated they saw the value of in-depth stories as well as the difficulty of following up on any of these stories. Others talked about using national investigative stories, such as the *Globe's Unfounded* series, to advance a small local investigation. They use the background work reported nationally to springboard into their own short investigations. When journalists do not have time and there are no national investigative stories, local issues surrounding domestic violence will likely not be investigated. Local journalists are too busy to engage in this labour intensive work.

Larger newspapers, however, continue to engage in investigative journalism, and gender-based violence has been a frequent topic. The *Toronto Star*, for example, published investigative reporting on sexual violence in universities in 2014, domestic violence court cases in 2015, murdered and missing Indigenous women and girls in 2015, and female genital mutilation in 2017. The *Globe* published its investigation into police "unfounding" of sexual assault complaints in 2017 and published various updates to this award-winning story. To varying

degrees, these stories were expensive to produce. The longest investigation, *Unfounded*, took 20 months of research and brought in a large team which included editors, fact checkers, and data management specialists. Originally, Robyn Doolittle, the journalist on the story, proposed a smaller story after eight months of investigation into cases in Ontario, but the people involved decided the story was important enough to scale it up to go across Canada. It was estimated in my interviews that the *Unfounded* series cost the newsroom hundreds of thousands of dollars in salaries, freedom of information requests, and additional staffing and resource costs. Investigation is not cheap. However, management argued that investigative journalism could set the *Globe* apart from local news, generate income, develop trust in readership, and do good accountability journalism. Given the costs associated, it is not surprising that investigative reporting was almost exclusively the purview of these larger newspapers.

That the *Globe* and *Star* have dedicated investigative teams partially explains the higher amounts of thematic framing (Figure 3.2). Since thematic framing is linked to investigation and longer stories, the relative wealth of the two newspapers is a significant factor driving their different *selection* and *salience* patterns. More resources allow these news organizations to act on their mandates and ideology. Investigative reporting may be more in line with thematic framing, but the meanings associated with the framing are mediated by the newsroom mandate and culture. This includes newsroom racism.

"A White Club?"

Media research largely contends that racialized and women journalists do not significantly influence newsroom culture or content. There are three interrelated reasons constraining journalists from making a difference. First, reporters do not have much independence within the organization (Drew 2011; Gitlin 1980). This is particularly true for non-white journalists (Liebler

1994). Second, the management of the news organization perpetuates White and patriarchal newsroom culture, one that journalists are socialized into (Nishikawa et al. 2009; Heider 2000; Gitlin 1980). Third, routines and organizational standards override individual decision-making (Meyers and Gayle 2015, 292; Ward 2006; Gans 1979; Tuchman 1978). However, some research has found that Black reporters also try to resist racist content (ibid; Newkirk 2002). Marian Meyers and Lynne Gayle (2015) identified several strategies employed by Black women: writing positive stories about the Black community; avoiding sourcing people who might reinforce stereotypes; and educating their superiors about race. This raises two empirical questions about Canadian newsrooms: how White are they and in what ways, if any, does the Whiteness of Canadian newsrooms have any bearing on domestic violence news?

Despite many interviewees in management positions paying lip service to the importance of diversity, Canadian newsrooms are less diverse than the populations the journalists serve (Robertson 2017; Tolley 2015b, 179-182; Cukier et al. 2011; Fleras and Kunz 2001; Miller and Prince 1994; Fleras 1995; Miller 1994). The most recent study, in 2004, found that racialized and Indigenous journalists comprised only three percent of newsrooms in 37 newsrooms (Miller 2006). When Canadaland, an online news organization, asked 18 news organizations to complete a survey on diversity, only three replied (Mochama 2016). For Toronto media, a 2010 survey found that non-white people only made up three percent of decision-making positions in print media (Cukier et al. 2011). Further, my observations of the newsroom and the interviewees themselves highlighted that the newsrooms, if anything, may be actually getting whiter. Some newsrooms, like the *Ottawa Citizen* and *Toronto Star*, did hire more racialized reporters, and these are the same reporters that were first fired in the wake of funding cuts.

> We are losing young people. They tend to be female and ethnic. We don't hire much. The old people are white, very white, and more male. (Anonymous, Reporter, Interview, March 6, 2017).

> Basically, every section is managed by a woman, which is encouraging. Except for business, The Star is really white. Honestly, I think the most diverse part of the newsroom is the radio room. Yeah, there's a lot of white people here. That being said, I've never really felt my race has been used against me or held me back. (Jackie Hong, Staff Reporter and Year-Long Intern, Toronto Star, Interview, November 5, 2016).

> With predominately white newsrooms, it is difficult to cover diverse stories in nuanced ways and answer some of the very complex questions. It has a lot to do with management. If there were more [non-white] managers, they would understand. (Noor Javed, Journalist, Toronto Star, Interview, December 2, 2016).

There are likely more racialized reporters than twenty years ago, but my interviewees confirmed what other evidence is suggesting – Canadian newsrooms are disproportionately White.

While most of the racialized reporters I interviewed said they report stories the same as their White colleagues, a few identified alternative strategies. I asked award-winning Indigenous journalist and recent Massey lecturer Tanya Talaga if she thinks she reports differently than her colleagues. Her responses, like many others, was at first a shrug and pushback, telling me that journalists can all do the same job regardless of identity. Her first responses reaffirmed that professional identity of a journalist overrode other group memberships (Drew 2011, 262; Nishikawa et al. 2009, 245). Then, she added, "Oh, do you mean that I actually talk to Indigenous people" (Tanya Talaga, Journalist, Toronto Star, Interview, January 10, 2017). Much like Meyers and Gayle's (2015) findings of different sourcing practices, Talaga suggested that she interviewed more Indigenous people than her (White) colleagues. This difference is significant because sourcing practices do influence news frames, as I will argue below and in Chapters 4 and 5. I should note that some of the White journalists I interviewed who had done stories about MMIW also interviewed Indigenous people. This practice is not unique to Talaga, but is also not the normal practice for the newsroom.

Two racialized men left prominent newspapers publicly and their stories are instructive about how their perspectives on race and racism are often ignored in the newsroom. I am using

these public accounts rather than my interviews for two reasons. First, the public accounts are franker as they are no longer invested in staying in the newsroom. Second, while I would anonymize the interviewees, people might easily identify the speaker due to the lack of racialized journalists. I am turning to these accounts without arguing that they are universal experiences. Rather, these accounts illustrate how some racialized folks engage in the newsroom. It also gives me insight into potential influences of newsroom racism on domestic violence framing trends.

Desmond Cole gave up his column he wrote every two weeks for the *Toronto Star* on May 4, 2017 after being reprimanded for engaging in anti-police activism. In Cole's blog post about leaving, he details the role of race in the *Star* newsroom. Even though Cole's columns generated a lot of attention, Cole's column was downgraded from a weekly to biweekly column (Cole 2017). The move cannot be explained as a money saving strategy. In that same vein, Cole was not offered a full-time position with the support and benefits of a regular *Star* columnist (ibid). Rather, as a freelancer, he bore the brunt of the risk. Then acting publisher, John Honderich, reportedly said that Cole should diversify his topics away from race (ibid). Honderich denied this characterization, suggesting instead that Cole diversify his topics away from carding (Paradkar 2017), a topic Cole often covered (for example, Cole 2016). The satirical suggestion was read by Cole as a paper preference for less discussion of race and racism.

Sunny Dhillon resigned from the *Globe & Mail* after being told to rewrite a story about Vancouver's 2018 municipal election. Originally focusing on the lack of racial diversity in the newly elected council, his editor, Wendy Cox, demanded he change the story to focus on the unprecedented number of women elected. About the story change, Dhillon wrote, "She was not receptive. The bureau chief told me what I thought did not matter" (Dhillon 2018). The coverage of city council brought to a head information Dhillon knew for a long time – the newsroom is not

receptive to hearing about racism and reporter's perspectives. The question is, what do these experiences illuminate about news production and its relationship to domestic violence framing?

Just as I found that the news is less likely to report on systems of inequality as it relates to domestic violence, these experiences confirm that newspapers are less interested in racism. Newsrooms' lack of diversity and suppression of non-white people's divergent perspectives likely contribute to the lack of discussion around racism and colonialism as they relate to domestic violence. Cole's experience is illustrative as it highlights that newspapers not only shy away from discussing issues of racism, they are actually invested in supporting some of the social structures that support racism. It is no surprise that Cole was reprimanded for protesting the police. The week I was observing the *Star* in 2016, the police chief came in for a meeting to discuss how the paper could better support policing and how they could work together to improve their relationship. As I will argue in Chapter 4, police hold considerable power over domestic violence news. It is also then no surprise that carceral framing dominates the news attention to domestic violence and that issues of racism make a rare appearance in domestic violence news.

Instead, stories that distance domestic violence from a White Canadian problem are considered newsworthy. Racialized reporters may not resist this framing and may even advance it because of the pressure they face in and outside the newsroom to be professional, unbiased reporters. I asked Noor Javed if she reported stories differently, as a visible Muslim woman who wears a hijab, and she responded:

> When I first started writing about Muslim issues, I would go out of my way to make sure that it is fair. I would send it to a few colleagues. The truth is some people are still not going to think I'm fair. That's unfair. Christian people write about Christian things and they don't get publicly scrutinized. (Journalist, Toronto Star, Interview, December 2, 2016).

Javed was specifically talking about the pressure she faced from the public and audiences. One can imagine that reporting on a contentious story about domestic violence in a racialized community, a racialized reporter might feel that they have to be more balanced than their colleagues and talk to someone who does think the violence is an endemic community problem. Javed herself has not written a story like this, but she does provide insight into the pressures racialized journalists face, confirming what much of the literature suggests, that racialized journalists often conform to professional norms (Drew 2011, 262; Nishikawa et al. 2009, 245).

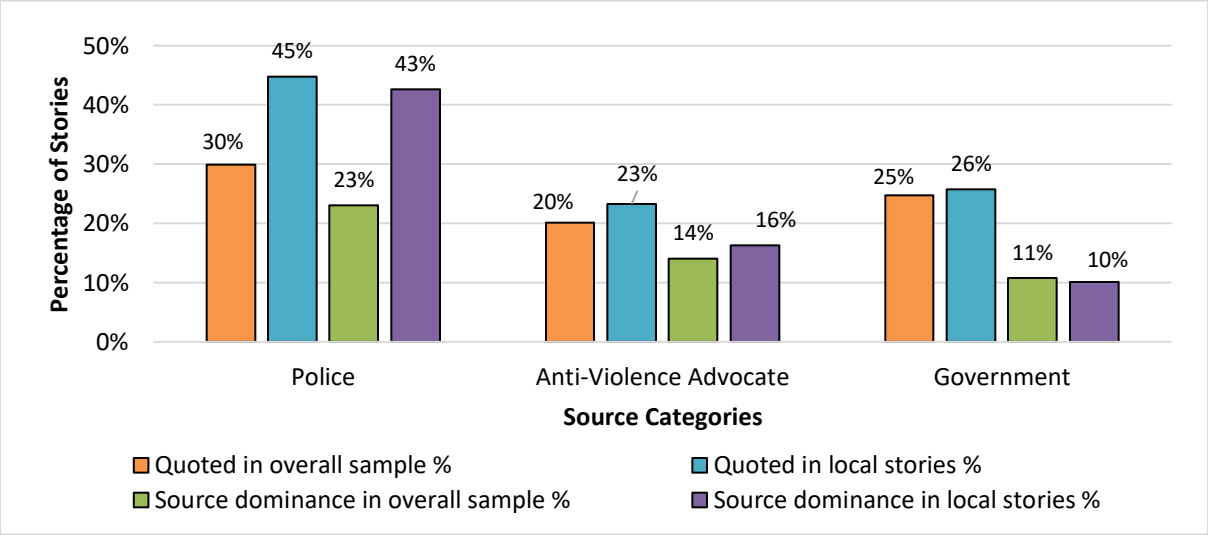
In this case, racialized journalists are pressured to write stories that conform to institutionalized Whiteness. Institutionalized Whiteness "is about the ways in which particular perspectives, norms, and standards of behaviour are privileged and pervade the public sphere, organizations, and social interactions" (Tolley 2015b, 182). Drawing attention to these experiences unmasks "The 'white eye' [that] is always outside the frame – but seeing and positioning everything within in" (Hall 1990, 14). The 'white eye,' like the male gaze, is not about the individual; instead racism and sexism are embedded in structures (Tolley 2015b, 183). The enforcers in the above stories – John Honderich and Wendy Cox – are not the 'bad guys.' This misinterpretation of the stories would play into the individualization of inequality. Instead, these stories draw attention to internal and external pressures experienced by racialized journalists that might partially explain domestic violence framing patterns. At the very least, racism and a lack of diversity are features of contemporary Canadian newsrooms, despite protests to the contrary.

Routines

Within organizations, content is structured by the day-to-day routines of media work. "Routines are the ways of working that constitute [media work], including those unstated rules and

ritualized enactments that are not always made explicit." (Reese and Shoemaker 2016, 399). Gayle Tuchman's (1972) ethnography of a news organization demonstrated the importance of several strategic rituals, such as using quotations and providing two-sides of the story, designed to invoke so-called objectivity. It is understood that routines bring journalistic values to life. Routines are the daily responses to technological shifts – journalists are continually checking more screens for incoming news, monitoring audience traffic, and trying to amplify stories other media organizations have filed with a new angle (Reese and Shoemaker 2016, 399). Indeed, Usher (2014) finds that some of the old journalistic values and practices have been adapted to increased audience interaction and demand to engage in participatory digital mediums. Yet, journalists report hesitance to adapt and throw out their old routines (O'Sullivan and Heinonen 2008, 368). How routines have changed is an empirical question and one that is secondary, for me, to understanding how contemporary routines influence content. In addition to the discussion about journalistic values above, I find two routines that consequentially affect domestic violence news *selection* and *salience*: sourcing practices and reprinting news wire content.

Figure 3.3: Sourcing Patterns



Heavy Reliance on Sources

Sources are key to writing news stories about domestic violence. The content analysis confirms that the news depends on elite sources. As explained in the carceral framing section of Chapter 2, police are cited in 30% of the stories. In 25% of stories, government sources were cited. Anti-violence advocates were only quoted in 20% of stories. For local stories, police were quoted even more frequently – in 45% of local stories. This pattern holds when I assessed the dominance[36] of each of the sources. Figure 3.3 reports the breakdown of source dominance, illustrating that not only are elite sources (police and government officials) most frequently cited, they are also most heavily relied upon to report domestic violence. For local news, police are by far the most dominant source (43%). These findings are consistent with previous studies that found reliance on elite sources, including police information (Simons and Morgan 2018; Lindsay-Brisbin et al. 2014; Fairbairn and Dawson 2013; Gillespie et al. 2013, 11; Richards et al. 2014; Stone 1993) and court information (Sampert 2010). Less often, news reports feminist and activist discussion (Mazurok 2010); however, the content analysis suggests that anti-violence may be playing a larger role due potentially to the increase of feminist media guides, feminist media advocacy, and public relations sophistication (Simons and Morgan 2018; Sutherland et al. 2016). No other source category that I measured – sports officials, family/friends, lawyers, etc. – came close to how regularly news relies on police, government, and anti-violence advocates.

The question becomes what role do these sources play in shaping the coverage, especially at the local level. Previous research likens the relationship between sources and journalists to a dance in which sometimes the source leads and sometimes the journalist leads (Gans 1979). In this formulation, the relationship is only slightly skewed towards the source. However, there is

[36] Dominance was assessed by the coders and achieved an acceptable level of intercoder reliability. Various criteria indicate dominance, including prominence of the source, quote length, and authority given to the source in the story.

ample research to suggest that various public relations officials strongly influence the news (Lewis et al. 2008a; Donsbach 2004; Baerns 1987). Given the weakening of the news media, I specifically expected that the dance might have become more one-sided.

The interviews and observations confirmed that both police and anti-violence advocates play an important role in shaping coverage. Journalists, especially at smaller newspapers, recounted engaging in "cut-and-paste" journalism by reprinting police press releases or long tweets as news, a finding consistent with police-media relations in Australia (McGovern and Lee 2010). What I find most compelling from the interviews is that these relationships are routines – going to the police or building relationships with anti-violence advocates are habits constrained and conditioned by the resources of both journalists and the source. Because of the significant influence of police as sources, the following chapter explores this relationship in detail, explaining how police as a social institution interact with the media as a social institution and how the source-journalist relationship is habitual. Because of their strong influence, police are associated with local individualization and racializing stories about Indigenous people.

The content analysis also shows that anti-violence advocates are strongly associated with thematic framing. Journalists explained that they often rely on anti-violence advocates to learn more about the issue as they are not the "expert" on a topic (Journalist, personal correspondence, October 31, 2017). Such a pattern of relying on anti-violence advocates for the big picture or balance fits with findings from Australia anti-violence news sourcing (Simons and Morgan 2018, 9). While journalists and news organizations have their reasons why they might engage with anti-violence advocates, I explore how anti-violence media engagement has a nuanced relationship to domestic violence framing patterns. The key takeaway from both of the following

chapters is that the economic conditions of both journalism and sources constrain the possible relationships and reinforce and naturalize certain source-journalist relationship routines.

Resource constraints are driving journalists to rely more heavily on sources (Lewis et al. 2008a), and this has implications for the quality of news. It is assumed that market-based news organizations are more independent and are better at holding governments accountable. However, this market logic has created the conditions in which police strongly influence the news production process. Rather than liberating journalism, privatization and predatory capitalism ensnares individuals and the profession in service to the elite institutions. This statement may seem strong and indeed this dissertation unpacks and nuances this answer in subsequent chapters. But the message remains the same, relying on market rationality is not the solution to strengthening journalism and ensuring its independence. It functions in the opposite direction. In fact, as Lewis et al. (2008a) predicated about the U.K. context, I would predict that the reliance on police sources and other official sources is likely going to increase the more newspapers constrict and this is detrimental for the quality of Canadian news.

Reprinting Wire Content: Racialization

Newspapers are also reliant on wire services to cover domestic violence, a practice reinforced by economic constraints and conglomeration. Thirty percent of the sample is derived from news wire services, such as Canadian Press (CP), Associated Press (AP), and media conglomerate's in-house wire services. Newspapers rely on wire content to reduce costs and amplify the reach of stories fitting their ideological agenda (Skinner and Gasher 2005). The latter claim is supported by the current process of producing newspapers for Postmedia. Local newspapers have earlier print deadlines because the national pages are standardized and formatted at a centralized

location. News decisions about which wire stories to pull, especially for Postmedia newspapers, do not rest in the newsroom, but in a centralized formatting warehouse.

As papers have fewer staff, editors, and centralized formatters, they rely on the wire to fill in gaps in national, international, entertainment, sports coverage, and, increasingly, local news. One anonymous reporter lamented the shift in Ottawa, in which national news is often also local news. “Local news should be generated by the local newsroom and its staff journalists. Now, a lot of the national news comes from *The Canadian Press*. It used to be a matter of pride to use our own reporters. We rarely relied on CP. Now, we print CP stories all the time” (Anonymous, Reporter, Interview, March 6, 2017). The sample demonstrated the reliance on wire content, news producers were candid about the increasing role of wire stories, and the process of putting the paper together itself also increases the reliance on the same wire content.

This news wire content, in turn, is associated with racialization. Over half (57%) of these news wire stories employ the racialization frame. The flipside of the relationship is also compelling. Forty-four percent of the stories that employ the racialization frame are also drawn from a wire service. This relationship is statistically significant (p=.000) and moderately strong (Cramer’s V=.249). As I took a broader view of racialization to include foreignness, it makes sense that understaffed newspapers would pull from the wire to cover other countries. These stories often also focused on elite Black male athletes or people from predominately non-white majority countries (Chapter 2).

The reliance on news wire content to cover domestic violence is a microcosm of the factors influencing contemporary news production and its framing of stories. The economic reality of newspapers sets the stage for increased reliance on wire services, augmenting the practice of news production. Despite the change, traditional journalistic values continue to play

an important role. Racialization, in turn, is partially an outcome of this constellation of factors. Economic reality changes the process of news production, and journalistic values are adapted and applied in these new circumstances.

The question then becomes, what values are driving decision-making about including racialized and foreign domestic violence news wire stories? I offer insights from the interviews I did with *Chronicle Journal* staff in Thunder Bay. Journalists there rotate as editors selecting news stories for the paper they still print beneath the newsroom. Because of the amount of people acting as editors, I am able to pull out themes regarding their news wire selection practices that are applicable to other newsrooms. I identified five themes regarding the selection of domestic violence news wire stories: news gaps, proximity, sensationalism, promotion, and continuity (Table 3.1). Two of the values, proximity and sensationalism, are well-studied in the literature (Schultz 2007). However, I add three additional values that influence news wire selection specifically, although these values also are partially applicable to regular news story selection.

Table 3.1: News Values Guiding News Wire Content Selection	
News Gaps	The newspaper is supposed to be full of stories about a range of topic. News wire stories can fill holes in physical pages and holes in topics.
Proximity	Journalists view stories that are closer physically and closer in values to the audience as more newsworthy
Sensationalism	Bizarre, graphic, and extraordinary events are considered more newsworthy
Promotion	Wire services highlight specific stories that journalists are then encouraged to view as more newsworthy
Continuity	Once a newspaper covers a story, editors feel obliged to report on all major updates to the story

Domestic violence news wire stories may be used to fill *news gaps* when they have fewer local stories. The primary function of wire services is to add content when staff reporters cannot generate it. When I asked one reporter about deciding if a domestic violence wire story would make the paper, he explained: “If it’s a day where there is a lot of local content, there is a good

chance the domestic violence story wouldn't make the paper" (Matt Vis, Reporter, Chronicle Journal, Interview, September 26, 2016). If the paper is full, then a news wire domestic violence story is likely not going to make the paper. The flipside is then that when there is sparse local coverage, a news wire story might make the news. What the reporter is getting at is that domestic violence news wire stories are lower priorities than local stories – about domestic violence or otherwise – and likely also a lower priority than other types of news wire stories.

If an editor has a *news gap*, then they turn to their second concern – local audience interest or *proximity*. Proximity is defined in terms of geography or physical closeness and values or audience interest (Schultz 2007; Bell 1991, 20).

> Local is always the priority, because we are a local paper. Sometimes there is a national story of local interest. (Jeff Labine, Reporter, Chronicle Journal, Interview, September 27, 2016).
>
> I would consider how well known the athlete is in Thunder Bay. There's a big difference between Ray Rice and some Indian cricket player nobody has ever heard about. There needs to be familiarity or it would have to an extraordinary case. (Matt Vis, Reporter, Chronicle Journal, Interview, September 26, 2016).
>
> There's always nasty things happening somewhere in the world. But, to me these stories come second to the stuff that happens close to us. (Sandi Krasowski, Editor/Reporter, Chronicle Journal, Interview, September 26, 2016).

All three journalists/night editors reported thinking about the audience, local interest, and proximity to Thunder Bay as main concerns for including domestic violence newswire stories. Proximity and local audience interest and key driving decision-making factors are consistent with literature on values driving journalistic assessments of newsworthiness (Schultz 2007; Bell 1991).

Sensationalism is also a factor journalists/editors weighed. In most of the discussions, journalists noted how they both report the news and have to sell the newspaper. As Vis notes above, "an extraordinary case" would override the consideration of proximity. Reprinting sensational stories, often of violence committed by non-white athletes, is not simply focused on

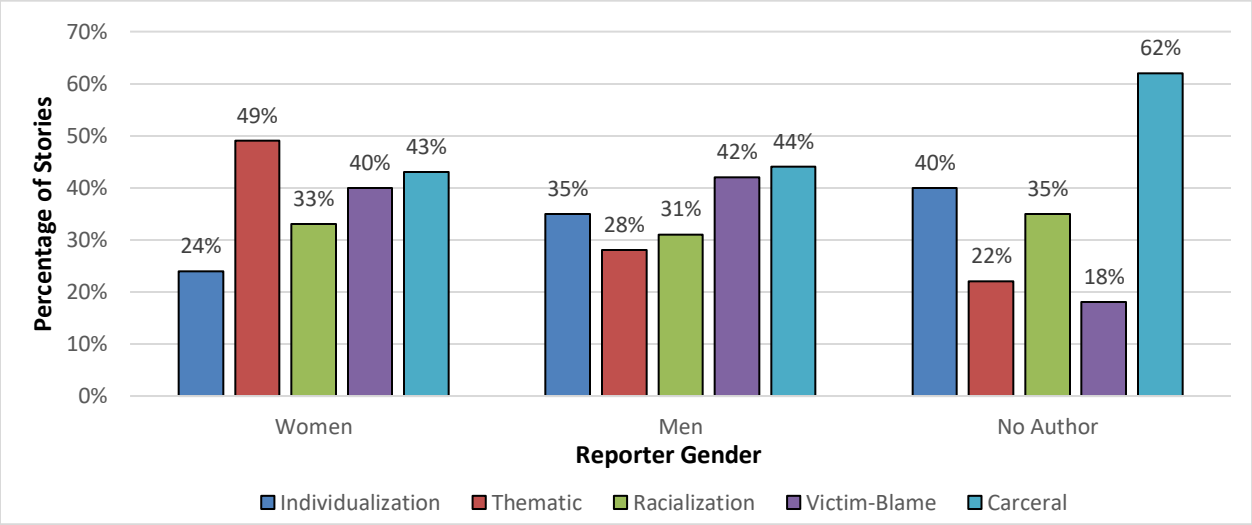
selling newspapers. News coverage of specifically domestic violence reflects societal investments in viewing the violence as sensational and somehow bizarre, while often minimizing a "focus on hegemonic masculine entitlement" (Enck-Wanzer 2009, 4). It is then not surprising that "extraordinary" and sensational news wire stories about domestic violence often replicate the notion that domestic violence is either a foreign problem or a problem of non-white communities/men.

There is one underlying factor that influences which domestic violence wire stories make the news – that is story *promotion*. The news wire companies themselves promote different stories, acting as another gatekeeper that limits and standardizes news content (Connolly-Ahern et al. 2009). Wires all have advisories that list top stories. One *Chronicle Journal* reporter explained how these advisories help them pick international stories: "I will read everything on the advisory. Then I will go through the whole list of Ontario stories and Canada stories, but not the world stories. The world is huge…Those advisories are there to tell us if something big is happening" (Sandi Krasowski, Editor/Reporter, Chronicle Journal, Interview, September 26, 2016). While it is not under review in this study, other research suggests that additional interests, like sports public relations, strongly influence wire services (Daum and Scherer 2018). Given the time and resource constraints, it is likely that the majority of reporters at the *Chronicle Journal* would heavily rely on this advisory, unaware of the special interests that might be influencing the story.

Finally, there is an additional theme influencing domestic violence wire selection: *continuity*. In both wire stories and the coverage of local court cases, reporters discussed the importance to following the whole story. One reporter noted, "updates on the Oscar Pistorius and Ray Rice cases would be fairly high priority" (Matt Vis, Reporter, Chronicle Journal, Interview,

September 26, 2016). Another added, "Ghomeshi, we followed that right through…from the beginning to the end" (Sandi Krasowski, Editor/Reporter, Chronicle Journal, Interview, September 26, 2016). There is a desire to ensure that individuals are held accountable, while also reporting changes in the story. If, for example, reporters stopped reporting on the Ghomeshi case when the allegations are made, reporters said it would be unfair to not report the acquittal. Some reporters indicated that this value actually stops them from covering local court cases because they would be unable to report about the entire trial and its outcome. While this value is secondary to the previously mentioned values in assessing new cases of domestic violence, this value strongly influences the continued selection of news wire stories.

Figure 3.4: Framing by Reporter Gender



Women Write Differently about Domestic Violence

The evidence shows that women write differently about domestic violence. The relationship between reporter gender and four of the five frames is statistically significant. Only racialization is not correlated with the reporter gender. Figure 3.4 illustrates the breakdown of framing by reporter gender, noting the percentages of framed stories written by women, men, and

unidentified authors.[37] The gender of the reporter is most strongly associated with thematic framing (p value=.000; Cramer's V=.344). As the graph illustrates, women wrote nearly half of the thematically framed stories. The result is amplified by the fact that slightly fewer women penned pieces in my sample (29%), as compared to the 33% male authors and 37% of stories without a gendered author listed. The question becomes, why are women associated with differently framed domestic violence stories?

The answer is not gendered story assignment. Previous research identified that women might be more likely to be assigned "soft news" (North 2016) and be slotted into beats that might focus on news more amenable to thematic framing (Ross 2001). Both health and relationship reporting might be more amenable to thematic framing and might also be the positions that more women occupy, while police reporting and crime news might be allocated to men. This does not hold for the newsrooms today, as three out of four dedicated police, crime, or justice reporters at case newspapers were women. Also, local reporters are often reporting on a multitude of stories beyond their beats. The previous gendered division of labour does not accurately reflect the Canadian newsrooms I entered and does not explain the gendered difference in framing.

Sometimes, however, stories are informally allocated, with colleagues and editors asking women to interview survivors. Women reporters explained to me that some male colleagues pass along firsthand accounts of gendered violence. "I've had male reporters hand me sexual assault victims because they felt that the survivor would feel more comfortable with me. I've actually had a reporter at a competing outlet do this" (Jayme Poisson, Journalist, Toronto Star, Interview, October 25, 2016). While there may be some informal gendered allocation of stories, this also does not explain differences in how women write and report on the stories.

[37] I also coded for stories that lists both men and women as authors and these represented <1% stories. I did not identify any authors who published stories in my sample that are publicly gender non-conforming.

I expected that women would not significantly influence domestic violence framing. There is conflicting evidence that suggests, on the one hand, women in the newsroom decrease the sexist news content (Chambers et al. 2004; Liebler and Smith 1997; Mills 1997) or women's experiences influence news making (Steiner 2012) and, on the other, women do not influence media content as women because they are constrained by newsroom hierarchies and socialized as journalists (Lavie and Lehman-Wilzig 2003; Ross 2001; Henningham and Delano 1998; Liebler and Smith 1997; Jolliffe and Catlett 1994). Since journalists continue to rely on a journalistic professional ideology and newsroom hierarchies constrain racialized journalists from influencing content, the latter set of arguments and evidence seems the most logical. However, the content analysis is clear. Women empirically write differently about domestic violence.

If it is not a gendered division of labour, women's experiences of sexism could explain the gendered difference in framing. Journalists are subjected to harassment on the job, as sports journalists (Hardin and Shain 2006, 327), from sources (Lachover 2005; Walsh-Childers et al. 1996), and from colleagues and bosses (North 2016). Reporters in this study were hesitant to discuss their experiences of sexism, even though it was clear that they continue to plague the newsroom. Stories were off-record or strictly confidential and included acts of repeated bullying, sexual harassment, and unfair treatment. "People have told me that they have felt sexism. What supports that? I have been told by people who I believe. That is the truer answer" (David Bruser, Reporter, Toronto Star, Interview, November 9, 2018). Almost everyone assured me that it was worse before or that it does not exist in their newsroom, just other newsrooms or departments. Of course, the sexism of the chain-smoke-filled 1970s newsrooms is different from the sexism of today. Sexism still exists in contemporary news organizations. From sexist and sexually violent jokes to sexual harassment, the current newsroom is not immune to sexism, even if that culture is

not as openly aggressive as it was in the past. Since sexism in the newsroom was subtler and more hidden, its effects on news discourses are harder to assess.

Sexism, for example, has the potential to influence news gathering practices. A journalist may avoid a certain editor because he does not treat women well. This editor may penalize the reporter by not assigning desirable stories. Or, a reporter may experience repeated forms of sexual harassment that might make them feel uncomfortable to work late. Sexism might also enable women to write differently, as editors and male colleagues might assume that women might be better suited to cover these more emotional stories. These experiences may not explain a story's framing, but sexism undoubtedly influences how women work.

However, one clear theme emerged: women may be writing differently about domestic violence because they are connecting their experiences of sexism and of gendered violence with those of the people they are writing about. Most publicly, three younger women journalists I interviewed wrote about their own experiences of sexual and domestic abuse in the newspaper. Two of the stories are about sexual violence within the context of a relationship, and one is about stranger rape. This type of reporting has been identified as a trend in confessional journalism (Coward 2013), although I want to be careful to not minimize this reporting. I asked each woman – Shaamini Yogaretnam of the *Ottawa Citizen* and Jackie Hong and Lauren Pelley both former *Toronto Star* reporters – about their decision-making and reporting processes. Their responses are instructive for understanding how personal experiences of gendered violence might partially explain why women write differently about domestic violence.

On January 10, 2014, the *Ottawa Citizen* published Yogaretnam's story about being raped by a stranger in Montreal and not reporting it to the police "because, why did it matter who raped me" (Yogaretnam 2014a). Entitled "Reporter's story: Showing the courage I couldn't," the

narrative focuses on the fact that women reported a serial rapist to the police in Ottawa when the reporter herself did not. The last line is telling, “If I had it to do over, I would” (ibid).

Yogaretnam recounted the process of writing the story to me in our interview on April 3, 2017:

Shaamini Yogaretnam: There was a serial rapist in Ottawa and we had been tracking him for a while. The police had finally said that all the rapes were connected. I went to the [police] press conference. I was really hyped on the story, because there is nothing like a serial offender to get a crime reporter going. I wrote the story and pulled out the maps so we could try to find the individual cases and try to find the individual victims. Then I went home that night and couldn’t sleep.

The next day I sent my bosses an email, “if there is a reporter who wants to write about their own sexual assault, what do you think about it?” I waited several hours to come into the newsroom and they said that if I wanted to write it, I could go ahead and write it. At the time, Andrew Potter was the editor of the paper. And Keith Bonnell was my city editor. I had gone into Potter’s office that day before writing it to ask “does this worry you?” because I will be making a disclosure that could potentially say that I can’t write about sexual assault anymore. And he said that he had no qualms about me continuing to do my job. And I did write about it. It was a stranger assault, and I never reported it to the police. I don’t know who it was. I think that’s why it was publishable, because there wasn’t anyone to defame.

Bailey Gerrits: Do you remember your impetus for writing this story?

Shaamini Yogaretnam: I had this tremendous guilt. As a crime reporter, I know that these rapes often don’t happen in isolation, but I never did anything. If I had it to do over, I would have reported it. And it is a tough ask to ask that of people. But, if we don’t, and this is probably me buying into the system, what kind of society are we left to deal with? I don’t believe in secrecy.

What I am upset about, and what I will always be upset about, because of my own trauma, I couldn’t see how this could potentially affect other people. This is even my messaging when I ask other people to go on the record about very difficult things – “you don’t know what this could do for other folks. I know it is a tough ask to ask you to go on the record about this, but the public good will be better served by your willingness to discuss your experience openly.”

I’ve made my own disclosures before on stories but did not detail it. This is part of my rationale for writing it in the first place. While I know what I’m asking of them is so much, I would do the same.

Yogaretnam linked her disclosure to two goals: transparency with future sources and objectivity. Rather than including a disclosure in every story she writes about sexual violence, Yogaretnam now has a full story that stands in for that disclosure. Her story and experience is public.

The other two women, both former *Toronto Star* reporters, published their stories under the direction of the same editor (now editor-in-chief) at the *Star*, Irene Gentle. Jackie Hong was on a year-long internship at the *Star* when Gentle asked that Hong rewrite her public Facebook post about staying in an abusive relationship into a news story. Hong recounts in detail a complicated abusive relationship with a boyfriend, called S, to answer the question in the headline "Why I stayed: One woman's story" (Hong 2016). It also seeks to add to the litany of voices at the time of the Ghomeshi trial explaining why women continue to date people who hurt them. Hong recounted the process of writing the story to me on November 5, 2016:

Jackie Hong: This happened to me between second and third year of university. I had never dealt with the trauma from being raped in this really awful relationship. At the end of the Ghomeshi trial, you'd see a lot of really awful things said about people who have experienced sexual assault on Twitter. I ended up having a really huge panic attack one day while I was at home. I didn't sleep for 48 hours and I was hyperventilating. It was really bad. At the tail end of that, I needed to write something just to get my thoughts together.

I wrote a Facebook note on my professional public Facebook account and then tweeted it out. It got a ridiculous amount of responses and retweets. People were reaching out and it's all really sweet.

One of the people who reached out to me was actually Irene Gentle, the city editor at the time. She said, "I think your story is really powerful and I think it's an important story and I would love to publish it in the *Star*, would this be okay with you?" I said absolutely.

This was in February and the piece didn't get published until a month or two after. The story had to go through a layer of lawyering because in my original Facebook note there's some identifying details of the person who did all that stuff. But I never went to police, so we needed to be careful that the version that ended up in the *Star* didn't have those very identifying details.

I was still in the radio room at the time. I remember Irene and Burt [Bruser], the *Star*'s lawyer, came in and they both made sure that I was 100% comfortable with

> having this published, with having my name on it. They kept asking me, "Are you sure? You don't have to do this. You don't have to identify yourself." I said, "Yeah, I'm sure. I'm 100% fine with this." I never wanted to have my name off of it.

Unlike Yogaretnam, Hong was not a full-time employee. She was on a year-long contract and worked in the radio room – where interns often work late at night to repackage social media press releases into smaller stories. Also unlike Yogaretnam, Hong was asked whether an already-public post could be made more widely available by publishing it online and in print with the *Star*. Unlike Yogaretnam, Hong's story came out after a cultural discussion about victim blaming. This might explain the difference in the tone. While Yogaretnam is apologetic for not reporting to police, Hong is defiant and instead explains to the reader why she and others might stay in an abusive relationship.

Lauren Pelley, also a former *Star* reporter, had her story of abuse published after the Ghomeshi trial verdict was rendered on March 26, 2016, entitled "I'd fail the Ghomeshi courtroom 'test' too" (Pelley 2016). Pelley's story unpacks "Why, why, why, did I keep dating the guy" to shed light on why the women who said that Ghomeshi assaulted them also engaged in behavior that led the judge, media, and public to question their credibility (ibid). Pelley suggests that the truth in sexual assault cases is "messy victim behavior often doesn't make sense" (ibid). Pelley recounted the process of writing the story on October 24, 2016:

Lauren Pelley: As a woman, there are certain stories that resonate with women that are worth telling and that might not get told if a woman wasn't pitching this idea. That also was my experience with the Ghomeshi case. I'm a woman who's been in a similar situation to the women we are writing about every day. I think I have a responsibility to open up about it because people aren't getting what these women are saying. Maybe if I share my personal story, that might open people's eyes to the reality of the situation.

> I started talking about my own experiences more openly because of the Ghomeshi trial when all the news broke originally of things he had allegedly done. The most frustrating thing to me, not as a journalist, but just as woman, as a human being, was hearing comments from people, including people close to me, that they couldn't

> understand why these women would be in that position, go back to him, text him, or do any of these things.
>
> It came down to opening up to family and friends and saying it happened to me. I was home sick that day the trial started and was sitting at home reading so much stuff and I was like, you know what, I'm just going to put this out there. Whoever reads it, reads it.
>
> The response was instantaneous, people retweeting it and retweeting it. Irene actually asked me very quickly: "can we publish this somehow?" That was an example of a woman in the newsroom saying, "I see you taking this initiative to tell your story, let's give it a bigger platform." I reworked the series of tweets and then it became a published column and that went online.
>
> I have two options here, I cannot talk about it or I can talk about it and have people twist it. I'm a public journalist trying to write about things that matter and resonate with people and ask my sources to open up to me and bear their souls and share extremely uncomfortable stories.

Pelley unlike Hong was a full-time reporter at the time the story was published. Like Hong, Pelley no longer works at the *Star*. There is something suspicious about relying on the more vulnerable reporters to share vulnerable stories. In both cases, Pelley and Hong made their stories public before the *Star* broadcasted and memorialized them. Pelley, like Yogaretnam, views her story somewhat instrumentally, by demonstrating openness and vulnerability they both hope to elicit the same response from potential sources.

Evidence suggests women may be writing differently about domestic violence because these women understand the stories intimately. As some psychological research finds that people who know victims personally are more likely to report increased sympathy for the victim and broader issues (Small and Simonsohn 2008), journalist-as-survivor/victim are primed to connect individual experiences of violence with broader issues. All women have experienced some form of gendered violence, and if that is too strong a statement, one could temper it to say that all women know a woman who has experienced some form of gendered violence in their personal lives. While not all women translate their experiences into the same types of writing, the

pervasiveness of gendered violence provides a partial answer explaining why women write differently.

Since the rates of violence against women have not substantially changed in Canada, there must also be a shift culturally in and/or outside the newsroom that allows women to write differently. The differences between the three women's stories suggests that timing mattered. The first piece was much more apologetic for not reporting to police, while the latter two defiant around expectations placed on survivors. While there are differences within each of these newsrooms and crimes themselves, the cultural conversation in 2016 was different than in 2014. The shifting nature of the gendered newsroom is also relevant here. With more women in leadership positions and more women reporters, women's experiences are welcome in the news. What we are potentially seeing, however, is that women are gaining a greater voice in the media at the very moment that its power is diminishing. This partially explains why women write differently about domestic violence news.

Concluding Thoughts

This chapter explains how a range of factors influences domestic violence news framing and selection, addressing two gaps in the literature. First, no study to date has attempted to explain the journalistic values and practices influencing domestic violence framing. Second, more research is required to understand how news production is associated with different textual patterns (Philo 2007; De Vreese 2005; Scheufele and Tewksbury 2002). I offer empirical evidence in this chapter to address these gaps.

I found that economic constraints on news organizations strongly influence news production patterns. However, meso and micro level factors also influence framing patterns.

Unlike over-deterministic political-economic models (for example, Hermann and Chomsky 1998/2002), the augmented HOI model I advance clearly details how journalists, other actors, institutions, and structures interact to produce news. Borrowing from Sean Phelan's (2015) reminder, the news does not promote individualistic accountability discourses because the news is neoliberal. What this chapter shows is the effects of macro-level factors (economic constraints and discursive influence) on news producers, while simultaneously capturing how meso level factors (organizational norms and culture and journalistic ideology) and micro level factors (routines and gender) also influence domestic violence news *selection* and *salience* patterns.

What factor influences each frame varies. The new frame I identified, carceral framing, for example, draws on dominant cultural ideas that domestic violence is a criminal justice matter. It is further reinforced as domestic violence news stories largely draw on police and court sources, and journalists themselves might be quite invested in carceral solutions to domestic violence. At the organizational level, pro-police ideology might be more predisposed to this framing. Victim blaming, on the other hand, draws on rape culture and risk discourses that position victims as somehow responsible for the violence. Sources, journalists, or columnists may introduce these themes, drawing these problematic cultural morays. Editors might not catch these tropes, because of personal predispositions or increased demands on their time. At the centre of explaining assessments of domestic violence newsworthiness and framing are increased work demands and economic constraints.

This is quite clear for racialization. The over-reliance on wire content explains the majority of the racialized coverage, and the reliance on wire content is largely a consequence of news organizations producing less in-house news. The selection values expose what journalists and editors think about how the audience might connect to the stories. Since the majority of these

wire stories played into racist stereotypes of aggressive Black men abusing their partners, journalistic values of news as new are overridden by racist views of violence. Journalists also draw on values of proximity to discuss violence. Stories that distance domestic violence from being a White Canadian problem takes precedence over stories that challenge this narrative. Journalists and editors themselves do not need to be racist, but it is clear that racism does exist in the newsroom. Sources might be further implicated in bringing up these tropes, just as racialized sources might challenge these stereotypes if they are indeed interviewed. There are both resource explanations behind racialization, as well as newsroom culture, habits, and practice.

Thematic framing is associated with women writers and media organizations with a broader mandate and more resources to do longer investigations. As I will argue in Chapter 5, thematic framing is also associated with anti-violence advocates as sources. These factors are interrelated, as I explain in the next two chapters that the reliance on sources largely becomes routinized. For reporters with more time than an average general reporter at a smaller local daily, there are more opportunities to develop relationships with anti-violence organizations. This multilevel analysis illustrates how economic constraints on all players influence news gathering and, as a result, domestic violence framing patterns.

This is especially true regarding the reliance on police sources (Chapter 4). With media organizations struggling to write about local stories, local journalists are largely dependent on police press releases and assessments about newsworthiness to write about domestic violence. Partially, what I demonstrated in this chapter and will be reinforcing in the next is the ways in which individualized discourses of accountability and risk influence journalists, just as police too might share similar conceptions of who is responsible for cases of domestic violence.

Police influence, however, is not the only factor that explains the dominance of individualization. Values of objectivity and facts and practices of writing human interest stories lend themselves to individualized framing. Journalists have less time to write longer stories about something that is just too regular in Canada. Instead, the rare or extreme cases of domestic violence are seen as exceptionally newsworthy and then, by virtue of the newsworthiness criteria, more amenable to individualization. Even though there are multiple factors that influence these frames, police play a disproportionate role. I explain how in the next chapter.

Chapter 4: The News Arm of the Law?

I started this dissertation with a story about Erin. A police investigator discouraged her from pursuing her case of intimate violence. I juxtaposed Erin's story with a news worker that admitted to reprinting police press releases. Erin's story follows the previously identified pattern that news rarely discusses events not reported to police (Chermak 1995, 34) and points to one of the ways police influence the news by not policing and releasing information about domestic violence.

Evidence from Chapters 2 and 3 further suggests that police strongly influence domestic violence news in Canada. Police information and source material are the backbones of carceral framing, a dominant domestic violence news frame (Chapter 2). Journalists defer to police in some cases to determine the newsworthiness of racialization, police are the most commonly cited sources, and journalists often reprint police press releases (Chapter 3). Police play a significant role in domestic violence news coverage, one that warrants further investigation and explication.

Research in other contexts – the U.S., U.K., and Australia – suggests that the police-media relations often asymmetrically favour police, but news agencies are still able to act in the public interest as police watchdogs (Ellis and McGovern 2015; McGovern and Lee 2010; Mawby 2010; Chermak and Weiss 2005; Chermak 1995). Police engage in "image management" (Russell 2017; Lee and McGovern 2013a; Mawby 2001) to make themselves look good, needed, and necessary. Little research has applied the analysis to the Canadian context, despite one of the seminal police-media studies focusing on Canadian police (Ericson et al. 1989). Recent attention to Canadian police 'image work' focuses on police social media use (O'Connor 2017; Schneider 2016). No research to date has examined police influence on Canadian domestic violence news – a topic wholly understudied in other contexts as well.

This chapter is divided into three sections. First, I explore the relevant literature on police-media relations and its disagreement about the degree of asymmetry in the police-media relationship. Drawing out these tensions, I point to themes from interviews and observations from my four cases – Toronto, Ottawa, Thunder Bay, and Kingston. I explain how police influence over domestic violence news is conditioned by political-economic factors, police-media agreement on 'facts', verification practices, and local factors. Second, drawing heavily on the police "image management" literature, I detail the specific mechanisms police use to influence the media – proactive communication, pressure, granting access, and relationship building. Finally, I address a key gap in the literature – determining the effect of police influence. I argue that not only do police influence domestic violence framing, but they also influence the extent to which intimate partner violence (domestic violence) is considered newsworthy.

Why Can Police Influence the Canadian News Media?

While there is general agreement that the police have the upper hand in their dealings with the news media, researchers disagree about the severity of the asymmetry. Some argue that the relationship is not contentious (Surette 1998; Chermak 1995; Skolnick and McCoy 1985; Hall et al. 1978). The relationship may even be symbiotic (Guffee 1992). Police and news organizations are both motivated to cooperate to fulfill their respective organizational goals (Chermak 1994). News media are able to simultaneously hold police accountable and provide crime news that attracts readers. Police use the news media to get their message out to wider audiences. Others conclude news media often replicate police agendas because police exert strong influence over the news (Mawby 2014; Lee and McGovern 2013a; Chermak and Weiss 2005; Boyle 1999;

Chibnall 1977). Writing about the British context, Robert Mawby (2002) predicted that increased media reliance on police will negatively affect the media's ability to hold police accountable. My analysis suggests that the latter assessments of extreme asymmetry and lack of balance characterizes contemporary police-media relations in Canada.

There are four key factors that I identified that contribute to strengthening police influence. Just as I argued in Chapter 3, political-economic factors condition the relationship. The weakening of the news media, documented in Chapter 3 as decreased staff and revenues, is happening simultaneously to the strengthening of Canadian police communication capacity. The police-media relationship is strengthened as police and media share a similar ontological understanding of 'facts' and evidence. While they might disagree on when or if the public should know these 'facts' and evidence, the baseline agreement sets the conditions for a deeper relationship. Journalists also turn to police to reduce their liability and use police to verify information. Finally, there are contextual, local factors that contribute to the state of Canadian police media relations.

Relative Power of Police and News

One of the key factors contributing the asymmetry of police-media relations is the relative power of police (Lee and McGovern 2013b, 166). On the institutional level, many police forces have increased their public communication capacity, while newspapers are producing content with less staff and revenue. In such a climate, journalists might find it easier and quicker to print the official police story (ibid). For the police in other contexts, there are more highly trained communications personnel using sophisticated communication techniques (ibid; Mawby 2010; Mawby 2001). The same is true in Canada. Most medium-sized police departments have at least

one dedicated communications staff, some of whom are former journalists. Ontario Police College offers a well-established police communications course and police spokespeople belong to a network of Ontario police communications officials – Ontario Media Relations Officer Network (OMRON). By 2016, the largest municipal police force, Toronto Police Service (TPS), had trained 600 police members on social media and corporate communications. The media has "far more points of contact for the Toronto Police Service than ever before" (Mark Pugash, Director, Corporate Communications, Toronto Police Service, Interview, November 1, 2016).

Hiring and training more dedicated communications staff gives police an edge over other sources without the same capacity. In past research, that police conformed to media logic – the routines, timeliness, and content formatting – was evidence of a balanced relationship (Ericson et al. 1989). More recently, scholars argue that the police's ability to meet the demands of journalism – timely, well-formatted information – strengthens police capacity to influence the news (Lee and McGovern 2013b; Chermak 1995, 29). The director of Toronto Police Service's communications acknowledged that the increased capacity has allowed the police to provide "more timely information" to journalists (Mark Pugash, Director, Corporate Communications, Toronto Police Service, Interview, November 1, 2016). Even in police forces with a single communications person, the newspaper is often able to reach the police for comment. In Kingston, journalists found it easy to get in touch with the media relations officer who prided himself on "being open and accessible and they have my cell phone number as well as my regular extension. I still normally answer my phone even off duty" (Steven Koopman, Constable-Media Relations, Kingston Police, Interview, December 15, 2016). This availability and knowledge of media logics makes a journalist's job easier.

Police capacity goes beyond influencing journalists, as police bypass the news media with social media and take on more journalistic roles (Ellis and McGovern 2015). Before the internet, the police relied on the news media to advance its image (Mawby 2010; Chermak and Weiss 2005; Ericson et al. 1989). Now, more police use social media to communicate with residents and promote a positive image of the police (Bullock 2018; O'Connor 2017; Schneider 2016). In 2016, all four interviewed police forces were using Twitter. As of 2019, all have expanded onto Instagram. As police can promote their brand on social media more independently, police do not need the media as much as the news media needs the police.

At the relationship level between journalists and police, there is also a fundamental asymmetry. Journalists have the ability to ruin the reputation of a police officer, yet the consequences might be more severe for the journalist rather than the police officer. "The journalist is always in an inferior negotiating position – the reporter who cannot get information is out of a job, whereas the policeman [sic] who retains it is not" (Chibnall 1977, 155). More poignantly, police can detain, arrest, and surveil journalists. Police use these forms of suppression in Canada. Justin Brake was criminally charged by the RCMP and faced 10 years in jail for reporting on the Indigenous occupation of Muskrat Falls in October 2016 (McKenzie-Sutter 2019). In 2019, the charge of civil contempt was cleared but Brake still faces the criminal charges (ibid). In 2017, Hamilton Police Services arrested freelance photographer David Ritchie and detained Global News videographer Jeremy Cohn when they attended a deadly collision between a pedestrian and a vehicle (Kerr 2017). Police in Quebec monitored eight journalists to identify their confidential sources (Solyom 2017). On top of increasing police communication capacity to engage with and bypass the news media, the police have additional tools that, while used less often, demonstrate a strong asymmetry in Canadian police-media relationships.

Police and Journalists Agree on 'Facts'

Police and media ontologically agree about the importance of 'facts' and 'truth'. Past research found journalists often cite police in crime stories to give the 'facts' of the story (Chermak 1995, 30). What I found in the interviews is that both police communications officials and journalists articulate the balance of effective communication as one between 'truth' and storytelling, with 'truth' taking precedence over storytelling. Thunder Bay Police Service (TBPS) executive officer and former CBC technician said that communication "comes down to good storytelling. In our case, it comes down to being able to articulate the truth in a manner that people can understand to give them more information" (Chris Adams, Executive Officer, Thunder Bay Police Service, Interview, August 29, 2016). A reporter articulated that news is "storytelling within the parameters of still telling the truth…you have to represent the facts." (Aedan Helmer, Journalist, Ottawa Citizen, Interview, March 24, 2017). While police and journalists may not agree on the 'facts' or the story, both look for ways to tell the 'truth' based on 'facts' by using storytelling techniques. In news media literature, this is described as the tension between objectivity and storytelling techniques (Groot Kormelink and Costera Meijer 2015; Schudson 1989; Tuchman 1978) Such analysis is less well developed in police communications research, but the tensions between 'facts' and storytelling are implicitly central to police getting accurate information out while promoting a positive image of themselves (Lee and McGovern 2013a; Mawby 2010).

Further, some of the journalists identified that they view police as an institution that holds 'facts'. In response to a question about the process of writing a domestic violence story, one reporter said:

> First of all, we work with the police. **The police are going to tell us the facts we need to know.** The community is going to…give us all of this juicy stuff in between. Now we have to confirm this. We need somebody to go on record and say that …they were married and they were fighting. So, we have to work with the police, and here it gets a little crazy…Police will say, we don't want

> to release that information yet because we are still in the investigation process. We don't want to inhibit the police investigation but we still need to have information because the community needs to know. (Sandi Krasowski, Editor/Reporter, Chronicle Journal, September 26, 2016).

Krasowski highlights the tension between police and journalist timing of when to release information, while also confirming the deep reliance on police for the 'facts.' Journalists are looking to answer the "who, what, where, [and] when" for crime stories (Wendy Gillis, Crime Reporter, Toronto Star, Interview, October 26, 2016). For many of the journalists, police are thought to have the answers to these questions.[38]

Journalists also articulated that police have biased understandings of a story. "When [the police] say, so-and-so is charged with murder…this is what police believe" (Jayme Poisson, Journalist, Toronto Star, October 25, 2016). This sentiment was strongest at the larger papers and with journalists who did not have to daily work with police. Reporters that work closely with police do not have the same luxury to question the police. Either police beat reporters are young and less likely to question the police or they are veteran reporters who know not to run off valuable sources with negative content (Chermak 1995, 36). In a sense, a crime reporter cannot be wholly skeptical. The police might stop talking to them. As well, crime stories and reporting on the police are an important part of the job of a newspaper. Even though several journalists expressed distrust in police information, one of the key factors driving police influence over news is a shared understanding of the relationship between 'truth', storytelling, and 'facts'.

Police Information for Verification

To report the 'facts', journalists engage in "strategic rituals" of verification to ensure the accuracy of the information (Tuchman 1972). Journalists double source information and

[38] Part of the dependence is forced. All the police forces have encrypted scanners. Police "keep us out of the loop so that we don't hear what's going on" (Sandi Krasowski, Editor/Reporter, Chronicle Journal, September 26, 2016).

triangulate information (Shapiro et al. 2013). According to one police reporter: “it’s not our job to just go and ask people and then run it as truth. Wherever we can, we should try and verify it” (Wendy Gillis, Crime Reporter, Toronto Star, Interview, October 26, 2016). Since journalists often view police as holders of fact, some journalists reported relying on police to verify crime information while also infrequently verifying police information.

As Krasowski’s quote demonstrates, reporters are in the habit of going to the police to check information about the crime scene or events. She discussed not running the story until they get the go-ahead from the police so as to not “inhibit the police investigation” (Sandi Krasowski, Editor/Reporter, Chronicle Journal, September 26, 2016). Several journalists, including Robyn Doolittle in discussing her *Unfounded* reporting, explained how police reports and official comments are used to verify women’s stories of abuse. Even reporting that critiques the police still relies on official police reports to verify women’s stories. Several reporters said that they would not run a story of abuse unless there was documentation from the police or courts.

Verification practices are similar to waterway formation. A rushing river that connects two cities was once a tiny trickle. The more it flowed, the deeper the stream. One day, the stream becomes the Saskatchewan River, connecting Edmonton and Prince Albert and one cannot imagine another path the water could take. The more journalists rely on one source for verification, the deeper and more habitual the relationship becomes. Research on sourcing habits of beat reporters highlights the risk of overreliance on strong sources (Ericson et al. 1989). One day, it becomes a river, embedded in the daily practice. Like a long-standing river, the practice becomes an unquestioned, unnoticed backdrop. Like water pathways, verification practices can and do change, but changing habits can be difficult. Rather than view police and source influence over the news as solely the success of the source’s public relations (Lewis et al. 2008a), the

emphasis on journalist verification habits highlights how these source-media relationships become embedded in the strategic rituals of journalism.

Past research in Canada and elsewhere (Lee and McGovern 2013a; Mawby 2010; Chermak 1995; Ericson et al. 1989) suggests that the news media have long relied on police to write about crime. My study cannot assess changes in this relationship, but evidence suggests that the relationship continues to be strong. Given the shifting power of police and media, it is likely that the relationship has intensified. Domestic violence itself carries added liability concerns that intensify the need to rely on police.

Unlike stranger sexual violence, when naming a domestic violence victim, the accused is also outed by association. While newspapers run stories without police verification, they risk being sued for libel. Referencing a police report can legally deflect costs. The story published in the *Toronto Star* about a women's boxing gym and discussed in Chapter 3 demonstrates the pitfalls of not engaging police (Reynolds 2016). The story featured a woman whom they identified as a survivor of domestic violence, but did not verify the information with police. The man as the abuser contacted the *Star* and the *Star* wrote a correction (Toronto Star 2016). Several journalists brought up this story in our interviews. While the *Star* has since published women's stories of abuse, newsroom awareness of the story suggests that journalists might think twice about the financial and reputational implications. Taken together, journalists reported heavy reliance on police information for habitual verification and liability reduction.

Paradoxically, some journalists indicated that they often do not verify police information. While some of the reporters said that they wanted to double source police information "for an in-depth story," they articulated that it was common practice for shorter stories or briefs that "sometimes you have to" rely on single source police information (Matt Day, Multimedia

Journalist, Ottawa Citizen (former), Interview, March 31, 2017). This falls in line with research that finds that journalists often do not have time in a day to verify all their stories (Lewis et al. 2008b), and newspapers employ less staff dedicated to copyediting and quality control (Stepp 2009). For some, the reliance on single sources and less verification is a result of economic constraints on the news (Lewis et al. 2008b). The practice of not verifying police information is partially due to reduced news capacity. Yet, as I argued above, this is also related to a perception held by many journalists that police have 'facts' and police themselves are habitual sources by which other information is verified. It is no surprise that journalists reported using police to verify information, while not always verifying police information.

Local Factors

Relative power, ontological agreement, and a journalist's verification habits all point to extreme police influence over domestic violence news. This finding confirms Barbara Baerns' (1987) determination hypothesis: journalists are more likely to respond to and be influenced by strong sources that have dedicated public relations personnel and prioritize media relations (see also Donsbach 2004). Much of the research on police media relations suggests that police have the upper hand because they have increased institutional capacity (Ellis and McGovern 2015; Mawby 2010; Chermak and Weiss 2005; Chermak 1995). Feminist research on domestic violence news concurs: domestic violence news relies heavily on police sources (Simons and Morgan 2018; Chagnon 2016; Lindsay-Brisbin et al. 2014; Fairbairn and Dawson 2013; Gillespie et al. 2013; Richards et al. 2013). However, police are not the only source in domestic violence news and media. Still, if less frequently, they critique domestic violence policing (Chapters 2 and 3). While police influence the news, the outcome of the relationship is not a

foregone conclusion. In addition to the importance of newspaper size and ideology discussed in Chapter 3, I further argue that differing police communications strategies and the local colonial, racial, and gendered context also influences the police-media relationship and its effect on news coverage.

Differing Police Communication Strategies

When thinking about police-media relations as they relate to a specific crime, it is important to consider differences in how police communicate about that crime. Of the four police forces I studied, only Kingston Police regularly released information about domestic violence. The police officer in charge of Kingston Police's communications explained why they release information about domestic violence: "I've actually heard some [other police communications officials] say that we don't report on domestic issues. My question has been – why don't we? It is a social issue. It is ongoing. It is a large part of our job, but [to talk about it] is a social faux pas" (Steve Koopman, Constable – Media Relations Officer, Kingston Police, Interview, December 15, 2016). This, in turn, influences the amount of domestic violence news, something I outline below. As such, individual strategies of police forces might be consequential for the amount of domestic violence news reported.

Much of the literature on police-media relations examines the ways in which police media engagement is a form of 'image work' – to promote a positive image of the police and legitimize the institution (O'Connor 2017; Lee and McGovern 2013b; Liebermand et al. 2013; Chermak and Weiss 2005; Mawby 2001; Chermak 1995; Ericson et al. 1989). Stated another way, police engage in various activities in order to convince the public that police are good, needed, and necessary. Rather than a peripheral task, image work is a form of policing.

The literature is largely in agreement as to why image work is central to policing – it contributes to shoring up police legitimacy. The question becomes: where does police legitimacy come from? A nuanced definition of power is useful in this discussion. Power is legitimate when those exercising it and those who are subject to the power believe that the exercise of power is legitimate (Lee and McGovern 2013a, 107). However, David Beetham (1991) cautions against simply adopting the Weberian definition and instead argues that legitimacy is often based on a legal justification of power.[39] Rather than complying with the police because one believes that the police have the right to pull you over, legal legitimation creates a sense of obligation to comply with the law (Lee and McGovern 2013a). The three core components of police legitimacy are: the legal justification; the power-holders attempt to justify and their own belief in that power; and the audience or subject response and potential belief in legitimacy.

As noted above, the amount of police image work has intensified in recent years. There are multiple reasons for the increase of police image work activities. The rise of managerialist government policy has encouraged police in Britain, for example, to adopt a corporatist language (Mawby 2012, 28). Managerialist police communications refers to communication within all levels of the organization and to stakeholders outside the organization that are required to "get the job done" (ibid, 74). Since the new management of police is focused around effectiveness and, to a lesser extent, efficiency (ibid, 53), police communications itself needed to ramp up to demonstrate their effectiveness and need for more spending. Similar shifts towards corporate police structures have occurred as Canadian police forces started to modernize and professionalize in the 1990s (O'Malley and Hutchinson 2007).

[39] In Canada, police power is legislated by the Criminal Code, but the Supreme Court of Canada, the Charter of Rights and Freedom, sections 7 through 13, circumscribe these powers.

The public also demands more police transparency (Terpstra and Trommel 2009, 134). Mawby (2001, 44) states "the police have become amongst the most watched and the most visible" institution. Police operate in a heavily mediated society and need to communicate effectively (Mawby 2002a). John Thompson (1995, 135) refers to this as the "management of visibility." In Canada, citizens and government heavily scrutinize the police. Since audience belief in the legitimacy of power is one of the pillars of police legitimacy, this scrutiny might undermine police legitimacy. According to Mawby (2002a), police engage the media to demonstrate their accountability to the public and engage the public. But, it is not a simple issue of transparency as police try to control the content to promote a positive view of the police (ibid).

Police communications are predicated on maintaining an impossible image. Police are held responsible for crime prevention even though they cannot prevent crime; instead, police largely respond to crimes (Ericson 1982, 10). On top of which, police are supposed to work in the public interest, while also being accountable to diverging publics and political agents (Chermak and Weiss 2005, 502). Since the public mandate of modern policing has become about what policing should be, image management is a vital task to show that the institution is capable of meeting and exceeding these impossible standards (Chermak and Weiss 2005, 502).

Police may have similar reasons why they generally engage in police image work, but research is unclear as to why there are differences in specific police communications strategies. Police communications about gender-based violence is a gap in this literature. An article by Margaret Simons and Jenny Morgan (2018) is an exception. While they do not explain different police approaches to gendered violence, they argue that police attitudes have become more progressive and this explains positive changes in Australian news attention to gender-based

violence (ibid). It is thus important to understand theoretically and practically how different types of gender-based violence fit into police communications strategies.

Theoretically, releasing information about domestic violence could support or hinder a police force's image management strategy. Since domestic violence remains high in Canada (Burczycka 2018), police could wield their policing of the crime as a way to demonstrate their necessity. However, the ongoing high rates of domestic violence may increase concerns that police are potentially ineffective or not the right actor to address the violence and abuse. That domestic violence is considered a private matter, rather than a public safety risk, might further discourage police communication about the topic. Police know the perpetrators of domestic violence, so releasing information to the public is not needed to catch the 'bad guy' in most cases. There are also privacy concerns in releasing information about the victim. Since releasing information about the perpetrator and the crime often outs the victim, police are further incentivized to remain silent. In police communications, they want to demonstrate that they are doing a good job of catching 'bad guys' and protecting the public, while also showing that they are still needed to catch future 'bad guys'. Domestic violence can advance police image management goals, but there seem to be more reasons to focus on other crimes.

By way of comparison, releasing information about stranger sexual violence could also support or hinder police image management. Releasing information about the high rates of sexual violence might advance the police's goal of demonstrating their necessity. Unlike domestic violence, sexual violence committed by a stranger carries an obvious public safety risk. Police can show that they are the only institution to catch this 'bad guy.' Similar to domestic violence, police are tasked with protecting the identity of the victim. However, unlike domestic violence, naming a stranger rapist does not automatically out the victim as their relationship is

likely random. Police might be discouraged from releasing information about sexual violence if the rates are quite high, communicating to the public that the police are failing to protect people. In assessing the potential importance of police communicating about different forms of gender-based violence[40], contextual factors inform whether the police view either of these broad categories of gender-based violence as central to their communications strategy.

As an illustration, sexual violence, rather than domestic violence, is the cornerstone of the gendered image management strategy for both Ottawa and Toronto Police Services. Toronto Police Service regularly release information about sexual violence in part because Jane Doe – the fifth victim of the balcony rapist – successfully sued TPS in 1998 (Doe 2004). She won her case that called out the Toronto Police for using women in her neighbourhood as bait to catch this stranger rapist (Doe v. Metropolitan Toronto Police 1998).[41] Ottawa Police also communicate about stranger sexual violence more than domestic violence because it fits into their communications strategy clearer. The scary rapist-in-the-bushes archetype is a clear public safety concern that police need to address. To note, Ottawa Police are infamous for including victim blaming tropes in their press releases about sexual violence,[42] just as a Toronto constable in 2011 told women that they needed to "stop dressing like sluts" to not get victimized. Even though these police forces do not always communicate well about sexual violence, it, as crime, fits within an image management strategy to be seen as needed and necessary.

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[40] Gender-based violence includes crimes that do not fit into domestic or sexual violence. As I argued in Chapter 2, sexual violence within domestic relationships also occurs. I focus on these two categories as they are the ones most prevalent in the anti-violence world and police communication. I explain briefly in Chapter 5 about the effect the siloing anti-domestic and anti-sexual violence work occludes types of violence and knowledge. While I do not want to replicate that occlusion, the two artificial categories are meaningful to the people I interviewed and instructive regarding police communication.

[41] The police justified it as an investigative technique – that the rapist would simply change locations if the police warn women in the neighborhood. Toronto Police Service even threatened to charge Jane Doe with mischief for postering her neighbourhood warning that the rapist enters through balconies (Gotell 2012).

[42] After two rapes in the West End of Ottawa, the police included tips on how not to get raped (victim blame): "Try not to walk alone at night" or "Have your key ready as you approach your house or vehicle" or the ever-helpful "Don't enter environments where you feel unsafe." (Ottawa Police Service 2018)

Thunder Bay Police Service, on the other hand, do not regularly communicate about sexual or domestic violence. Both forms of gender-based violence do not fit into the three reasons why they release information – "to offer some insight into the organization," "crime prevention," and "public awareness" (Chris Adams, Executive Officer, Thunder Bay Police Service, Interview, August 29, 2016). They would only release information about domestic violence "if it was really needed to further the investigation. The only other reason would be public safety if we have an offender out there, and there is a potential for repeat violence" (ibid). Even so, they would avoid confirming that the case was a form of domestic violence. The reasons they gave are similar to concerns shared by all the police forces: "this is to protect the victim…[and] it's to not cause undue publicity that would allow people to identify who they are" (ibid). Police in Thunder Bay do not communicate about domestic violence because they already know who committed the crime, it violates a victim's privacy, and it does not demonstrate a need for intense policing.

Both Toronto and Ottawa Police Service cite concerns about privacy in domestic violence cases and recount similar, downplayed official communications strategies. One OPS communications staff recounted how he did not "recall sending out a news release about a domestic" in his time in the communications office because, in his words, OPS is "trying not to re-victimize the victim" (Marc Soucy, Constable, Ottawa Police Service, Interview, February 7, 2017). He further clarified that even if the media has the name of a DV victim/survivor, "we still won't confirm [the victim's name]" (ibid). A similar comment was made during an interview with Toronto Police communications staff. If a woman was murdered by her partner and "the media…call[s] and say[s]: 'could you [the police] tell us the relationship' and we [the TPS] would say no" (Meaghan Gray, Information and Issue Management Section Head, Toronto

Police Service, Interview, November 11, 2016). Toronto, Thunder Bay, and Ottawa police forces consistently refuse to release information about domestic violence, even in cases of domestic homicide.

In contrast, Kingston Police regularly release information about domestic violence, rather than sexual violence, to show themselves to be good at policing gender-based violence. The reason for this difference might have something to do with the fact that Kingston has a high rate of sexual violence in Kingston (Cossette 2018; Enrile 2013) and releasing information about sexual violence might undermine the police image as good at catching violent offenders. One story from my interviews underscores this theory. After learning a sex-offender had moved to Kingston, a woman called the Sexual Assault Centre Kingston (SACK) to pay for a billboard to notify the community about his presence. The police undermined the idea when they, through SACK, told the woman that "there's not a billboard big enough in the world to put all the sex offender's photos on" in Kingston (Elayne Furoy, Executive Director, Sexual Assault Centre Kingston, Interview, December 13, 2016). Domestic violence, for Kingston Police, is a more contained problem that can demonstrate that they are needed and are also good at arresting domestic violence abusers.

Racial and Gendered Policing

These police forces are embedded in very particular contexts that influence these gender-based violence strategies. I am pointing to the racial, colonial, and gendered politics of each city. Across the cities, how police use strategic communications about gendered violence seems related to racist policing practices. Since these practices look similar but not the same in each city, the communications also differ.

Toronto Police engage in racist practices and sometimes rely on racist tropes of non-white rapists to minimize these practices. Toronto Police's over-policing of Black and racialized communities is well-documented. An Ontario Human Right Commission (OHRC) report found that a Black person is 20 times more likely to be shot and killed as compared to a White person (OHRC 2018).[43] In addition to killing Black men, the police continue to card[44] predominately Black men, which positions Black men as potential suspects rather than the public that Toronto Police are meant to serve. Racialized bodies, and specifically Black bodies, are over-policed based on presumed criminality (Fleras and Elliot 1996). Past research has linked this to police-informed media reporting that justify the over-policing of Black Canadians (Mullings et al. 2016).

My review of Toronto and Ottawa police gender-based violence press releases from August to December 2016 evinced higher rates of racialized denotations for rape suspects. From the Toronto and Ottawa Police, I analyzed 242 press releases about some form of gender-based violence. 188 declared that the police solved the crime, while 54 were focused on asking the public for help. Thirty-nine percent of the press releases asking for public help included racialized mentions – "The man is described as black" (McLeod 2016) – while only 22% label the suspect as White. The racialization within the press releases hints at a possible explanation for the focus on sexual violence: police might be using these communications to justify or minimize ongoing racist policing practices.

[43] The list of men killed by Toronto Police include: 1970s – Albert Johnson. 1980s – Lester Donaldson. 1990s – Dominic Sabatino, Albert Moses, Faraz Suleman, Tommy Anthony Barnett, Andrew Bramwell, Wayne Williams, Hugh Dawson, Tony Romagnuolo, Henry Musaka. 2000s – Otto Vas, Antonio Bellon, Jeffrey Reodica, Christropher-Reid O'Brien, Sugstan Anthony Brookes, Ucal Lauzon, Duane Christian, Byron Debassige. 2010s – REyal Jardine-Douglas, Eric Oswae, Michael Eligon, Frank Berry, Sammy Yatim, Daniel Clause, Andrew Loku.
[44] Carding is the creation of contact cards to collect information about young men in 'random' street checks.

In the case of Ottawa, one can argue that the police likewise may look to violence against women, namely, stranger sexual violence rather than domestic violence, to minimize racialized policing.[45] One Ottawa Police killing draws out this point. On July 24, 2016, police were called to Bridgehead – a local Ottawa coffee chain – on Wellington Street West to address a man, Abdirahman Abdi, seen groping one woman. When the police arrived, Abdi ran to his apartment where police pepper sprayed him, beat him with batons and punched him with riot gloves. Abdi likely died before arriving at the hospital (Nease and Pritchard 2017). After an SIU investigation, Constable Daniel Montsion was charged with manslaughter, aggravated assault, and assault with a weapon in the death of Abdi, a Somali-Canadian man with mental health issues (ibid). The judge-only trial started in February 2019. While the police chief has not commented on the case, he continues to highlight that violence against women is a priority for his police force (Yogaretnam 2017). As the press release evidence above highlights, Ottawa police are more inclined to racialize rape suspects. In both Ottawa and Toronto, violence against women, often not domestic violence, can be a rhetorical device to deflect from or minimize racist policing.

In Thunder Bay, the police's colonial racism is well documented. Thunder Bay Police Service was under investigation by the Office of the Independent Police Review Director (OIPRD) for its poor investigation of both the murder of Stacy Bungee and the seven Indigenous youth who died in the river between 2000 and 2017. The final report found significant evidence of systemic police racism (McNeilly 2018). Thunder Bay may be one of the most obvious cases of police racism, but it would be a mistake to assume they are unique in Canada.

Thunder Bay Police colonial practices extend to its policing and lack of communication about domestic violence. My interview with the police communications official and pre-

[45] There is evidence that suggests White and racialized people are policed differently in Ottawa. A study found that racialized drivers are more likely to be stopped than White drivers (OHRC 2016; Foster et al. 2016).

interview with the police chief hinted at the issue. When I asked the communications official to define domestic violence, he defined it similar to my study. “It involves people who are in a relationship” (Chris Adams, Executive Officer, Thunder Bay Police Service, Interview, August 29, 2016). He was quick to double check I did not lump in violence against sex workers as domestic violence. “Sometimes there’s a tendency to believe that a lot of other incidents, especially involving street workers or anyone in the sex trade, that that blends into domestic violence investigations, but it doesn’t” (ibid). At the time, I thought the comments in the pre-interview and interview were odd. Of course, a john, pimp, or bodyguard abusing a sex worker is not domestic violence unless they are in an intimate relationship. While he clarified “a domestic violence victim [who is a sex worker] will not be treated any differently,” this linguistic insistence that sex work is not domestic violence was quite telling (ibid). Sex workers, in Thunder Bay, is often code for Indigenous women. The domestic violence politics is wrapped up in the politics of colonialism.

Thunder Bay police fear of research that might include sex workers – hidden under a definitional issue– is both gendered and racialized. Nishnawbe Aski Nation Deputy Grand Chief Anna Betty Achneepineskum reminded CBC that many Indigenous women “have been found dead as a result of being stigmatized, marginalized, labeled as a sex trade worker” (Porter 2016). It could include not taking seriously cases of violence, including sexual or intimate partner violence, against Indigenous women who are sex workers or assuming that an Indigenous woman is a sex worker and not taking the violence seriously as a result. Both incidents demonstrate a lack of care for Indigenous women who experience violence. The TBPS silence about domestic violence is rooted in colonial, racist, and sexist oppression.

In Kingston, silence around Indigenous women is also prevalent, but domestic violence is not wrapped up in the colonial politics.[46] Instead, domestic violence fits squarely into the way the police try to present themselves as good gendered citizens. Yet, unlike other gendered crimes like sexual violence, domestic violence is less politicized in Kingston. Domestic violence is the safer gendered topic for police. To be clear, sexism and racism is also at work in Kingston and in their police force. For example, one study identified a pattern where Kingston Police stop more non-white drivers (Wortley and Marshall 2005). Nonetheless, Kingston Police use their supposed goodness in the realm of domestic violence to obscure these issues, while Thunder Bay silences issues of domestic violence to focus on more "pressing" issues, in the name of racism.

How do Police Influence the News Media?

The specific techniques that police use to influence the news media are also important in understanding police image work and its effect on news coverage. Past research has identified several communication techniques police use to influence the news media, from selectively granting access to creating positive newsworthy events (Chermak 1995; Ericson et al. 1989). The increased sophistication of police communications has only increased the ways police can influence the news, as do news media factors. Chapter 3 clearly outlined the deleterious effects of neoliberalization of the news. The news needs strong sources like the police to cost-effectively produce the news (Chermak 1995, 30). The news specifically needs police sources as news consumers are very interested in crime news (Mawby 2001, 44). As such, just as the police are becoming better at influencing the news, newspapers are becoming more vulnerable to pressure. There are four specific categories of police communication strategies that I found through my

[46] Rather than being tied to colonial politics, sex work is packaged into discussions of trafficking - this discourse in Kingston is deeply problematic, but it does not complicate discussions of domestic violence.

interviews, observations, and textual analysis that are particularly relevant for domestic violence news: proactive communication, special access, relationship building, and pressure/silence.

Proactive Communication

The most obvious strategy police employ to influence the news is proactive communication – releasing information to the public or media rather than responding to media requests. In the words of an official media liaison officer with the Ottawa Police Service, "at the same time [as responding to media requests], we will often approach the media when we want to get a message out" (Jamie Dunlop, Inspector – CID, Ottawa Police Service, Interview, January 17, 2017). Researchers have studied various forms of police proactive communication, including: social media use (O'Connor 2017; Schneider 2016); public service announcements (Gerrits 2017); police attendance at events (Russell 2017); press releases (Lee and McGovern 2013b); and, formal meetings (Chermak 1995; Ericson et al. 1989). As noted above, only Kingston Police regularly release information about domestic violence, while the other police forces reported remaining largely silent on the issue. However, all four police forces discussed potential strategies of proactive communication that would directly apply to domestic violence.

The police forces engage in proactive communication about domestic violence reports, prevention efforts, committee work, and other positive policing initiatives related to domestic violence. This includes, for example, targeting particular journalists who would be more inclined to write a story about domestic violence. One police communications official said,

> I know one reporter who is interested in domestic violence. When there is something that we can call them about a report, or about a new thing that Ottawa Police is trying in relation to our partners because we have a VAW advisory committee and we are trying to build new training and things for the police. If I let them know about it when it's proper, then they are appreciative of that. (Jamie Dunlop, Inspector – CID, Ottawa Police Service, Interview, January 17, 2017)

Similar to early studies that found that police create newsworthy topics by announcing new programming, accomplishments, and arrest statistics (Chermak 1995, 28), all the four police forces engaged in some form of proactive communication with regards to domestic violence. Kingston Police often release press releases about domestic violence, while the other four release positive information about the policing of domestic violence in more infrequent reports, press conferences, new initiatives, and so on.

Special Access

Police also try to influence the news by granting access selectively to journalists (Ericson et al. 1989). One of the few dedicated local stories about domestic violence written in the *Chronicle Journal* (Thunder Bay) during my sample period (2014-2016) was written with this special access. The police communications official sent the reporter a list of three topics that he could cover and get unprecedented access to the police to write. The reporter chose domestic violence. The headline reads: "Domestic violence unit *much* busier than last year" (Vis 2016, A1, emphasis added). The story largely focuses on how the police are addressing the high rates of domestic violence, although the story also gives cursory information about a local domestic violence shelter. The piece is fluffy – the police do a great job and there are good connections with the local community. The journalist writes of the domestic violence unit, the "officers also have developed connections with a number of different community partners and know how to get the victims the help they need" (ibid). Since the police gave the story to the reporter, it is no surprise that the piece is favourable to the police. Through granting access, police are able to have larger control over the media narrative and simultaneously look like they are more open and transparent (Ericson et al. 1989).

Granting access also happens alongside denying or limiting access. Police forces get to determine who they view as valid press. In Ottawa, Toronto, and Kingston, the police have been more liberal in defining press access. In Thunder Bay, however, "we have chosen to take the more conservative route, dealing with accredited journalists only" (Chris Adams, Executive Officer, Thunder Bay Police Service, Interview, August 29, 2016). Thunder Bay Police specifically deny access to people they determine to be citizen journalists who do not work for large media organizations. Their rationale is that they cannot exert pressure over the agency to ensure accuracy and fairness in reporting. This concern is by no means unfounded. However, it demonstrates an additional tool that police can use to control information.

Relationship Building

As I introduced in Chapter 3, past research likened journalist-source relationships to a dance (Gans 1979). Sometimes the journalist leads and sometimes the source leads. However, ample evidence suggests that police lead the dance more frequently (Ellis and McGovern 2015; Mawby 2010; Chermak and Weiss 2005). In order for the dance to nevertheless look like a dance, both police and journalists often focus on building relationships with each other. These relationships are normalized habits, built intentionally or accidentally. That journalists rely on police for facts and verification primes the establishment of a strong relationship. What is clear from my interviews is that police communications officials are often intentional about building these relationships. Much in line with the public relations literature (Ledingham and Bruning 1998), a key component of police image management is relationship management.

Much of the intentional relationship building is related to increased professionalization and capacity of police communications. From being more available and better trained to answer

questions, professional police communications personnel are well-equipped to build professional relationships with journalists. One police communications official explained it as follows,

> We have dialogue back and forth. So, it's not just about them asking me for information. Sometimes I highlight a particular case for them. Or, when we have particular concerns for missing persons or things like that, there's plenty of times when we call and have that dialogue. I just talk to people on a regular basis. (Meaghan Gray, Information and Issue Management Section Head, Toronto Police Service, Interview, November 11, 2016)

Similar to the above strategies, Gray outlines how her availability, willingness to talk, and ability to give journalists scoops all build relationships. To "just talk" is a key form of public relations (Ledingham and Bruning 1998).

Pressure/Silence

In addition to proactively communicating, granting special access, and building relationships, police withhold information and pressure journalists to not print information about domestic violence. This was true in the past with Canadian police and crime news – they could threaten to cut off access to information and journalists then must rely on outside, often less credible, sources (Ericson et al. 1989, 210). More subtly, "a police department can eliminate a story from media consideration by not releasing a crime incident report" (Chermak 1995, 26). This type of activity came up in my interviews, particularly in interviews about Thunder Bay and Ottawa.

In Thunder Bay, both police and journalists highlighted this tactic. The police said of their relationship with the local media, "we have the ability to say to [the reporter], yes, we are at so-and-so's address, we wouldn't name the person. We would say, your information is right we were responding, it's a domestic violence issue" (Chris Adams, Executive Officer, Thunder Bay Police Service, Interview, August 29, 2016). Anomalies aside, when the police say "we wouldn't name the person," the *Chronicle Journal* generally does not. By not confirming that a case is a

form of domestic violence, domestic violence is amalgamated into the broader statistics of assault and homicide or not covered at all.

It is rare for the *Chronicle Journal* to print the relationship between a victim and accused against the wishes of the police, but it does happen. One journalist discussed this rarity in the coverage of a murdered Indigenous woman in Thunder Bay.

> Last year, my boss at time and I were working on getting that paper finished…[and] the call came over the scanner that a serious assault [had occurred] …Our TV division did send somebody there. And he said lots of police, people were telling him to go away, like this is a personal matter and then a press release come out later in the day that it was a serious assault…the next day I was on my computer and somebody shared something on Facebook…she had posted something like our angel is gone…I remember calling into our office saying you guys need to check with the police, I'm seeing a post claiming she has died…we called. [The police] were not telling us anything… And I'm, like, well, it's out there that this is a homicide now and we have the name of the victim now. (Matt Vis, Reporter, Chronicle Journal, Interview, September 26, 2016).

The news did run the story against the wishes of the police. However, both police and reporters identified that this is not typical as they typically follow the police's lead.

The Ottawa Police also discussed trying to pressure the news media to cover domestic violence differently. One police spokesperson discussed the problem with the news releasing the perpetrator's name because it "releases the victim's name because everybody knows that they are connected. (Jamie Dunlop, Inspector – CID, Ottawa Police Service, Interview, January 17, 2017). To try to pressure the newspaper to report on the story differently, the police might "contact the board or higher ups in whatever media and just raise our concerns" (ibid). Emphasizing that it is in "our interest to maintain professionalism" and recognize the media as "an independent body" and "freedom of the press" (ibid), Ottawa Police's approach to pressuring the media seems much less successful than Thunder Bay.

However, the stories in the sample suggest that police pressure might be more effective after the Postmedia-Sun buyout finalized in 2015. Before the merger, the two papers had more resources to dedicate to digging up non-police stories about domestic violence. Both the *Ottawa*

Sun and *Citizen* published local domestic violence stories, including one about a murder suicide that levelled a subtle critique of previous police interventions (Yogaretnam 2014b). After the merger, both newspapers only published one story each. While I cannot directly attribute this to police silence, it does suggest that, at the very least, the merger made it harder for reporters to find and report on domestic violence stories.

In a few stories that critique domestic violence policing, the coverage criticizes the cozy relationship between police and news media and illustrates the problems with police silence. One *Star* story questions police communications policy to not confirm the names and relationship of those involved in domestic violence cases.

> A Vaughan man was charged last week with second-degree murder in the death of his wife, but police are keeping their names secret. The Star confirmed through publicly accessible court documents that the accused is Reza Salehzadeh, 43, and the victim is 36-year-old Fereshteh Massoudian. York Regional Police have so far refused to identify the couple or the cause of death, according to a spokesperson, because the alleged murder is a suspected case of domestic violence…The names of accused persons and victims in murder investigations are generally released by most police forces, including York. The force's exception is this case is unusual and concerning, say critics, who worry that key information about the worst type of crime is being withheld from the public and that domestic incidents are still being viewed as largely private affairs. (Gallant 2015)

This article highlights the dangers of relying on police, as police can silence domestic violence stories and advance understandings of domestic violence as a private issue. Pressuring journalists to not release information about domestic violence can take the form of direct pressure, as was the case with Thunder Bay and Ottawa. By not confirming the names of the people involved and their relationship, the police put pressure on journalists to not release that information. Since news organizations often rely on police for verification, this police silence may be effective. Taken together, the police use various tools related to the professionalization of police communications and their institutional position to try to influence the news. The question becomes: to what effect?

The Outcomes of Police Influence on Domestic Violence News

The literature identifies the potential outcomes of this asymmetrical relationship. Some argue that the media plays a paradoxical role of fostering a positive image of police (McGovern and Lee 2010; Chermak 1995, 33) and holding police accountable (Mawby 2001). In terms of the influence on news content, Steven Chermak (1995, 26) found that police influenced news selection and production decisions in his analysis of U.S. police-media relations: "police personnel play an important role in the production of stories, deciding what aspects of an incident are downplayed or emphasized." This hints at the fact that most crime news tends to focus on specific incidents and police influence these stories (ibid, 35), but Chermak does not unpack the precise influence on framing. It is an understudied question about the effect police have on domestic violence news coverage and is a core component of one of two research questions for this dissertation – **What explains contemporary patterns of domestic violence news coverage and its framing?** I find that police influence the extent to which journalists consider domestic violence newsworthy at the local level and influence local individualization and Indigenous racialization.

Police Dominate the News: Framing Evidence

That police influence domestic violence framing is unsurprising. Police are the most commonly cited source in my sample – a finding consistent with both crime news (McGovern and Lee 2010; Ericson et al. 1989) and domestic violence news (Fairbairn and Dawson 2013; Gillespie et al. 2013). Past research also found that police influence the selection and presentation of the news (Chermak 1995). The trend is likely stronger as police 'image management' has become

more prolific and sophisticated (Lee and McGovern 2013a). In fact, in one study on Australian police influence on gender-based violence news found that shifts in the news discourses were the result of shifts in police attitudes rather than shifts in journalism (Morgan and Simon 2017). While police communications literature generally does not use a framing analysis, one can easily see that the analysis is primed to consider how police are associated with specific domestic violence frames.

The textual analysis illustrates that police are associated with all the frames. Police are weakly associated with victim blame, racialization, and thematic frames. Across the sample, police are associated more strongly with Indigenous racialization. Consistent with research that found an association between episodic framing and police sourcing (Chagnon 2015; Bullock 2007), police are also associated with individualization. However, I nuance previous assertions as I find that there is only a discernible relationship at the local level. They are also the backbone of carceral framing (Chapter 2). Since the variables are coterminous, I will not include a discussion of this association, as it is endogenous.

Victim blame

Police as news sources are weakly associated with stories that use victim blaming tropes (p=.000; Cramer's V=.088). Just under a quarter of the victim blame stories (24%) include a police source. What this suggests is that police are not driving the use of victim blaming tropes. This finding is surprising and unsurprising. Research (Du Mont et al. 2003) and media reports in Canada (Doolittle 2017) suggest that police use victim blaming language when dealing with survivors of gendered violence. One might expect a stronger association. Conversely, police image work has become more sophisticated; police may have learned to use less victim blaming

tropes. Despite the sophistication, police nonetheless do contribute to the news coverage that blames victims.

Police use of victim blaming tropes in their media engagement contributes to the frame. In some of the victim blame stories, the police introduce the victim blaming tropes. For example, a news brief modeled after a police press release reads: "police later found the woman, and while interviewing her, discovered there were several domestic assaults in the past that had not been reported to the police" (Barrie Examiner 2014, A3). This quote may be referencing a pattern of abuse, but it reads more like an indictment of a failure to report abuse (see Chapter 2). While police do not propel the victim blame frame, police do contribute to the frame.

Thematic Framing

Police are also weakly associated with thematic framing. A quarter of the thematic stories include a police source (25%), a significant (p=.007) but weak association (Cramer's V=.094). The weak association likely means that police have a stronger affinity to parts, not all, of thematic stories. The question becomes, what parts of thematic framing are police associated with?

Police are largely absent from social justice-type discussions within the thematically framed stories. None of the stories that discuss feminism, patriarchy, sexism, or discrimination based on immigration include the police. In the two mentions of racism and colonialism in which police are included as sources in the story, police do not bring up the terms. Instead, in one story, the Assembly of Manitoba Chiefs recommends that police need "better training…of the problem [of MMIW&G] and its roots in racism" (Rabson 2015, A7). The exception is that police talk about socioeconomic factors that contribute to domestic violence. In over a quarter of the stories

that mention socioeconomic factors (28%), police are listed as sources. The police sometimes even introduce the discussion. The overall trend is nonetheless clear – police are weakly associated with thematic framing, but not stories that include social justice discussions. Since some feminist media scholars, myself included, view social justice framing as a pillar of better news (Gillespie et al. 2013; Mazurok 2010), it is unmistakable that, unlike Simons and Morgan's (2018) finding, police are not contributing to a shift towards better news.

Instead, police are associated with solutions within the thematic stories. In Chapter 2, I argued that most thematically framed stories focused depoliticized state solutions and interventions, rather than broader discussions of inequality or social justice. Carceral framing is a partner in this depoliticization and naturalization of carceral state responses to domestic violence. The evidence is slightly bolstered when one takes the argument from the perspective of police sourcing. Nineteen percent of the discussions of solutions and 40% of the discussions of prevention reference one or more police source. Both relationships are significant (p=.043 and p=.011 respectively) but very weak (Cramer's V=.071 and =.089 respectively). Since police are not always seen as the solution or the key to prevention, I will not make too much out of the evidence. Instead, that police as sources are associated depoliticized state responses rather than social justice discussions reinforces my argument from Chapter 2 that media is implicated in constructing naturalness of the carceral state as the only (good) way to respond to domestic violence.

Racialization

News reliance on police sources is weakly associated with racialization (p=.001 and Cramer's V=.115). Nearly a quarter (24%) of the racialized stories include a police source. The weakness

of the association might seem contradictory to evidence presented earlier. Journalists said they rely on police to determine whether racial demographic information is relevant (Chapter 3). Yet, only 13% of the personal attributions of racial characteristics are associated with police as source. This is not to say that police do not include racialized mentions that news picks up on. Three police brief stories mention that one or more of the people involved is Indigenous, while an additional seven use other racializing language. It would be a mistake to claim that police do not use racializing language, just as it would be a mistake to argue that they drive news racialization of domestic violence. On the other hand, this is not surprising as Chapter 3 also detailed how much of the racialization coverage is derived from news wire content. As such, much like victim blaming, police do not impel the frame, but they do contribute to it.

Police are also associated with Indigenous racialization. Police are sources in 61% of the stories that reference that the violence and/or people involved are Indigenous. The association is significant (p=.000) and moderately strong (Cramer's V=.213). Since this same relationship is not statistically significant when one narrows in on the local stories only, the relationship is likely the product of a combination of local, national, and news wire stories. This tracks with the sample as there was a lot of pick up about the RCMP report on MMIW&G. That being said, the association across the sample is not solely being driven by this story as some police at the local level are indeed associated with racializing the perpetrator, victim, and/or crime itself.

Most prevalently, news articles covered the police characterization of domestic violence within Indigenous communities as a rampant community problem. Several newspapers reprinted the Canadian Press (CP) article as a news brief on June 20, 2015, that quoted then-RCMP Deputy Commissioner Janice Armstrong saying that "Aboriginal women continue to be most frequently killed by men they know" and "there is an unmistakable connection between

homicide and family violence" (Telegraph-Journal 2015, A7). The article refers to an RCMP (2015, 3) report that over-emphasized how much family violence contributes to MMIW&G: "RCMP homicide data from 2013 to 2014 shows a strong nexus to family violence. Female victims, regardless of ethnicity, are most frequently killed by men within their homes and communities." A few news stories reprinted the longer CP article that unpacked the category of "men they know" to demonstrate that the RCMP included "an encounter between a sex trade worker and a john" (Kirkup 2015, A5). While none of the CP articles critiqued the RCMP's definition of family violence, the longer version does include reference to the Assembly of First Nation continuing to call for an "action to address a national crisis" (ibid).

In contrast, one article that discussed the RCMP report was overtly critical of the characterization of MMIW&G. In the *Globe and Mail,* the reporters juxtaposed the former Conservative federal government's and RCMP's assertion "that the disproportionate number of deaths and disappearance [of indigenous women and girls] is largely related to domestic violence" with the fact that "a white serial killer" is also murdering Indigenous women and girls (Galloway and Blaze Carlson 2015, A1). Just as I pointed out in the discussion of carceral framing in Chapter 2, these critiques of police racialization are rare. Instead, the majority of racialization of the perpetrator is directly linked to the RCMP's erroneous proclamation that domestic violence is a decontextualized Indigenous problem.

In my discussion of the racialization findings in Chapter 2, I argued that this communalization of violence within Indigenous communities draws on Canadian nationhood myths. It reinforces that Indigenous people are "patriarchal" (Thobani 2007, 5), "savage" (ibid 28), and a tax payer burden (ibid 4). What I am adding here is nuance to who advances these myths. Police are implicated in advancing the narrative of 'uncivilized' Indigenous people and

the news media is, at times, amplifying this narrative without explanation or critique. This is a form of othering that specifically works towards justifying harsh carceral responses.

This type of racialization is important to unmask as the RCMP and other policing institutions in Canada have an ongoing legacy of violence towards Indigenous people predicated on 'helping them.' There are various cases in which Canadian police forces enacted violence against Indigenous women (Palmater 2016; Dhillon 2015), something largely unspoken in the RCMP report. In one egregious case, eight Quebec provincial police were suspended with pay as the result of reports of physical and sexual assaults against Indigenous women in Val d'Or (MacKenzie 2015). Originally the local politicians and police union did not acknowledge the problem and instead, the police union further argued that it was the Indigenous community that caused the problems and these officers were "scapegoats" (quoted in Palmater 2016, 274). Rather than expose the racism in policing, news coverage of Indigenous domestic violence bolsters the colonial argument that policing of Indigenous communities is good, necessary, and needed.

Individualization

Police are associated with individualization, consistent with earlier work that found police as sources are associated with episodic framing (Chagnon 2015; Bullock 2007). However, in this dataset, the association is only evident at the local level. There is no meaningful relationship between police source and individualization across the sample. The only measure of police influence that is associated with individualization beyond the local level is the relationship between police brief-based stories and the frame. Nearly all the police brief stories (92%) are individualized and this relationship is significant (p=.000), but relatively weak (Cramer's

V=.167). For stories written by local reporters about local issues and published in local newspapers, police are associated with individualization (see Coding Frame in Appendix F for local variable). Almost all (93%) of the local stories based on police briefs are individualized (p=.000, Cramer's V=.272). Over half (52%) of the local individualized stories use police sources. The association is significant (p=.000) and moderately strong (Cramer's V=.238).

Since previous research has found a close relationship between local police and local newspapers (McGovern and Lee 2010; Chermak 1995; Ericson et al. 1989), it is logical that the relationship between police and news framing might become closer at the local level. Police and journalists are likely to build a relationship when working in the same town (Mawby 2010; Lewis et al. 2008a). Local news is also more reliant on local sources, including crime stories, to fill the pages of their paper, with one study finding that 76% of local U.K. news relied solely on one source (O'Neill and O'Connor 2008). It is then not surprising that individualization and police as sources might be linked at the local level but not across the sample.

Local news (40% of the sample) is vital to the health of Canadian democracy and it showing strong signs of decline. The local section is where people should be able to find out about their city policy changes, crime in their area, and community news. A crowd-sourced platform reports a massive decrease in local news outlets between January 1, 2008, and February 1, 2019. A whopping 269 outlets closed in that period, affecting 194 communities (Local News Research Project 2019). This includes 195 community papers, 13 paid daily newspapers, and 44 outlets that closed due to mergers (ibid). Local news is not thriving. Driving the dearth of local news are the closures and changes to local newspapers. Daily, weekly, or monthly newspapers have closed in 180 communities (ibid). Less attention to local politics, crime, and community issues might contribute to decreased community health, increased corruption, and decreased

quality of Canada's democracy. Additionally, police strong influence on local domestic violence frames does not contribute towards police accountability and in-depth understanding of the social causes of domestic violence.

Police Dominate the News: Newsworthiness

The associations between police and news frames paints a partial picture of police influence on domestic violence news. The associations are not clear evidence of causation. It could very well be the case that journalists turn to police when they are writing stories about domestic violence between individuals or Indigenous people. It could also be the case that police have a more active media engagement strategy that influences this framing. My analysis of both the associations and reported interactions in my interviews bolsters the claims that the increased capacity and sophistication of police image management influences what stories are presented and how they are presented (Lee and McGovern 2013a; Mawby 2002b; Chermak 1995).

I find that police influence journalists' assessments of newsworthiness or "what makes a story worth telling" (Jiwani 2006, 38). In contrast to research that suggests that these assessments "still largely resides with journalism" (Friedrich et al. 2015, 69), police play a much larger role in determining what domestic violence stories are newsworthy. Both police and journalists told me in their interviews that police influence a journalist's decision to pursue and write a domestic violence story. Since the influence is largely contextual, I found that evidence of an effect was strongest in the two smaller cities. Kingston Police, rather than Thunder Bay Police, regularly released information about domestic violence, which resulted in more stories published in Kingston.

Cut and Paste Journalism

Both journalists and police communications officials explained that police influence what stories make the news. At the most basic level, journalists engage in what others have termed "copy and paste journalism" or churnalism (Jackson and Moloney 2016). This includes formulaically reporting on police social media releases, as well as copying and pasting police press releases into the newspaper as news. In a study of Australian crime news, for example, one study found that 67% of all crime related stories came from the police public relations office and were reported almost verbatim (Lee and McGovern 2013b). While I cannot assess how closely Canadian newspapers copy police press releases, the interviews, observations, and review of police press releases find that Canadian newspapers also closely follow police media releases.

One radio room reporter at the *Toronto Star* explained how police social media releases are covered. The police post a story, headline, or a full press release to Twitter. Those in the radio room[47] follow a formula to write a blurb for the newspaper. The intern quickly and factually answers the basic who, what, where, and why and sends it off to their editor. If the police do not include enough information, the intern might need to call the police communications staff. This is not required for more fully fleshed out releases. With editing, the short brief is posted to the website and might make the hardcopy of the newspaper. The radio room intern stressed how quick they could write the brief as it followed a writing formula – before reading the press release, "I already know how I would write it" (Interview, November 2016). A radio room reporter cannot write a brief about domestic violence unless the police release one.

[47] The *Star* used to employ journalism students as interns in the radio room. The program was suspended (Goldsbie 2018). Various interns had positive experiences and others reported being bullied by editors (Gershon 2018).

The same is true of the reporters who rely heavily on police press releases for stories. Local journalists are not chasing sirens. They receive a nicely packaged list of crimes from the night before and reprint the police stories sometimes without calling to verify details. One reporter at the *Whig* told me how much she enjoyed working with one police communications official because he "was good at writing press releases like news stories" (Steph Crosier, Journalist, Kingston Whig Standard, Interview, June 2, 2017), confirming that police in Canada are also taking on more journalistic roles (Ellis and McGovern 2015). A reporter from Thunder Bay's *Chronicle Journal* said, "We rely on those press releases" (Sandi Krasowski, Editor/Reporter, Chronicle Journal, Interview, September 26, 2016). Another said, "Police releases are usually higher priority because crime is always something the community is interested in" (Jeff Labine, Reporter, Chronicle Journal, Interview, September 27, 2016). From the introduction vignette, the news worker said in reflecting on how little they edit police press releases, "The stuff that comes from the police generally you don't have to worry as much about" (Interview 2017). Local news reports less crime news and more news by police.

Indeed, 14% of the stories in the sample pull directly from police press releases. To identify if the story appeared to derive from a police press release, the story had to have three out of four factors: a story label such as "cops roundup" or "police brief"; lead sentence summarizing police activity; 80% or more paragraphs citing the police; and, no other story sources.[48] For example, in the news section entitled "Cops roundup," the *Whig* wrote a story that started by noting that "a 23-year-old local male in police custody [is] facing charges in relation to domestic violence and threats" (2016, A3). All five paragraphs directly reference the police and

[48] I identified these factors by reviewing police press releases from all four cities (Thunder Bay January 2014 to August 2016 and Kingston, Toronto, and Ottawa August to December 2016). Ideally, I would have compared the individual press release against the story. However, police in Ottawa Police and Toronto Police cited privacy concerns when I asked for historical press releases. To compensate, I developed a typology, which was beneficial in the analysis of the entire sample beyond the four case studies.

no other sources. While the author may have changed a few words, this story and those like it rely heavily on the police press release. In the most extreme cases, newspapers are reprinting police press releases as news – consistent with other findings that journalists "copy and paste" police press releases (Jackson and Moloney 2016) or reprint police press releases almost 'verbatim' (Lee and McGovern 2013b). In the most conservative interpretation of the evidence, newspapers are reporting on stories that come from the police without including other balancing information – just as other research found that journalists rely heavily on one local source to report local news (Lewis et al. 2008b; O'Neill and O'Connor 2008).

Not all reporters reprint police press releases or rely heavily on police information to report on domestic violence stories. One former reporter from the *Ottawa Sun* indicated, "If there was a press release, it feels like we almost got beat almost" (Matt Day, Multimedia Journalist, Ottawa Citizen (former), Interview, March 31, 2017). The degree to which journalists and newspapers rely on police is a factor of broader political-economic factors (Lewis et al. 2008b), newspaper orientation (Chapter 3), and sociology within the newsroom (Ericson et al. 1989).

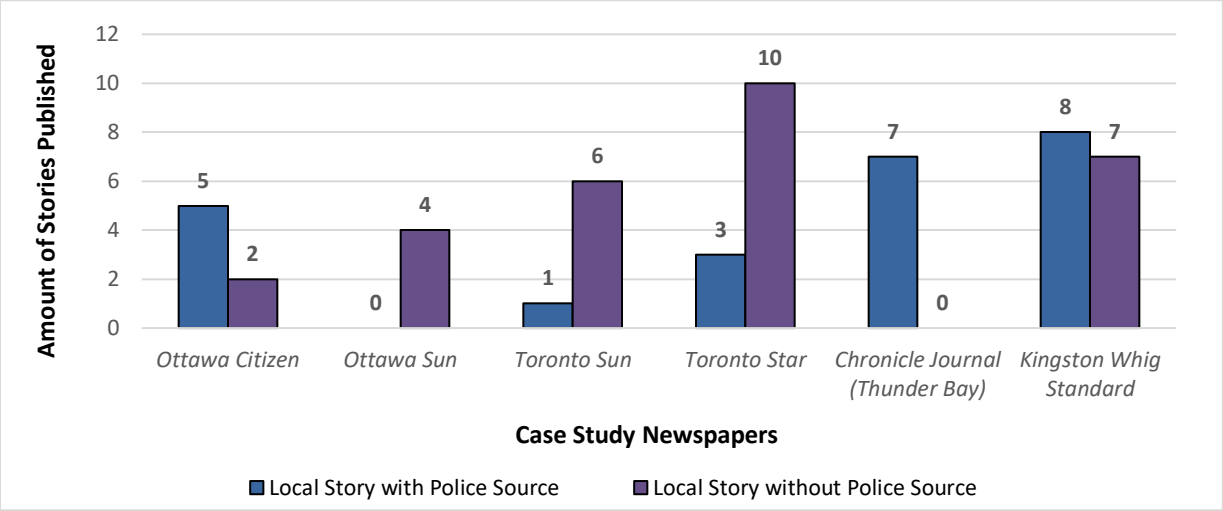
Local Amounts of News

The two smaller city case studies further bolster my argument that police influence newsworthiness. Consistent with a study of U.S. police-media relations (Chermak 1995, 28), local journalists in Kingston and Thunder Bay rely on the police to tell them if a domestic violence story is worth pursuing. When the police force releases information about domestic violence more frequently (Kingston), the newspaper published more stories about domestic violence.

Kingston Police regularly released information about domestic violence, which the newspaper in turn reprinted. During my sample period, the lone communications officer regularly issued press releases about domestic violence and gave interviews on the topic. Recounting the murder of Kaitlan Babcock by a former partner, the story quotes Koopman: "We are confirming that there was a current or former relationship between the victim in this case and the suspect" (Crosier 2015, A1). While Koopman is no longer the police officer in charge of communications, his successor continues to regularly write domestic violence press releases. This includes, for example, an interview with the *Globe and Mail* claiming that Kingston Police's communications strategy about domestic violence is resulting in better reporting of domestic violence to the police (Gibson 2018).

In contrast, Thunder Bay Police rarely released information about domestic violence, which resulted in fewer stories printed in the local newspaper. The reasons for this I discussed above in relation to differing police communications strategies. Reading through almost three years of Thunder Bay Police press releases (January 2014 to August 2016), the police accurately represented their silence on domestic violence.

Figure 4.1: Police Influence on Local News



As a result, the two newspapers evidence different amounts of attention to domestic violence. It is important to keep in mind: Thunder Bay has higher levels of domestic violence than Kingston and one might expect proportionally more stories. Figure 4.1 reports the differences in the amounts of local stories that rely on police. Both the *Kingston Whig Standard* and Thunder Bay's *Chronicle Journal* published nearly the same number of police-sourced local stories: the *Whig* published eight, the *Chronicle Journal* published seven. This seems counter to my argument that Thunder Bay Police do not release domestic violence information. However, with the exception of one story, all those local police sourced stories in the *Chronicle Journal* are from other local police forces. These stories were coded as local because the *Chronicle Journal* considers itself to be a local newspaper to a large portion of northwest Ontario (Chronicle Journal 2019). I included the communities where they regularly station a full or part-time reporter, which included the general area surrounding Thunder Bay up to Marathon in the southeast. In the *Whig*, the opposite is true. Only one of the local stories is from another local police force – the OPP stationed just north of Kingston. The *Whig* published more domestic violence stories from police in the city as compared the *Chronicle Journal*. The *Whig* also published more local stories.

In both cases, carceral framing dominated the news. All the stories published in the *Chronicle Journal* are carcerally framed and all but one story published in the *Whig* are carcerally framed. For the former, all these stories, and, for the latter, more than half (57%) of the stories came from the police. *The Whig* also has a dedicated court reporter, whom I introduced in Chapter 3. She and the newspapers coverage of the court and prison system accounts for the remaining 43% of carcerally framed stories. What is clear in both cases is that the carceral state forms the basis of local domestic violence news.

From my observations of the *Whig* in June 2017, I would predict that the gap in the amount of reporting will grow between the *Whig* and *Chronicle Journal*. When I was sitting in the *Whig* for a week, a reporter reprinted a police press release about domestic violence in the newspaper every day and, one day, they reprinted two police press releases. Even though I did not observe the *Chronicle Journal*, nothing from my interviews with journalists or police would suggest that they might increase their reporting of domestic violence. The argument is simple – local journalists rely heavily on local police to report on domestic violence and to determine a story's newsworthiness.

Concluding Thoughts

To varying degrees, journalists rely heavily on the police for verification, 'facts', framing, and significance. The textual evidence lays out a clear case that police influence domestic violence news, from local individualization, to Indigenous racialization framing, to local assessments of newsworthiness. By shifting the focus to police communications practices, this chapter adds depth to an understanding of domestic violence news production. This analysis confirms that changes in news coverage of domestic violence will likely be partially the result of changes in how police talk about domestic violence, similar to an Australian finding (Simons and Morgan 2018). The difference is that Canadian police forces are not strongly associated with shifting news coverage to discuss social causes and issues.

Police differ in their views of domestic violence communications, a further contributing factor to differences in local news coverage. Kingston Police articulated the importance of communicating about domestic violence and the local media followed, while all the other police forces rarely communicate about the topic. The newspapers in Thunder Bay and Ottawa, after the

merger, covered domestic violence less. The reasons why police influence both domestic violence framing and assessments of newsworthiness falls in line with my analysis from Chapter 3 – the relationship is clearly conditioned by relative power and political-economic factors, but day-to-day routines and journalistic norms cement the relationship.

This study thus unmasks the newspapers' claims of independence in a shifting news landscape. The question becomes one of accountability – if local journalists and newspapers buy into police narratives, who will hold the police accountable? While this is not a simple case of ruling powers (police, government, and media) colluding (Herman and Chomsky 1988), this analysis raises concerns about the state of local news. Even though police do not dictate all domestic violence news, I will argue that in the following chapter that there is little balance in sourcing and the influence of the source on the news. Anti-violence advocates are the second most frequently cited source and are associated with certain frames. Yet, police play a much more significant role in the assessment of the newsworthiness of domestic violence and its framing.

Chapter 5: Anti-Violence Media Engagement and Domestic Violence Frames

Experts and service workers in the anti-violence sector also play an important role in Canadian news coverage of domestic violence (2014-2016). Evidence presented in previous chapters suggests that one cannot overlook anti-violence sources. They are the second most frequently cited type of source (20% in the overall stories and 23% in local stories). That one fifth of the stories quoted an anti-violence source suggests that journalists may regularly rely on anti-violence advocates to provide specific perspectives and/or anti-violence media engagement is effective. In fact, I argued in Chapter 3 that journalists often rely on anti-violence advocates to fill out a story, provide balance or context, a finding consistent with an Australia study (Simons and Morgan 2018). What remains unanswered, **In what ways, if any, do anti-violence advocates' media engagement influence domestic violence framing patterns?**

I started this project with a simplistic understanding of anti-violence advocates and feminists as 'good girls' who promote nuanced domestic violence news coverage. With this flawed logic, I expected that advocates would not contribute to patterns of racializing responsibility (43% of the sample), responsibilizing individuals (73% of the sample), blaming victims for their experiences (30% of the sample), or advancing carceral solutions (50% of the sample). If anti-violence advocates do contribute to these discourses, one might view them as dupes of the system or 'bad girls.' One might also assume that anti-violence advocates contribute to the best parts of thematic framing (40% of the sample) – social justice focused stories – that resist neoliberal and carceral discourses. This logic falls into a common trap in feminist literature that presents a "dichotomous understanding of feminism as *either* coopted *or* resistant" (Eschle and Maiguashca 2018, 224), a trap that obscures the nuanced relationship between anti-violence advocates and domestic violence frames.

To move beyond this trap, I start this chapter by clarifying the relationships between anti-violence advocacy, work, feminism, and social change and by documenting two relevant factors of the anti-violence movement's history – welfare retrenchment and carceral feminism. This sets the stage to understand a typology of four types of media engagement (resistance, cooptation, compliance, and non-participation) I inductively developed from the data. Relying on textual evidence from the large sample of news stories and interview[49] evidence from my four case studies (Toronto, Ottawa, Thunder, and Kingston), I explain the relationships between types of anti-violence media engagement and the three framing patterns associated with anti-violence advocates as sources – (1) domestic violence is the outcome of gendered systems of oppression and inequality; (2) domestic violence relies on the stories of survivors; and, (3) domestic violence requires carceral punishment. I argue anti-violence advocates do influence domestic violence framing patterns, but this influence must be contextualized within broader relationships between anti-violence advocates, the state, and neoliberal and carceral discourses. Anti-violence advocates are not a monolithic category and the various media engagement strategies and non-strategies go beyond compliance and resistance.

By drawing out four types of media engagement and their relation to domestic violence frames, this chapter adds nuance to the debates about the state of Canadian feminism and source influence on news production. Heeding the call to focus on news production from the perspective of the source (Zoch and Molleda 2006, 302), one of the novel contributions of this dissertation is

[49] In all four cities, I interviewed anti-violence advocates who work in a range of different organizations or independently. My interviewees included: domestic violence shelter directors, sexual assault centre directors, and women's centre directors and their communication staff; activist feminist collective members; provincially funded committee members; municipal anti-violence committee members; men's prevention organization directors; and feminists who are active in anti-violence media engagement. While the majority of interviewees are associated with an anti-violence agency, I interviewed some people in the context of their independent anti-violence media engagement. I also intentionally sought out anti-violence advocates who primarily support racialized and Indigenous women, and anti-violence advocates who are themselves Indigenous and racialized. The majority of the anti-violence advocates I interviewed are White women, and many were attuned to the racial disparities in the anti-violence movement.

that I explain how official sources (the police in Chapter 4) and unofficial sources (anti-violence advocates in this chapter) contribute to domestic violence news. While there is ample research on the ways police influence the news, although little specifically about domestic violence news, how anti-violence advocates contribute to news landscapes is understudied. I also clarify and complicate the relationships between the anti-violence movement, Canadian feminisms, carceral feminism, and the state. By focusing the discussion around anti-violence media engagement, I advance an understanding of news production and Canadian feminisms.

Developing Definitional Clarity

There are two central tensions in defining an anti-violence advocate. Do they focus on service provision, social change, or a combination of the two? And, are they feminist? Both tensions are highly consequential for ways in which anti-violence advocates engage with the media.

Social Change and Work

One of the central tensions in understanding anti-violence histories, actions, and realities is that of service provision and social change (Collier 2012; Lehrner and Allen 2009). In resource constrained environments, anti-violence organizations often focus on service provision to the exclusion or detriment of social change activities – that being activities that aim to "effect widespread social change through institutional reform and/or fundamental cultural changes" (Lehrner and Allen 2009, 658). Further, Cheryl N. Collier (2012, 288) argues that organizations that prioritized service provision, rather than activism, were more likely to be seen by the Canadian state as the main anti-violence organizations and thus provided funding to anti-

violence service-oriented organizations[50]. Others similarly argue that increased government oversight, shelter adoption of risk frameworks, and continued precarious funding have led to a shift away from anti-violence agencies focused on social change to social service provision and work, sometimes neutered of their political content (Dobash and Dobash 2000; Walker 1990). While there is little evidence that all anti-violence advocacy has devolved into apolitical service provision (Lehrner and Allen 2009), it is clear that social change activities often take a backseat to service provision.

Due to the centrality of this tension, I differentiate between domestic violence service provision (work), social change (activism) and the ways in which much of the work straddles this tension (advocacy). I respect the term people use for themselves[51]. However, I use the umbrella term anti-violence advocacy to capture those in the category of anti-violence source that may engage in both service provision and social change activities. Precisely, an advocate is a professional person who intercedes on behalf of others, empowers others to intercede on their own behalf, and/or campaigns for broader change (Hewitt 2002). The language of advocate is less politically charged than activist. An activist is someone who passionately acts against or for a cause (Searle-Chatterjee 1999; Oliver and Marwell 1992, 252). Given that social change activities take a backseat to service provision, activist is an inaccurate term. Anti-violence worker is more accurate; however, it does not capture how the anti-violence source category includes those who agitate for change. As such, the umbrella term of anti-violence advocacy and

[50] Ontario Association of Interval and Transition Houses and Ontario Coalition of Rape Crisis Centres who both framed themselves as predominately service providers received more funding than Women Against Violence Against Women who framed itself as social change activists (Collier 2012).

[51] The majority of anti-violence advocates referred to themselves using their job titles. Using the language of work acknowledges that predominately women working in women's shelters are indeed working. They are paid, though often underpaid, to provide services to domestic violence survivors. Historically, the lines between residents, volunteers, and "people who work there" have been blurred (Murray 1988, 85). Not only are workers themselves sometimes in abusive relationships or survivors of abuse, shelter workers often stay in their positions due to passion. I relied on journalists to label the source type for coding. anti-violence advocate include those who work at shelters and rape crisis centres and those labelled as anti-violence advocates, activists, and feminists (see Appendix F).

advocates describes this source category; but, where appropriate, I use the terms of worker and activist to capture the tension between domestic violence service provision and social change activities.

Feminist and Non-Feminist Anti-Violence Advocacy

The second tension is that between those who identify as feminist and those who identify as non-feminist. To understand the relationship between feminism and anti-violence advocacy, it is important to remember that both feminism and anti-violence advocacy are not monolithic categories (Collier 2012, 288; Bumiller 2008) and, as one interviewee reminded me, "feminism and the VAW sector is constantly changing" (SS, Communications Coordinator, Anti-Violence Organization, Interview, March 23, 2017). The anti-violence movement history is also quite relevant to understand the relationship. Addressing violence against women is most associated with the second wave of feminism in Canada (Collier 2012, 285). In the 1970s, collectives of women (mostly, but not always) started establishing transition houses for women and children fleeing violence. Feminist herstories[52] often point to Toronto's Interval House, which opened in April 1973, as the first women's shelter, and Vancouver Transition House, which opened in December 1973, as the close second (Janovicek 2007, 9; Sev'er 2002, 315; Riddington 1977, 24). These feminist run shelters challenged conservative notions of family unity and privacy.

Even in the early days of the shelter movement, feminism was not the only ideology driving the work. By some accounts, the first women's shelter opened in 1965 – the Inasmuch House in Hamilton, Ontario, was religious, not feminist (Mission Services 2018; Duvall 1985, 59) and is left out of feminist shelter genealogies. As Nancy Janovicek (2007, 9) reminds us,

[52] Rather than use the language of history, some feminists will recount past events and trajectories by replacing the masculine "his" with "her" to form the word herstory.

these feminist genealogies emphasize the similarities between feminist organizing against abused women and cast the shelters themselves as the foundation of the women's movement, thereby missing the nuances between the shelters and their organizers. Feminism and shelters were not the only driving force in the anti-violence movement.

There were additional anti-violence organizations (AVOs) that grew out of a critique of feminist approaches to violence. Namely, Indigenous and racialized women's groups sometimes rejected feminist analyses of violence, arguing that they do not capture the nuances of race and colonialism (Janovicek 2007; Janovicek 2003, 559; Agnew 1998)[53]. For example, Anishinbequek, a chapter of the Ontario Native Women's Association (ONWA) opened Beendigen in Thunder Bay in 1978 as a "culturally-sensitive" emergency shelter for Indigenous women and children and explicitly did not apply a feminist analysis of patriarchal violence (Janovicek 2003, 555). Instead, Beendigen argued that family violence results from colonialism disrupting the family (ibid; ONWA 1989). In the U.S. and Canada, there have been strong anti-racist critiques of feminist articulations of violence against women in which anti-violence activists, advocates, and scholars point to the ways feminist analysis of VAW demands carceral solutions (Janovicek 2003, 558; Agnew 1998). The resulting anti-violence advocacy may then become explicitly non-feminist, while still strongly focused on social change.

Feminist approaches to anti-violence work also vary, but certain approaches were more mainstreamed through shelters and anti-violence organizations. By the 2000s, it was largely the voices of liberal feminism – those focused on state-based legal equality for women – that gained prominence, squeezing out radical feminist analyses of VAW as a result of systemic inequality

[53] "Patricia Monture-Okanee, a Mohawk lawyer and ONWA activist, challenged the women's movement to incorporate an analysis of race in the theorization of violence against women. Strategies to end violence against women, she argued, would not be successful in Aboriginal communities unless white women relinquished their power over the definition of violence against women" (Janovicek 2003, 558).

and patriarchal state institutions (Collier 2012, 289). As I noted above, organizations that focused on service provision were often better funded, gaining prominence in the movement (Collier 2012; Dobash and Dobash 2000; Walker 1990). These organizations may be feminist or they may be explicitly non-feminist.

Table 5.1: Relationship Between Feminism, Social Change, and Service Provision		
	Social Change Focused *Media engagement can be proactive vehicle to promote social change.*	Service Provision Focused *Media engagement reactive, used to promote the organization or not used.*
Feminist	Anti-violence advocacy or activism that applies feminist analysis to the causes of and solutions to violence against women towards social change. This likely includes some form of media engagement, whether it is through traditional media or citizen-controlled media.	Anti-violence work that focuses on service provision. Potentially depoliticized by encounters with the neoliberal state. Will likely only respond to media requests that positively portray the organization, release information to promote an event, and, rarely sign on to collective feminist media strategies.
Non-Feminist	Anti-violence advocacy or activism that applies Indigenous or Black Womanist or non-feminist analysis of the causes and solutions to family violence or intimate partner violence towards social change.	Anti-violence work that focuses on service provision, counselling, and liaising with other service providers. Will likely only respond to media requests that paint the organization in a positive light or release information to promote an event.

Anti-Violence Advocacy Tensions and Their Relationship to Media Engagement

Both the tension between service provision and social change and between feminism and non-feminism are central to understanding contemporary anti-violence media engagement. Table 5.1 outlines how the two tensions interact. A lot of anti-violence work is explicitly feminist and working towards social change proactively. This advocacy may use media engagement as a tool to promote social change. The same can be said of anti-violence work that is explicitly non-feminist, but also proactive about promoting social change. However, there are also many organizations and individuals who engage in anti-violence work, either from a feminist perspective or not, that is reactive or not active in promoting social change. Media engagement for these individuals and folks are likely reactive or used to promote the organization or non-existent.

Non-feminist anti-violence organizations that focus on service provision are unlikely to engage in much media engagement. I interviewed, for example, an executive director who runs an explicitly non-feminist counselling service for victims of assault. About improving media attention to domestic violence, they said, the news "should stop covering domestic violence stories to protect the privacy of the families and support victim's healing" (Deborah, Anti-Violence Advocate, Interview, September 13, 2016). Media engagement, for this executor director, undermines individual victim's healing. Deborah's position, I argue, is partially due to the non-feminist service-orientation of the organization. Andrea J. Nichols (2013, 177) similarly found that anti-violence advocates who identified as feminist focused on social change and intersectional practices, while self-described, non-feminist, anti-violence workers focused on service provision. Both are still working towards anti-violence goals, but the connection to feminism and broader social change varies. What I have found is that anti-violence organizations generally fall into the above four categories, with those focused on social change more interested in media engagement. One key contextual piece that further complicates anti-violence media engagement is the relationship to neoliberalism.

Neoliberalism and Anti-Violence Advocacy

In this section, I detail the material conditions of anti-violence organizations in Canada and the anti-violence movement history with supporting carceral responses (what is called the critique of carceral feminism). Spending cuts, government oversight, and a history of carceral feminism are key components that explain the relationship between the anti-violence movement and neoliberalism. Just as I argue throughout this dissertation about news production (Chapter 3) and police communications (Chapter 4), neoliberalism conditions and constrains anti-violence media

engagement. As previously discussed, neoliberalism is characterized by market rationality, the rollback of state funding for social provisions (Gill and Schraff 2011, 5), and the investment in police, prisons, and punishment (Wacquant 2010). In addition to the material reality, neoliberalism also includes a discursive shift towards depoliticized, rational individuals who are the social units responsible for social problems (Mohanty 2013, 971). In Chapter 2, I argue that much of the news coverage of domestic violence advances the notion of individual and racial community responsibility and communicates that the problem of domestic violence is best solved with tools of the carceral state. To move beyond the simplistic logic that anti-violence advocate resist neoliberal discourses, I outlined how the material conditions of anti-violence work, namely, welfare retrenchment and institutional reconfigurations, constrain anti-violence media engagement. I also offer a nuanced history of how anti-violence advocates in Canada play into and resist carceral responses to VAW.

Economic Constraints and Institutional Reconfigurations

Anti-violence efforts have never been well-funded by the state or other sources. In the wake of welfare retrenchment policies, anti-violence organizations faced increased government oversight and decreased funding, all while anti-violence organizations continued to see high demand for their services. By the 1980s, with Canadians focusing on the fiscal crisis and patriarchal backlash to feminist victories, this translated into scarcer funds for anti-violence organizations, depoliticization of anti-violence work, and increased bureaucratization of anti-violence organizations (Bumiller 2008; Currie 1990). Funding became tied to service provision, at the expense of social change activism (Collier 2012; Campbell et al. 1998). Changes in the 2006 federal budget further undermined a focus on social change for the anti-violence movement

(Rodgers and Knight 2011) when the budget eliminated funding for research, advocacy, and lobbying organizations that focused on women's issues (Strumm 2015). Funding was cut and advocacy was constrained.

The slow and systematic rollback of the welfare state and funding cuts to women's shelters across Canada are "undermining women's equality, their safety, and the feminist anti-violence movement" (Morrow et al. 2004; Bashevkin 1998). In Ontario, the Harris years (1995 to 2002) were particularly brutal with five percent cuts to women's shelters, rape crisis centres, and community counselling programs for women and children experiencing violence (Morrow 2011, 10). Essential programs, like second stage housing, were defunded altogether (ibid). Welfare rates were also cut, which makes it more difficult for women to leave abusers and more likely for women to return to abusive situations. State funding was either redirected towards the criminal justice system (Abraham and Tastsoglou 2016, 572) or lost in the mantra of balanced budgets. While studies about provincial funding to women's organizations in Ontario (Collier 2008) and Nova Scotia (Kay and Ramos 2017) find that the trajectory of funding varies by political parties in power, much of the increased funding and anti-violence specific policies focused on justice and degendered victim services, thereby contributing to the underfunding of feminist-based anti-violence advocacy.

Interviewees identified that government funding is often barely enough to meet service demands, with little left over to engage the media.

> It would be great to be more proactive and develop relationships with media and offer them training on these things and be a leader, but we don't have the time and resources. (Elayne Furoy, Executive Director, Interview, December 13, 2016)

> If we had a communications officer, they could focus on that. We need more funding to hire one. (Debra Vermette, Executive Director, Interview, October 18, 2016).

> [Media engagement is] not our primary function and because our resources are always so taxed that it's entirely voluntary whether or not we accept an interview [request from the media]. (Diane, Advocate in VAW Sector, Interview, November 11, 2016).

Few organizations had dedicated communications staff to engage the media, unlike the growing troop of police communications officials. Instead, executive directors or otherwise inclined staff members might respond to media requests or reach out to media off-the-side-of-their-desk.

State policies further constrains anti-violence organizations' social change activities by making adoption of risk management tools and professionalization conditions for funding. Professionalization included adopting staffing credential requirements, formalizing communications and decision-making channels, developing a hierarchical non-profit structure with a board of directors (Markowitz and Tice 2002, 944), and focusing on service provision (Collier 2012). This process contributed to depoliticizing violence against women and turning wife assault into a type of degendered family violence (Abraham and Tastsoglou 2016, 572; Johnson 2015; Nixon and Tutty 2010). Professionalization also often meant incorporating risk management strategies as a means to secure funding (Rodgers and Knight 2011, 572). Instead of supporting the women who walked through their doors, anti-violence organizations needed to measure how many women and track the effectiveness of their service (ibid). This also includes the mandatory reporting requirement that shelters in Ontario report children at risk (Little 2015). The custody of the child is put into jeopardy, women's sense of autonomy is undermined, and shelters are inculcated into the system of polices often poor and racialized families (ibid). Indeed, such policies often result in more Indigenous and racialized children being removed from their mothers (Maki 2017, 17). Some anti-violence and feminist organizations, although not all, internalize and accept various constrains on their political activity to receive state funding to

provide service to women and children fleeing violence (ibid, 578). State funding itself becomes a potential constraint on social change activities.

Anti-violence advocacy was further constrained when then-Prime Minister Stephen Harper targeted NGOs for their political advocacy. In 2012, the Canada Revenue Agency (CRA) was allocated $8 million to audit charities and find those engaging in political advocacy (Canadian Press 2014). Political activity was not defined as some notorious, government-shaking activity but instead could include, for example, pointing out a link between poverty and government austerity. Charities found to be engaging in political activity face steep consequences – they could lose charitable status and government funding. Even though Harper targeted environmental organizations, the audit extended to other agencies. Researchers identified "an advocacy chill" in which organization tried to avoid CRA sanctions by avoiding public policy issues (Bhuyan 2012; Laforest 2012, 190; DeSantis 2010, 26). Several anti-violence workers identified this chill in interviews, highlighting how a change in government[54] has not alleviated the "chill."

Within this context of economic and political constraints, anti-violence workers continue to agitate for social change (Rodgers and Knight 2011). A national survey of Canadian rape crisis and sexual assault centres[55] found that many centres continue to define themselves as feminist organizations invested in social change despite inadequate resources and government pressure to exclusively focus on service delivery (Beres et al. 2009). Anti-violence centres in the survey report resisted the bureaucratization and depoliticizing impetus of neoliberal funding and policy frameworks (ibid, 159). A survey of anti-violence organizations in Ontario found that

[54] Audits started under Harper continued under Prime Minister Trudeau (Beeby 2018).
[55] No study to date has similarly researched domestic violence shelters in Canada. While there is a perception that rape crisis centres are more politically active than domestic violence shelters, I demonstrate below that these findings likely vary based on location.

many retain a focus on anti-oppressive practices that repoliticize organizations to focus on social justice (Boucher 2017). The content of the advocacy varies, and history of anti-violence organizations suggest that some may advance carceral narratives as a core component of their feminist analysis.

Canadian Carceral Feminisms

Some feminist analyses of gender-based violence have supported carceral state expansion in Canada and the U.S. (Bernstein 2010; Bumiller 2008; Gottschalk 2008). This critique is termed carceral feminism (Taylor 2018; Law 2014; Bernstein 2012; Taylor, Chloë 2009; Bumiller 2008), although Indigenous and racialized anti-violence advocates have been advancing these criticisms before the term was coined (Abraham and Tastsoglou 2016; Janovicek 2007; Agnew 1998). Some feminists, often liberal feminists, demand increased state control and criminal justice interventions to address gendered violence (Philipps and Chagnon 2018, 5; Taylor 2018)[56]. Scholars strongly make the critique that this anti-violence feminism in the U.S. "fell right into the open arms…[of] the conservative apparatus that was deeply committed to building a prison nation" (Ritchie 2015, 268). The expansion of the carceral state often does more harm than good, especially for marginalized communities more vulnerable to imprisonment and state control (Goodmark 2018; Abraham and Tastsoglou 2016; Law 2014). While Canadian research on carceral feminism is less well-developed, it is an apt critique of the trajectory of the anti-violence movement and its relationship to increased state intervention that disproportionately targets Indigenous and racialized communities in Canada.

[56] An organizer with INCITE!, Victoria Law (2014) writes that carceral feminism: (1) misses that "police are often purveyors of violence and prisons are always sites of violence"; (2) ignores the intersectional vulnerabilities that leave some women open to criminalization; (3) casts "policing and prisons as the solution to domestic violence" which "both justifies increases to police and prison budgets and diverts attention from the cuts" to other programs; and, (4) discourages "seeking other responses, including community interventions and long-term organizing."

The 1980s were arguably marked by feminist victories of improving protection for women under the law (Abraham and Tastoglou 2016, 573; Eliasson and Lundy 1999; Currie 1990; Walker 1990). Recommendations made by Linda McLeod (1980) in the first national study on wife abuse in Canada *Wife Battering in Canada: The Vicious Circle* included arguments that domestic abusers should see more regular convictions and stronger sentencing, rather than be protected by an exception in the Criminal Code that valued "the unity of the family." (Abraham and Tastsoglou 2016, 572). Playing off these recommendations, shelters argued for "the creation of new criminal offenses, facilitation of arrests, charges and convictions for crimes against women, and more severe punishment of convicted offenders" (ibid). The reasons are logical – women were dying because police did not take their claims of violence seriously and domestic violence was considered a normal, private issue. These Canadian anti-violence advocates were at the centre of calling for stronger legal responses to domestic violence.

Today, the dominance of criminal justice responses to domestic violence is evident in both the Criminal Code (1985) and specific anti-family violence legislation in six provinces and three territories (Department of Justice 2018)[57]. Criminal justice policy receives more funding from both the federal and provincial government, as compared to other social services (Burt and Mitchell 1998; Greaves et al. 1995). The specific legislation and policies vary across the provinces, but various carceral mechanisms are primary. These include pro-charging and pro-prosecution policies (Johnson and Dawson 2011; Tutty et al. 2008), dual arrest of the abuser and victim when police are unable to determine the dominant aggressor (Tutty et al. 2008); no drop prosecution and incarceration of offenders (ibid), and specialized domestic violence courts (Johnson and Dawson 2011). While there is a litany of research assessing the individual

[57] British Columbia, Ontario, Quebec, New Brunswick, and Newfoundland are the only provinces that do not have specific legislation on family violence, although British Columbia has specific family law legislation addressing family violence (Department of Justice 2018).

programs, what is clear is that the penal system is the main tool to address domestic violence, and feminism and anti-violence advocacy had their hands in promoting it[58].

The Canadian carceral state, and carceral feminism by extension, contribute to exacerbating vulnerabilities of immigrant, racialized, and Indigenous women who experience violence (Abraham and Tastsoglou 2016). Margaret Abraham and Evangelia Tastsoglou (2016, 574-575), for example, argue that immigrant women are vulnerable due to their precarious legal status, isolation, and language barriers all increase immigrant women's vulnerabilities to experience violence and increases immigrant women's vulnerabilities to be caught up in carceral mechanisms. Women with precarious legal status may be both reluctant to report abuse and, if they do report abuse, may face detention or deportation due to their status (ibid).

Additional research suggests Black and Indigenous people also bear the brunt of the carceral system. Studies find that racialized women are more likely to be arrested under dual arrest policies (Barrett et al. 2011; Hamilton and Worthen 2011; Hirschel et al. 2008), although other studies suggest that Black women might face lower chances of being arrested (Lee et al. 2013; Eitle 2005). Despite the inconsistent evidence, there is a general agreement that racialized, Indigenous, and immigrant women are less likely to report domestic violence because of the perception that racialized women and men face steeper consequences from the police and criminal justice system (Abraham and Tastsoglou 2016; Barrett et al. 2011). This perception is backed by research in Canada, as Indigenous and racialized men and women are more likely to be killed by police (OHRC 2018), to be stopped by the police (OHRC 2016; Foster et al. 2016; Fleras and Elliot 1996), to be sexually assaulted by police (Palmater 2016), to be ignored by police when experiencing serious crimes (Vijaykumar 2018, 161), to face stiffer criminal justice

[58] The path towards criminalization is not without detours. Criminal Code amendments in the 1990s sought to improve legal responses to IPV (Johnson and Dawson 2011). There has also been a resurgence of restorative justice models (Ellis 2009). The carceral system often works closely with social services (Johnson and Dawson 2011).

penalties (Roach 2015; Maeder et al. 2015, 74; Wortley 2003), to be wrongly accused and convicted (Vijaykumar 2018; Roach 2015), and to disproportionately populate the prison system (Malakieh 2018, 5). Racist application of criminal justice tools increases racialized women's vulnerabilities to experience domestic violence as research finds that imprisonment does not deter future domestic violence, but rather often spurs it (Goodmark 2018; Law 2014). Taken together, the push for carceral intervention as the primary tool to address domestic violence is contributing to continued rates of gendered violence and exacerbating racialized women's vulnerabilities, often further conditioned by class, to experience this violence.

Despite evidence of carceral feminism, scholars critique the aptness of carceral feminism. It is not debatable that feminist agendas and pro-penal agendas have converged at times in Canada (Gotell 2007). However, scholars debate the extent to which feminists successfully influence the state to implement carceral responses to VAW (Bumiller 2008). Some suggest that the current anti-violence regime sprung up from hostility to feminism, citing Harper's advancement of neoconservative and anti-feminist rhetoric (Mann 2016). However, this argument misses the ways in which feminist demands for criminal responses to violence against women mirror neoconservative rhetoric of expanding police and prison power. Others argue that feminists have not advanced carceral logics, but rather the state appropriated feminist discourses to suit their needs (Gotell 2015). Lise Gotell (2015, 53) further argues that the critique of carceral feminism plasters over the sophisticated analysis many second wave feminists had about criminalization. Many feminists were keenly aware of the "dangers of emphasizing law reform" (ibid). In other words, the critique of carceral feminism may illuminate the ways in which feminists and anti-violence advocates do not always resist state oppression; however, the critique may overstate the coziness between the state and anti-violence feminism.

There is also critique to be made about the appropriateness of throwing out all criminal options to address gendered violence. Discussing sexual violence, Gotell (2015, 54) argues that "the absolute rejection of criminalization strategies" might end up "re-privatising sexual violence, with the inevitable return of impunity for perpetrators" (54). One scholar, Leigh Goodmark (2017), thoroughly considers the legal implications for domestic violence by asking: "should domestic violence be decriminalized?" Even though Goodmark concludes that "there is limited to no evidence that criminalization deters domestic violence and reason to believe that criminalization helps to create conditions that stimulate domestic violence," Goodmark also declares that decriminalization is "probably unwise" (ibid, 101-102). Goodmark surmises that decriminalization would send the disturbing message that violence against women is indeed less serious and potentially a private family matter, in the same vein as Gotell's conclusions. That, at least, was the message that the Russian government sent when it partially decriminalized domestic violence in 2017. Some report that men have continued and even escalated their physical abuse of the women since the partial decriminalization was passed (Korzhov 2018). Instead, Goodmark argues that domestic violence legal responses need to consider prevention as its first goal, which includes decreasing the likelihood of further violence in the future that might result from imprisoning the perpetrator. Both Gotell and Goodmark agree with one of the central concerns of those who critique carceral feminism – the current system of legal responses to violence against women - often causes more harm than good.

While this chapter positions the history of feminist engagement as one that was both coopted and foundational for the expansion of prisons in Canada, I also heed Gotell's (2015, 54) caution to not overstate the success of feminist legal reform. However, unlike Gotell's focus on

legal reform, this study moves to consider anti-violence advocates' media engagement. Some anti-violence media engagement advances or is coopted to advance carceral responses.

Interview Findings

How anti-violence advocates I interviewed in Toronto, Ottawa, Thunder Bay, and Kingston navigate neoliberal constraints and discursive pressures varied. While in Chapter 4 I detail how the politics of each city influences police communications around domestic violence, in this chapter I find that the type and political orientation of the anti-violence organization mattered more than the location in determining to what extent, how, and to what effect anti-violence organizations engaged with news media. Whether an organization focused on service provision and/or social change activities and whether an organization identified itself as feminist or not (Table 5.1) predicted the ways, means, and content of the anti-violence organization's media engagement. The only location-specific finding is that some anti-violence organizations, especially those with broader mandates, had access to more fundraising opportunities in both Toronto and Ottawa and this translated, for some, into more sophisticated media engagement, more opportunities to engage with media (especially in the media hub of Toronto), and more funding to push for social change.

As a reminder from Chapter 3, I interviewed over 30 individuals who were associated with anti-violence activism, advocacy, or work in Kingston, Thunder Bay, Ottawa, and Toronto. My interviewees included: a domestic violence shelter director, a sexual assault centre director, and a women's centre director and their respective communications staff; activist feminist collective members; provincially funded committee members; municipal anti-violence committee members; and feminists who are active in anti-violence media engagement. While the

majority of interviewees are associated with an anti-violence agency, I interviewed some people in the context of their independent anti-violence media engagement. I used a combination of purposive sampling and snowball sampling by asking people at the end of every interview for suggested participants (Chapter 3). As I was able to interview similar numbers of anti-violence advocates in all four cases, the dynamics in Ottawa and Toronto are less known given that I interviewed a smaller proportion of anti-violence advocates. To estimate, in both Thunder Bay and Kingston, I interviewed representatives from 80% to 95% of the anti-violence organizations, while I interviewed less than 50% in Toronto and less than 70% in Ottawa. In these bigger cities, I am missing some of the domestic violence shelters and some of the anti-violence coalition networks. This does not downplay the findings, but rather is a necessary caveat.

Using an interview guide (Appendix J), I asked participants about domestic violence in the city, communications strategies, relationships to newspapers, challenges they face in engaging with media, and changes they would make to VAW news coverage. I relied on my work within Kingston's anti-violence community to relate to the participants and to gain access to the community. As a former board member of a domestic violence shelter in Kingston, the executive director vouched for me as a feminist to several other executive directors and communications officials with other domestic violence shelters. As I explain in Chapter 3, I analyzed the transcribed interview transcripts using a four-stage thematic analysis (Fereday and Muir-Cochrane 2006; Aronson 1995). The crux of the process is a careful reading and re-reading of the texts and themes in relation to other interviews, research, and findings of this dissertation. The results suggest that anti-violence advocates engage with the media beyond this dichotomy of resisting or being coopted by neoliberalism and that anti-violence media engagement is

conditioned by the material conditions and discursive history of supporting carceral interventions.

Table 5.2: Relationships between Domestic Violence Frames and Anti-Violence Media Strategies				
Domestic Violence Frames	Types of Anti-Violence Media Engagement			
	Resistance	Compliance	Cooptation	Non-Participation
	Economic and political constrains and conditions all possible anti-violence engagement, but does not predetermine how anti-violence organizations and advocates engage with the media.			
Carceral Responses	Critique state penal systems, policing, and carceral mechanisms, or feminist arguments for more prison time.	Advocates for carceral responses, often without intersectional nuance of who is the most likely to get jail time.	Demands for reform to laws, police, and prisons reprinted as support for penal state.	Advocates do not advance these discourses through media engagement because: (a) they principally reject media engagement; or, (b) they do not have time, resources, or desire to engage.
Individualization and Victim Blame	Focus on IPV as the outcome of systems of inequality. Call out victim blaming in the media.	Constructs victims, survivors, and assailants as rational, risk-adverse individuals through media engagement.	Support telling individual women's stories and media rearticulates those stories through an episodic frame.	
Racialization	Critique media use of 'honour killing' and other racializing language. Highlight the intersectionality of perpetration and vulnerability.	Label racial communities as more violent without contextualizing the violence within broader systems of inequality. Likely advocate for carceral responses.	Nuanced analysis of the need for culturally sensitive programming reinterpreted as 'culture talk.'	
Thematic	Call attention to intersecting systems of inequality that contribute to IPV vulnerability and perpetration	Support increased technocratic, depoliticized, and medicalized state interventions without a systemic analysis	Brought into stories to bolster support for degendered or technocratic or carceral state interventions	

To understand how anti-violence organizations and advocates influence domestic violence news coverage, I have inductively identified four types of anti-violence media engagement (resistance, compliance, cooptation, and non-participation) that interact with news discourses. The typology was inspired by Eschle and Maiguashca's (2018) critique that scholarship on the relationship between feminism and neoliberalism often presents a "dichotomous understanding of feminism as *either* coopted *or* resistant" (224). Since I argue that much of recent Canadian news coverage presents neoliberal discourses, Eschle and Maiguashca's (2018) critique was a starting point to create an anti-violence media engagement

typology – something I have not found in existing literature. Table 5.2 outlines the relationships between the four strategies and the domestic violence news discourses. I explain each below, drawing on my interviews and observations in the four cities and the content and discourse analyses.

Resistance

Anti-violence sources are strongly correlated with thematic framing, that is, discussing domestic violence prevention, intervention, and systems of power. The majority of stories that cite an anti-violence source are thematically framed (90%) and nearly half of the thematic stories quote one or more anti-violence source (46%). The correlation is significant (p=.000) and extremely strong (Cramer's V=.522). These associations are not clear evidence of causation. However, I find that journalist sourcing practices and active anti-violence media strategies together explain the association. Journalists look to anti-violence advocates to draw out the context, suggesting that the association is partially the result of journalists' norms of balance and the practice of building relationships (Chapter 3). However, what I discuss below are ways in which anti-violence advocates try to actively resist racism and victim blame. I subsequently detail two strategies anti-violence advocates use to mount this resistance: the development of media guides and building relationships with journalists.

Resisting Racism, Highlighting Intersectionality

In Chapter 2, I detailed how the majority of thematic stories do not consider systems of oppression. However, there is a relationship between anti-violence advocates being quoted and news stories discussing racism, colonialism, poverty, or immigration (p=.000 for each). What is

more, anti-violence advocates often are quoted to introduce these analyses into the story. An anti-violence advocate said in one story, "welfare rates need to be increased" (Luba 2014) and another said, "violence against women disproportionately affects women of colour and women experiencing poverty" (Dolski 2016). This, itself, is not evidence that anti-violence advocates actively encourage the media to address the intersectionality of domestic violence. Yet, that's exactly what several anti-violence advocates indicated they focus their media engagement around.

When I talked to the executive director, Kripa Sekhar, [59] of the South Asian Women's Centre (SAWC) in Toronto, she had a strong analysis of racialized news coverage. To combat racist news and improve service provision to South Asian women, SAWC developed a training toolkit called *There's No 'Honour' in Violence Against Women and Girls* (SAWC 2016). The toolkit includes a section to support anti-violence organizations in combating racialized news coverage (ibid, 40). Sekhar explained, the toolkit

> ...was prompted by the way violence against women in the South Asian and racialized immigrant communities is portrayed in the media. The media runs the justification that the issue of violence against women is based on male honor. Because of how the media portrays violence against women, entire communities are racially profiled as being demonizers of women…Yet, abuse against women, murder, rape, happens in every part of the globe, including Canada…When women of color or even aboriginal women get murdered, it does make headline news, but the way in which it's done is done in a very negative way and profiles an entire community. And that is one reason why many women of the community are unwilling to come forward. (Kripa Sekhar, Executive Director, Interview, November 7, 2016).

When I asked Sekhar for advice for media's coverage of violence against racialized and Indigenous women, she stated "don't culturalize it" (ibid). With strong advocates like Sekhar, one could see why an anti-violence advocate might challenge dominant media discourses around racism and gendered violence.

[59] Sekhar has a long history working to combat VAW in racialized communities and problematic media portrayals of the violence. She was a leader and ally when the media and the courts portrayed Pamela George, an Indigenous woman who worked in the sex industry, as disposable in coverage of her murder (see Razack 1998).

Resisting Victim Blame

There is also an association between anti-violence sources and victim blame framing (p=.000), but relatively weak (Cramer's V=.138). The weakness of the association is explained by the fact that anti-violence advocates are often quoted in the story resisting the victim blame language. Anti-violence advocates are not driving the victim blame frame, but instead push back against the notion that victims are neoliberal subjects who are partially responsible because they did not avoid a 'risky' situation (Gotell 2015, 60; Gotell 2007; Bacchi 1999, 170-171). For example, one anti-violence advocate discusses how "many turn to drugs and alcohol to numb the pain or deal with the abuse" (Baker 2014, A1). Rather than subtly connoting that a victim's drug use caused the violence, this anti-violence advocate notes how substance users sometimes use coping mechanisms. In doing so, the anti-violence advocate challenges the rhetoric that substance use justifies, excuses, or even explains the violence. Another anti-violence advocate notes that "a number of women who told their story to the *Toronto Star* chose not to go to the police out of fear of being sued and being harassed over the Internet" (Grey 2014). This advocate is referencing women who reported experiencing violence from Jian Ghomeshi to the media and not to the police. Rather than blaming the women for not reporting the violence to the police or disclosing their identity, the advocate resists the notion that women have to report their violence for it to stop and if they do not report to the police, women are somehow to blame.

Interviews with several anti-violence advocates suggested that the resistance to victim blame narratives are partially the result of active media engagement strategies. Rather than journalists asking an anti-violence advocate to explain why women stay with violent men, some anti-violence advocate cultivate relationships and develop strategies to proactively dispel rape myths and victim blaming tropes and advance feminist social change narratives.

> I think that [media engagement] is a responsibility. I have a responsibility to report to the media any concerns that I have (Debbie Zweep, Executive Director, Interview, September 16, 2016).

> The story of violence against women is one that needs to be told and we rely now on media to be our storytellers…I think I'm good at [working with the media]. It feels good to have a skill that can be used in a way that I think is helpful to the end goal that I'm working towards of eradicating violence against women. (Pamela Cross, Feminist VAW Lawyer, Interview, February 25, 2017).

> We had I think some pretty direct impact on the social agenda and certainly media coverage was a conduit of the information to the public and to the decision makers…I think it is important to use the media because they have a broad reach, to use their channels to get information out and also to contribute a perspective that might not otherwise be articulated or might not be well articulated. (Diane, Advocate in VAW Sector, November 11, 2016).

This media engagement addressing gendered violence discourses is core for many of these anti-violence advocates and this engagement is associated with challenging problematic media discourses and not simply responding to media requests.

Resistance Strategies

There are specific strategies that anti-violence advocates reported as their means to resist problematic discourses and advance social change narratives. Table 5.3 lists inter-organizational, sector, and intra-organizational strategies that anti-violence organizations use to better influence the news. I pull out two prominent strategies below, namely, the creation of media guides and building relationships with journalists.

Table 5.3: Resistance Strategies

Inter-Organizational or Sector Strategies	***Intra-Organization Strategies***
• Media Guides	• Reach out to journalists, build relationships
• Media Training	• Media Training
• Coalition communication networks	• Hire a communications staff
• Build a database of experts	• Identify media experts within house
• Amplify other voices in media	• Develop policy to empower staff to speak
• Conduct independent research to send to media	• Regularly monitor the media

Media Guides

Two Canadian gender-based violence media guides launched during this dissertation's time period, adding to the growing body of anti-violence media guides (see Sutherland et al. 2016). A

collective called Femifesto launched *Use the Right Words* in 2015 to improve sexual violence news in Canada. I interviewed two of the main people behind the guide, Farrah Khan and Shannon Giannitsopoulou, together on December 11, 2016.

> We wanted to create a tool that violence against women organizations and gender-based violence movements could use in their own capacity. It's an opportunity for organizations to use it as a tool to have a conversation with the local media, with local journalists, and also support the survivors in their community. We have done training in different parts of Canada around that and that's been really interesting. (Farrah Khan, Femifesto, Interview, December 11, 2016).

OCTEVAW, the regional organizing committee in Ottawa, launched its media guide in 2016. Stefanie Lomatski spearheaded the guide, while working at OCTEVAW. I also interviewed the researcher who helped develop the guide – Dr. Jordan Fairbairn worked on the guide while completing her doctorate. "The media often presents a traditional understanding of domestic violence as a battered wife. The guide helped identify how the media could better cover the complexities of financial, psychological, and sexual abuse in relationships" (Jordan Fairbairn, Anti-Violence Researcher, January 13, 2017). Borrowing from similar guides developed in the U.S., these media guides provide information for journalists to improve news coverage and create a tool for anti-violence advocate to better engage with their local media.

While there is little evidence of how these guides or similar international guides have influenced journalists (Sutherland et al. 2016), my interviews demonstrate that the guides have influenced anti-violence advocates to claim their role as media activists. The guides came up in the majority of my interviews with anti-violence advocates. As one rape crisis centre director argued, the anti-violence sector is "trying to teach the media how to *use the right words* and how to do a fair portrayal…our role is to be a watchdog" (Elayne Furoy, Executive Director, Interview, December 13, 2016). Echoing the title of Femifesto's guide, it is clear the guide has become a rallying cry of sorts for anti-violence advocates. Rather than accepting that media can

act as effective watchdogs, the guide spurred some anti-violence advocates to become media watchdogs themselves.

There are distinctions between anti-sexual and anti-domestic violence media engagement. The former is often more politically active, as evinced by the creation of Femifesto's guide focused on sexual violence reporting. However, I do not want to overplay the distinctions, as often workers in the sexual violence field comment on and resist domestic violence news discourses. For example, the executive director of the rape crisis centre in Kingston has a more regular relationship with the media because the shelter is often hesitant to comment on stories. The rape crisis centre often does not comment on either sexual assault or domestic violence stories. In Thunder Bay, the opposite is true. The executive director of the women's shelter is more politicized and active in the media on all topics related to gender-based violence news as compared to the sexual assault centre. The reasons are beyond the scope of this chapter, but suffice it to say that differences between sexual and domestic violence media engagement should not be overplayed.

I asked Khan and Giannitsopoulou about how Femifesto's guide might apply to domestic violence. They identified that victim blame is one key overlap, as domestic violence news also promotes "the idea that survivors are lying and…also how they often blame the survivors…We also see the exoneration of the perpetrators" (Shannon Giannitsopoulou, Femifesto, Interview, December 11, 2016). Since the guide addresses each of these news discourses, Khan and Giannitsopoulou concurred that while there is specificity in how the media treats domestic and sexual violence, the overlap provides ammo for anti-violence organizations across the sectors.

Relationship Building

Relationship building with media workers is a recurrent theme in my interviews as one of the main strategies anti-violence advocates use to engage and influence the news media.

> We looked for journalists who were writing about the subject matter and either build relationships with them to write articles later on about the guide itself or put them on the advisory committee. (Farrah Khan, Femifesto, Interview, December 11, 2016).

> I try to cultivate a respectful relationship with journalists, where I always follow up and thank them for how professional they've been, then ask if I can add them to our media list. Often, they will say yes, absolutely, so not just doing the interview or coordinating the interview, but always following up and making sure it closes out on a positive note. (Gabrielle Ross-Marquette, Communications Coordinator, Interview, December 2, 2016).

> Sometimes I make a conscious effort but I've also organically built relationships with media generally and specific journalists. (Julie S. Lalonde, Public Educator, Interview, January 8, 2017).

Just as relationship building is a key strategy for any source to influence the news, anti-violence advocates were keenly aware of its importance and highlighted specific strategies they would use to accomplish this goal, in cases where the relationship did not occur "organically."

The specific mechanisms of relationship building are similar to the ones mentioned in Chapter 4 on police influence on the news. Because police are better equipped to respond to the demands of a quick news cycle, they can often become the routine first call. However, some anti-violence advocates also noted that they understood the importance of timeliness in responding to media time constraints. Pamela Cross, an anti-violence expert frequently quoted in the news, noted, "I always return every call or email from the media, even if I am taking my mother for a pedicure, I just say can't talk to you right now" (Pamela Cross, Feminist VAW Lawyer, Interview, February 25, 2017). Another frequent commenter, Julie Lalonde notes, "the media literally has my cellphone number. They like that I pick up right away and give them a sassy quote and I am not going to refer them to the blurb on my website where I talk about policies."

(Julie S. Lalonde, Public Educator, Interview, January 8, 2017). These seemingly small gestures are often the beginning of a respectful and professional relationship.

Of course, this is a strong reason why many anti-violence agencies are unable to meet these demands. Often anti-violence advocates do not have the time or resources to effectively engage with the media. While police can adapt to routine demands from journalists, anti-violence organizations are disadvantaged because they often receive no funding for this type of work and are actively encouraged to avoid social change activity (Collier 2012; Rodgers and Knight 2011; Campbell et al. 1998). Contextualizing news production within state funding regimes importantly brings the concept of power into the frame building literature, a key concept that is often missing or overlooked (Vliegenthart and van Zoonen 2011).

Despite the challenges anti-violence organizations face in building relationships, my interviews with journalists suggest anti-violence advocates do build strong relationships with news producers and are able to influence news discourses. Several journalists discussed the importance of learning from and reaching out to anti-violence experts to write domestic violence stories. One reporter noted:

> We aren't intended to serve as the "expert," a fool's errand given the breadth of our coverage. We are intended to ask the right questions of the right people, listen, follow up, verify and push for the truth and, ultimately, for social change. The education required of a journalist happens in that process, over and over again, day after day. You are learning daily. (Journalist, personal correspondence, October 31, 2017).

The crux of journalism is to learn from people, or the “right people.” To validate this reporters’ practice, one anti-violence advocate named this journalist as a good interviewer: “Anytime I’ve done an interview with her, it’s a lengthy interview, she really wants to know what she’s talking about, and it reflects in her piece” (Anti-Violence Advocate, Interview, January 2017). This suggests that journalists, especially this particular journalist, also incorporates that learning into

their stories, even if it might not be directly associated with the interviewee or even noted in the story. More than one journalist talked about discussing issues of gendered violence with key experts on the condition of anonymity. This information would not be attributed to the expert in the story, but demonstrates that anti-violence advocates might positively shift the news towards incorporating a stronger analysis of the larger systems and structures at play in domestic violence prevalence through relationship development with journalists.

Compliance

In contrast to resisting problematic narratives, I found evidence that some anti-violence advocates occasionally advance carceral feminist arguments that support carceral framing. The content analysis highlights that there is an association between anti-violence sources and carceral framing (p=.000). The relationship is moderately strong (Cramer's V=.288), but only one-fifth of stories with anti-violence advocates was also carcerally framed. That four-fifths of anti-violence sources are not in carcerally framed stories relates to the fact that carceral feminism is contested and not all anti-violence advocates espouse these views.

There is, nonetheless, strong evidence from the discourse notes that some anti-violence advocates introduce the idea that domestic violence needs more police involvement and harsher sentencing. In the following story snippets, anti-violence sources are directly quoted or paraphrased.

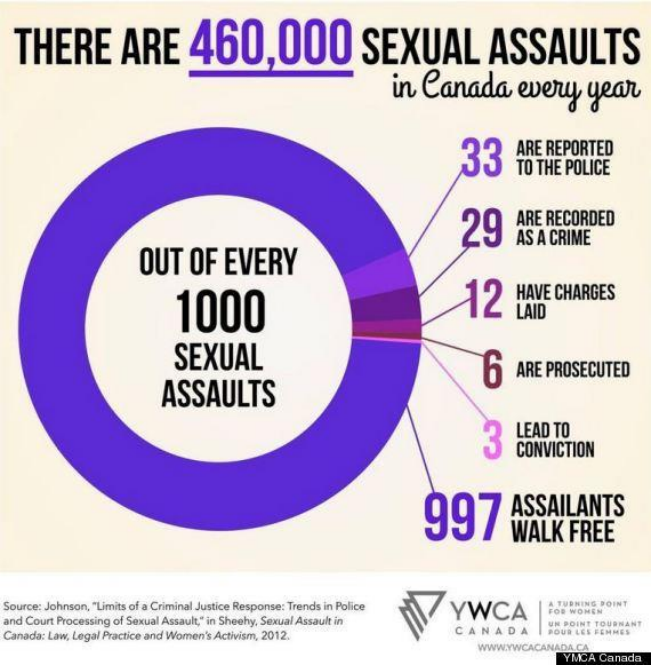
> We're demanding the police to be much more proactive and diligent, to remove abusive men, and make sure they have no access to [their partners] (Luba 2014)

> When they hear a call about a battered woman they must come, they must investigate. They cannot send the husband for a walk around the block, they must arrest (the) men. (Carman 2014)

> In a jail, the abuser gets TV, free room and board; he gets education. He gets all those things. A woman goes into the shelter and she lives in poverty…Compared to a guy in jail, she gets nothing. I'd take the jail any day. (Ryczak 2016, A6)

I am not arguing that policing should not improve. It is clear that policing, courts, and prisons often fail domestic violence survivors and do not prevent as much domestic violence as one would hope (Goodmark 2017; Abraham and Tastsoglou 2016; Cretney and Davis 2002). These examples detail how anti-violence advocates advance discourses that support increased police budgets and the expansion of the prison system. Both carceral mechanisms disproportionately disadvantage racialized, Indigenous, and poor people in Canada. In short, I find evidence that some anti-violence advocates advance carceral feminist arguments in their media engagement.

Figure 5.1: YWCA Attrition Diagram



A clear example of anti-violence advocates advancing this discourse is an oft-cited statistic of how sexual violence cases travel through the court system. Called the attrition pyramid (Johnson 2012), statistics point to the trend in which sexual violence crimes are not prosecuted, and it has inspired infographics that are often used by anti-violence advocates.

Below are two such examples, one from Canada (Figure 5.1) and one from the U.S. (Figure 5.2). Both are made by anti-violence non-profit organizations. The message is clear: the problem is that assailants are not facing trials and getting convicted. More precisely, the assailants "walk free" and are not imprisoned. Regardless of one's view on the value of prison systems, one cannot deny that this information presents a pro-prison, pro-carceral feminist approach to justice for survivors.

Figure 5.2: RAINN Attrition Infographic

A few interview participants relied on this framing to explain what is wrong with news reporting and the light sentences for abusers and rapists.

> Reporters are asking: "Why don't survivors report?" But, reporters are asking the wrong question. Even if 1,000 more survivors report, there still wouldn't be more convictions. Instead, media needs to investigate why sexual violence doesn't often get a conviction. (Anti-violence advocate, Interview, December 2016)

> It's a structural problem at the courts. It's the same way with sexual assault. The Crown doesn't represent the victim. The structural issue is where the courts don't find these men guilty. (Anti-violence advocate, Interview, September 2016)

I agree with some of the sentiments of these comments. Chapter 2 outlined how the media continues to blame women for not reporting the violence to the police. However, the quotes also clearly point to the advancement of carceral feminist ideas about the criminal justice system as a key solution to addressing domestic violence. Unlike the following category of cooptation, my interviews with some anti-violence advocates outlined that they are interested in introducing carceral feminist justifications for increased state control into the media. The first quote above, for example, is remarking that news does not investigate thoroughly why the criminal justice system do not convict more batterers. These anti-violence advocates are not being coopted – they want to actively advocate for increased police and prison responses to domestic violence.

To be clear, there are some substantial issues with how the courts and police address VAW. Indeed, the system in Canada is failing domestic violence survivors (Abraham and Tastsoglou 2016; Cretney and Davis 2002), a fact agreed upon by those critical of the carceral state and those more supportive of using carceral mechanisms to address gendered violence. In fact, one of my interviewees noted that often those who murder their partners typically have already been in contact with police and the legal system in Thunder Bay. "Many of the murders that have taken place in the last couple years are people that have already been charged…the recidivism rates are between 50% and 70%" (Debbie Zweep, Executive Director, Interview, September 16, 2016). While some have taken these flaws to mean that harsher penalties need to be imposed (Bond and Jeffries 2014), the critique of carceral feminism suggests that the carceral system itself is partially to blame (Bullock 2008). Either way, both agree that the system is failing to reduce gender-based violence and domestic violence specifically.

The purpose of adding this category of compliance is to highlight that particular feminist analyses, especially carceral feminism, are not twisted forms of feminism, coopted by the state.

Carceral arguments have been central to the anti-violence movement in both Canada and the U.S. (Taylor 2018; Abraham and Tastsoglou 2016; Bernstein 2012; Janovicek 2007; Agnew 1998). Feminist actors are not duped by the system or taken advantage of in this case. Instead, carceral feminism is a core part of one segment of the anti-violence movement's history, one that some anti-violence advocates continue to advance in their more contemporary media engagement.

Cooptation

While compliance media engagement suggests that anti-violence advocates support neoliberal and carceral responses to domestic violence, cooptation suggests that anti-violence media engagement is twisted to support neoliberal ends. Whether feminist actors are coopted or whether the news appropriates feminist ideas (Eschle and Maiguashca 2018, 232), cooptation media strategies often look like support for neoliberalism. Yet, the difference with compliance is vital. Rather than advance carceral or individualizing narratives because they are core anti-violence ideas, this type of media engagement is characterized by the news appropriating anti-violence actors and ideas to support these discourses. I offer two examples to explain the difference. First, I differentiate between cooptation and compliance as it relates to the support of carceral framing. Second, I offer the example of promoting individual survivors' stories to illustrate how advancing individual women's stories gets recoded as individualization.

Coopting Anti-Violence Advocates to Support Carceral Framing

Textual evidence points to a trend in which anti-violence advocates are brought into crime stories to positively comment on police. Police and anti-violence advocates are rarely sourced in the same story (<3%). However, in four of the 23 stories (17%) that feature both anti-violence

advocates and police, anti-violence advocates' comments are partially or wholly focused on complimenting domestic violence policing.

> "Police are asking better questions when they go out" said the executive director of Women's Community House (O'Brien 2016, A3).
>
> "On behalf of Interval House, we would like to share that we have a good relationship (with the chief and police)" said executive director of Hamilton's Interval House after apologizing for criticizing and embarrassing the police. "Freeman praised police efforts and said it was encouraging to hear that over the past five years the number of women reporting domestic violence and sexual assaults has increased by nine and 22 per cent respectively, a likely indicator of increasing trust in police and the legal system." (Dunphy 2015).
>
> Speaking of Calgary police's new program to allow texted 9-1-1 reports, the executive director of Home Front "said the program would be something they would welcome and promote" (Edwardson 2015).
>
> "It's encouraging that police are opening up to feedback on" the issue of women who have experience reporting violence to the police. (Scholey 2014)

Here, anti-violence advocates are being used rhetorically to support stories that are almost always centred on successful policing measures to address domestic violence. Of course, police can be an important tool towards addressing the violence, something that this dissertation makes clear. However, they are not effective at addressing and preventing all domestic violence and there are real risks in over-relying on the coercive arm of the state. On the media's role, anti-violence advocates or other experts are not being drawn on to offer an alternative perspective of the potential harms of policing. Rather, anti-violence advocates might be referenced in a story to assure the reader that there are good relationships in the community with police or that the police are doing a good job.

Anti-violence media engagement cooptation is quite clear in a piece that is outside the time frame of this analysis. anti-violence advocates are brought into the story to validate Kingston Police's practice of releasing information about domestic violence (see Chapter 4).

> Marlene Ham, executive director of…OAITH, and Mavis Morton, a researcher… reviewed Kingston Police's domestic releases at the request of The Globe and Mail. They were encouraged by the inclusion of information about an alleged perpetrator's history of domestic violence

> against their alleged victim, Ms. Ham said…"We're hopeful to see that these press releases are providing some of that background context." (Gibson 2018, A8).

The following paragraph includes Ham's suggestion for more oversight of the practice by "violence-against-women service providers" (ibid). The article overall focuses on celebrating and validating the police's practice. The issue at hand is not that Kingston Police release information about domestic violence; it likely does have the effect of encouraging witnesses and, to a lesser extent, encouraging survivors to report violence to the police as noted in the article. The issue is the way anti-violence advocates were brought into the story to validate the police practices. In this story, the cooptation goes beyond practice as the *Globe* asked Ham and Morton to review police news releases. Their concerns are minimized in the story or not reported in full. In this story, anti-violence advocates are coopted to support a pro-police agenda without any critical reflection on the potential negative effects of the police practice or the harmful effects of over-policing of domestic violence.

This analysis clarifies a central debate in the frame building literature: do journalists or sources lead news production? Howard Gans (1979, 116) wrote, "although it takes two to tango, either sources or journalists can lead, but more often than not, sources do the leading." I argue that anti-violence advocates are often a secondary source in service to the primary dance leader – the police. A two-person tango metaphor does not accurately represent news framing of VAW. Instead, carceral frame building can be likened to a three-person canoe ride. In the back, steering the canoe are the police. They are responsible for the direction of the story. The journalist is in the front, paddling the story and its frame onwards. In the middle sits the anti-violence source. They likely do not have a paddle, but their weight in the canoe advances the canoe down the river. Both the journalist and police can influence the direction of the canoe, but it is the police who have the strongest influence on the direction. The possible conditions and the strength of the

framing is indebted to the river conditions, or the political-economic environment. If the anti-violence advocate does get a paddle, it is unlikely that they will be able to change the direction of the canoe unless the river conditions change or one or more of the other paddlers gets on board. Instead, the presence of the anti-violence advocate likely adds weight to the story, providing the appearance of a counterbalance and validating the direction of the story.

That some anti-violence advocates advance or are coopted to promote carceral solutions may be explained by strategic, institutional practices to engage police. As noted above, both those who critique carceral feminism and anti-violence advocates who espouse pro-penal responses to violence often agree that the current way police are addressing the violence is not working. The question becomes, what is the solution? For some organizations, this means that the media engagement needs to create bridges rather than barriers between police and the organization. In Thunder Bay, for example, there was an Ontario-funded project between the police and a few anti-violence organizations documenting experiences of sexual violence. During this process, the police in Thunder Bay faced heavy criticism for its simultaneous under and over-policing of Indigenous people. One of the anti-violence partners on the project offered insight into how they tread the line between building bridges with police and holding them accountable.

> We're also dealing with these overt accusations against police about racism. Both the press release and my talk were designed to hit the right notes. Say, "Yes. This has been an open conversation but not send the police running in the other direction." We've put a lot of effort into trying to hit that balance of telling the truth but also maintaining engagement of our institutional partners. (Gwen O'Reilly, Centre Coordinator, Interview, September 19, 2016)

O'Reilly further commented that she had tried "yelling" at police and it had not shifted police practices. The Northwestern Ontario Women's Centre is now trying to build relationships with police to try to shift policing of gendered violence. One way to demonstrate commitment to

building relationships with an institutional partner is through supportive, or less critical, media engagement.

Other anti-violence advocates confirmed that sometimes social change is best brought about through dialogue with police. One anti-violence advocate delineated between two different types of roles for anti-violence workers/activists. “On the one end, you have really vocal advocates that aren’t afraid to say anything. They go to media and call stuff out, but they may not be the people who can sit at the table when police want to address an issue and collaborate” (Anti-violence advocate, Interview, March 2017). Rather than view carceral cooptation of anti-violence advocates being duped, this insight suggests such media engagement or non-comment may be strategic. It then becomes difficult to determine the difference between compliance and cooptation. Are anti-violence advocates advancing carceral agendas? Are they strategically being coopted? Are they being duped? The line between cooptation and compliance are fine. Here, what is clear is that some anti-violence advocates view media engagement as secondary to other goals and this might mean that their media engagement could be more easily coopted or comply with neoliberal carceral feminisms.

Coopting Anti-Violence Advocates to Support Individualization

One of the strongest examples of anti-violence advocate cooptation is the media’s translation of survivor’s narratives into individualization. The relationship between anti-violence sources and individualized framing is significant (p=.000) and relatively strong (Cramer’s V=.303). Part of what explains the association is the dominance of the individualization frame. However, many of the interviewees pointed to the practice of anti-violence organizations promoting survivors’

stories. These stories may or may not officially include reference to anti-violence advocates, but interviewees were clear that this is a growing demand from the media.

My first clue came in an informal conversation after an interview. Often, after the tape recorder was turned off, I would take the opportunity to test out some of my ideas and get feedback from an anti-violence advocate, especially if they asked questions about the preliminary results. During one of these exchanges in November 2016, I indicated that the news is dominated by framing that focuses on individuals, often at the expense of considering broader social issues (Chapter 2). This fits with a broader trajectory within the anti-violence movement to position individual clients as the benefactors of the service, often at the expense of considering the role of patriarchy or systems of inequality (Abraham and Tastsoglou 2016, 577; Gotell 2015, 60; Bumiller 2013; Villalón 2010; Bumiller 2008; Gotell 2007, 132). The anti-violence advocate responded: “What’s wrong with telling survivors’ stories?” The answer is of course “nothing.” Survivors’ stories are extremely important to share. This practice of advancing survivors’ narratives, however, is often coopted as individualization.

The role of an anti-violence organization could be rather accidental. An organization could invite media to an annual general meeting or another event. At the event, there might be a survivor sharing their story. If the organization does not have media support, the news might pick up the survivor’s story and potentially decontextualize the story. The media may also call the anti-violence organization for a survivor or ask an anti-violence advocate for a survivor in an interview.

> Often the media will call sometimes and say, "Can you get us a client?" Clients are not just falling off the trees to talk to you. Really, how insensitive can you be? I can understand why reporters want to talk with a person who lived the experience. So that's one key issue, that there has to be systemic change from within [the media] in order for them to understand and report the issues as it relates to the community at large. They have to address issues of sexism and racism and homophobia. (Kripa Sekhar, Executive Director, Interview, November 7, 2016).

> They always want a survivor story, a very specific survivor story. They'll do the interview with me as a subject matter expert and then they'll end with "I know it's delicate, but do you know someone?" And I respond "First of all, you just talked to a survivor, so stop pretending that we're not all one and the same." But my story is not compelling enough for them. They want a blonde young white woman abused by a stranger. Since I've come forward about being stalked for over a decade by a former boyfriend, that's changed a bit. But I've already told my story, and they want exclusives. They want a specific story, a stranger assault and not rape in a relationship. They want "He beat me within an inch of my life" or "He murdered her." You have to have never have told your story to anyone else. (Julie S. Lalonde, Public Educator, Interview, January 8, 2017)

The media look for exclusive, first-person accounts of violence rather than an expert analysis of social systems. This practice often does not advance the goals of either the anti-violence organization or the survivor.

There are some notable risks when survivors are pushed to tell their story to the news media. An individual woman's story might be mistaken for all survivors' experiences:

> Some people in the media have a perception that there is "a" survivor voice or "a" survivor experience…the problem with a big giant survivor story on the front page of the *Toronto Star* is that unless that interview is done really carefully, every person who reads the *Toronto Star* thinks that's what it's like to be raped. No. That is what it was like for that woman to be raped. And that's an important story to hear but you can't generalize from that survivor story. (Pamela Cross, Feminist VAW Lawyer, Interview, February 25, 2017).

As Cross argues, the news has a tendency to take survivors as a representative case study, often without doing the required work of connecting these stories to bigger issues.

This argument might seem to contradict the thrust of this dissertation to celebrate news that connects domestic violence to broader social issues; however, there is an important difference between thematic framing and generalizing survivor's experiences. Thematic framing focuses on the systems of power and oppression that contribute to continued high rates of domestic violence. Generalizing a survivor's experience, on the other hand, without considering the complex interrelated systems, focuses on the individualized experiences as somehow representative of all experiences. The news media may erroneously present the story of one survivor who is "well-spoken and willing to talk about this issue…as speaking for all domestic

violence survivors" (Elayne Furoy, Executive Director, Interview, December 13, 2016). Once again, the individual stand in for a broader social problem without acknowledging intersectional privilege and vulnerability.

The news media also demonstrates a proclivity for reinforcing stereotypes of domestic violence survivors and generalized survivor stories typically reinforce these narratives. These stereotypes are often racialized and marked by class. One interviewee noted that they saw this firsthand: "For racialized women, specifically Black, Indigenous and women of color – we are not seen in the media in the same way when we tell our stories of sexual violence" (Farrah Khan, Femifesto, Interview, December 11, 2016). Racialized survivors are often treated differently by media workers, whether it is showing less belief and more doubt or writing stories that suggest these stories of violence are a symptom of broader ills in the specific racialized community. The media analysis in Chapter 2 supports the finding here that racialized victims are treated differently. In fact, individual Indigenous women's stories are not told and other racialized stories use more victim blaming tropes. As such, when anti-violence organizations promote individual survivor stories, they risk being coopted to reinforce individualization and racialized conceptions of responsibility.

In addition to being coopted into the individualization frame, there are also some notable risks that a survivor might face if they tell their story. The abuser or someone close to the abuser could threaten to sue the survivor for defamation and libel. Lalonde was stalked by her ex-boyfriend for eleven years until he died in a car accident in 2015 (Lalonde 2015). She recounted her harrowing experience in a piece she wrote for *Flare* magazine (ibid). In our interview, Lalonde discussed her experience in sharing her story, noting the potential consequences: "my abuser is dead and his family is still trying to sue me" (Julie S. Lalonde, Public Educator,

Interview, January 8, 2017). However, she had to wait until the abuser was dead to share her story because "he maybe would've sued me, but he definitely would've tried to kill me first" (ibid). There are often unspoken risks for survivors in telling their stories in the media, regardless of whether the abuser is still in their lives or not.

There is also a voyeuristic undercurrent of news attention to survivors' stories that often does a disservice to the survivor themselves. Two anti-violence advocates shared their concerns that survivors, whether they are recent or not, are often pushed to provide more information than they may be comfortable with, all in an effort to share survivors' stories.

> I saw firsthand when a survivor told a reporter: "this is how much I am comfortable sharing." The reporter pushed for more details. The survivor was really explicit and said: "This is how I want to be identified. I don't want to be identified with a detailed description of what was enacted upon me." And then the report came out and it's all in there. In terms of survivor autonomy and safety, that's really problematic. (Shannon Giannitsopoulou, Femifesto, Interview, December 11, 2016)

> At the end of the week of commenting on the [Ghomeshi] trial, I was experiencing severe trauma. If I had been a recent survivor of sexual violence and I had been doing that, I cannot imagine the state of trauma I would have been in. So, I worry…that some women may speak publicly without being properly prepared for the impact…I am concerned that someone who is still processing trauma in an active way can be manipulated by a situation into being more public than maybe she meant to be, or that she'll be happy about later. (Pamela Cross, Feminist VAW Lawyer, Interview, February 25, 2017)

The focus of this encounter was clearly not supporting the survivor's healing. Instead, the journalist did not respect the survivor and the resulting coverage likely also individualized the story and sensationalized the story by focusing on the graphic details of the sexual violence. Several authors have made the argument that the news covers gender-based violence crimes sensationally as a means to sell papers (Enck-Wanzer 2009; Los and Charmard 1997). While that argument has merit, I take it a step further to suggest that this way of reporting on violence against women advances an individualized understanding of the violence and the anti-violence practice of advancing survivors' narratives often becomes coopted in support of these discourses.

Non-Participation

This chapter has so far identified the relationship between three anti-violence media strategies and domestic violence news discourses. Yet, one key piece of the puzzle remains unexplained: When and why might anti-violence advocates and agencies not participate in media engagement? Table 5.4 lists reasons why some anti-violence organizations might not engage with the media. Below, I discuss four of these factors contributing to non-participation: economic and political constraints; principled non-engagement; focus on other mediated social change activities; and fear of backlash.

Table 5.4: Reasons to Not Engage the Media

Inter-Organizational or Sectoral Factors	***Intra-Organization Factors***	***Individual Factors***
• Under-funding • Risk management and government oversight • Gate-keeping in media • Backlash and Fear • Reject media requirements for an individual story instead of providing theory • Focus on other social change activities • Reject news media as source of social change	• Strategic silence • Collective-style leadership • Lack of media policy • Little to no media training • No Time • No designated spokesperson	• Emotional Trauma • No media training • No aptitude • No Time • Personal convictions • Fear of reprisal

Economic and Political Constraints

The most common reason anti-violence advocates identified for not engaging with media is that the economic pressures, service demands, and resource constraints leave little time or resources to do that work. For example, the executive director of the Ontario provincial network of rape crisis centres clearly articulated this point: “Centres are often focused on frontline work. Some of the centres do not have the capacity for media engagement. They might have three staff, and media advocacy could be at the bottom of the list-of-work” (Nicole Pietsch, Coordinator, OCRCC, Interview, December 14, 2016). Similarly, in a study on anti-violence organizations capacity, interviewed executive directors reported being too busy with the day-to-day activities to design and run social change strategies like media engagement (Lehrner and Allen 2009, 672).

From what I have outlined in this chapter and dissertation about the cutbacks to anti-violence services, this argument is not surprising. While anti-violence advocates have the expertise to offer alternative narratives, an organization might not have the staff, training, or time to respond to a journalist's request, let alone proactively build relationships with journalists.

Principled Non-Engagement

A few anti-violence advocates also identified that they did not engage with media for principled reasons. One of the principled stances discussed concerned issues of confidentiality and harms to survivors and families. One executive director noted that they tended "to keep a low profile to keep access to counselling anonymous" (Anti-violence advocate, Interview, December 2016). The reasoning goes that a loud media presence might be counterintuitive to providing confidential counselling. It bears repeating. As noted earlier in the chapter, one interviewee and an executive director of an anti-violence organization took this argument even further, suggesting that the news "should stop covering domestic violence stories to protect the privacy of the families and support victims' healing" (Deborah, Anti-Violence Advocate, Interview, September 13, 2016). While this sentiment is not shared by most of the participants, it can be understood as an extension of a broader argument that news engagement might impinge on a survivor and shelter's client's safety, as well as the differences between anti-violence work and advocacy.

Some anti-violence advocates argued that what the media often wants from interviews is incompatible while respecting a woman's confidentiality.

> It's always challenging because if there's a serious incident around domestic violence, you know [the media] will call. It could be a case I can't comment on because the woman may have been a client. Or I don't feel that I will comment out of respect for the family. Typically, they want a news sound bite and specifics…they don't want generalities…Not commenting can be an issue of confidentiality and respect. (Pam Havery, Executive Director, Interview, February 1, 2017)

When the media is interested in someone to comment on the specifics of a case, the organization that served the woman may not be able to comment to respect the confidentiality of the client and, by extension, demonstrate their commitment towards respecting other clients' privacy. Havery's point is that the news media do not necessarily want an interview with an anti-violence advocate to say that domestic violence is broadly wrong. Some offered a slightly less hardline view of media engagement and client privacy, suggesting that the timing of the comments may matter.

> I have to respect [victims]. We had a terrible murder of a seven-year-old, and the police brought her mother to us…To give a comment [to local media], I did wait two full days. I worked with the media at that time to give some respect to the family but then also give the feminist analysis of the murder (Debbie Zweep, Executive Director, Interview, September 16, 2016).

Both executive directors suggest that media engagement requires thoughtful consideration of the victim's privacy. This discussion further points to the ways in which media engagement straddles what Collier (2012) and others refer to as the central tension of anti-violence advocacy: service provision and social change. While Zweep found that waiting to comment allows her to do both, Havery and others suggest that non-engagement is the best way to fulfill their primary role as service providers.

I also encountered anti-violence advocates who thought that the media did such a poor job covering local issues of gendered and racialized violence that engagement was futile or not desirable. This was particularly strong in Thunder Bay where the newspaper is considered to be, at worst, racist, and, at best, an unfiltered conduit for racist views. Many interviewees talked about when the newspaper ran ads for city council hopeful Tamara Ward-Johnson and "they wouldn't try to interview her to what her merits are or what her biases are" (Communications Officer, Interview, September 2016). Ward-Johnson's ads in the local newspaper used thinly

coded race baiting and openly racist messages. The ad included sayings like "no group of people can illegally block our roads" or "Crown lands are public lands. Not native lands." The choice to allow the ads to run came up in interviews with almost all the anti-violence advocates in Thunder Bay. "We had this huge write up, Tamara, I don't even remember her last name, it was a full-page write up…and it was racist. I'll tell you that day I discontinued my own personal newspaper subscription and we will never get the *Chronicle Journal* in this shelter again" (Debbie Zweep, Executive Director, Interview, September 16, 2016). In my interview on September 19, 2016 with Gwen O'Reilly, the Coordinator of the Northwestern Ontario Women's Centre in Thunder Bay, O'Reilly explained why Thunder Bay anti-violence advocates have largely disengaged from the local paper:

Gwen O'Reilly: Have you heard about the recent controversy? Why everyone canned their subscription?

Bailey Gerrits: Which one?

Gwen O'Reilly: The editorial about First Nations. Did you know about that?

Bailey Gerrits: Yes.

Gwen O'Reilly: The other thing is that The *Chronicle Journal*, the paper used to be the place where the news would come. We barely pay attention to it any longer. Because we don't read it. Nobody else reads it. The only time we respond to them is when like I've just told you, there's some glaring error in there that we need to correct.

Bailey Gerrits: When did that shift happen?

Gwen O'Reilly: I think it's been happening for a few years. We used to have a subscription of the paper and we canceled it 10 years ago when this whole thing about complete inability to understand racism or deal with issues of First Nations people became clear. It became clear that it was the editor of the paper that was a problem.

Bailey Gerrits: What would you do to improve coverage in this city, specifically news coverage in this city about gender-based violence, domestic violence, partner violence?

Gwen O'Reilly: Get rid of the *Chronicle Journal* first. The *Chronicle Journal* is particularly problematic. The other day I looked down at the grocery store stand where the paper was, the headline was about two women stabbing each other. How many times have we seen an attempted murder or a terrible assault by a man against a partner in tiny letters in the police report? If it's about women's violence, it's always front page. If it's about men's violence, not so much.

For many anti-violence advocates in Thunder Bay, the newspaper's printing of a racist ad and of racist views in the letters to the editor section were grounds to disengage because gendered violence is inherently intersectional. This view was also shared by other anti-violence advocates outside Thunder Bay, in which they similarly argued that the contextual racial politics of the city that many newspapers fail to challenge (Chapter 4) are principled grounds to disengage with certain local media.

Focus on Other Social Change Activities

To counter some of these concerns of problematic news coverage, some anti-violence advocates have turned their attention to social media or other forms of media production instead. This follows the trend of technological innovations that allow more citizen-controlled media (Fuchs 2010; Goode 2009; Meraz 2009; Stengrim 2006) and the long history of alternative feminist media production (Payne 2009; Zobl 2009; Atton 2002). The media director of another large anti-violence organization almost exclusively engages on social media and she explained why: "Traditional news media is always filtered, while social media is polarizing but is not filtered…Traditional media may even pick up on social media" (SS, Communications Coordinator, Interview, March 23, 2017). SS focuses her energies on social media platforms. There is a large body of research emerging to discuss online spaces for anti-violence advocates and for anti-violence issues (Fairbairn 2015; Rentschler 2014). While these are outside the scope of this project, what my findings suggest is that some anti-violence social media engagement

may be a rejection of traditional media and, importantly, conditioned by resource constraints. Since one can control the image and timing of the content on social media, such platforms may be more adaptable in a resource constrained environment.

Figure 5.3: Screenshot of the Breaking Free, Breaking Through Ad

Other organizations have opted to focus on broader forms of media production in an attempt to contribute towards social change. The strongest example is that of Ontario Native Women's Association (ONWA) follow-up public awareness campaign to their 1999 report *Breaking Free, Breaking Through.* The ad is unlike the standard anti-violence videos that graphically depict helpless victims, especially Indigenous women victims, of gendered violence. Instead, ONWA's ad focuses on the impact of family violence on children, as well as the resilience of Indigenous women to survive beyond the violence (ONWA 2016). For example, the ad ends with an Indigenous mother and her daughter happily playing on the swings (Figure 5.3) as a woman's voice narrates, "Aboriginal women and girls are at the centre of our families and communities. They are valued and honoured by our people" (Breaking Free, Breaking Through 2019). Other ads stop after depicting Indigenous women broken and helpless (Gerrits 2017). Speaking about Indigenous women in particular, "media within the organization is needed and really important within the organization because we've never really had our voice with media"

(Biskane, Media Officer, A Native Woman's Organization, Interview, September 9, 2016). In both cases, the focus on social media and on their own media production, traditional news becomes a secondary means of getting their message across.

Fear of Backlash

Some anti-violence advocates reported that fear of backlash might encourage less media participation, a finding consistent with research that women face online harassment (Eckert 2018; Lewis et al. 2017; Vera-Grey 2017).

> There's concern about backlash and pushback…there's a perception out there and a fear. (Elayne Furoy, Executive Director, Interview, December 13, 2016).
> Our sector spawns a lot of backlash on social media. This points to profound woman hating in the world. (Nicole Pietsch, Coordinator, OCRCC, Interview, December 14, 2016).

> That was me telling my story and then me going on the news and then reading the death threats I received as a result of telling that story. (Julie S. Lalonde, Public Educator, Interview, January 8, 2017).

These fears and experiences may lead some to avoid any form of public engagement, for fear of an online or in-person attack on the advocate personally, the organization, or the sector. Of course, all the three anti-violence advocates listed above continue to engage with the news media themselves. They can, however, see why others might not want to engage.

Backlash can also occur when those who engage do so on the condition of anonymity. In Thunder Bay, *The Walk a Mile* film project includes five short documentary style films that are meant to encourage critical discussion about the life experiences and histories of Indigenous people in Canada. This includes a section on Murdered and Missing Indigenous Women and Girls. Directed by Indigenous filmmaker Michelle Derosier, the films are used in sensitivity training. In one such training with the police, one of the facilitators went to CBC and "accused [the police] of verbally assaulting" the facilitators (Porter 2016). As a result, there was strong

backlash to the director and the facilitator, both of whom spoke to the media about the incident. One anti-violence advocate commented on the situation in our interview:

> Individual women don't speak. When an advocate tries to bring this forward in a systemic way, like they did with *Walk A Mile*... She's afraid. She's afraid now because she spoke up. She's afraid she's going to be a target. Those voices are out there but at risk, at great risk. (Gwen O'Reilly, Centre Coordinator, Interview, September 19, 2016)

These incidents suggest that backlash is contextual. In Thunder Bay, prevalent racism and sexual violence in the city makes media engagement more dangerous for Indigenous women. The above example, at least, suggests that there might be more of a visceral reaction to those speaking out on issues of racialized and sexist violence, especially in cities known to be particularly hostile towards Indigenous women.

While true non-participation was rare among those I interviewed, it was important to listen and document the structural factors, concerns, and reasons why an anti-violence advocate might not engage with traditional news media. Foregrounding this discussion is the way in which underfunding and oversight of anti-violence organizations conditions when and how anti-violence advocates engage with the media. Yet, there are also intra-organizational and personal concerns that might also contribute to non-engagement, from principled stances on confidentiality and poor media coverage to fear of backlash.

Concluding Thoughts

This chapter outlines the relationship between practices anti-violence organizations use to engage news media and domestic violence news frames. Along with earlier evidence presented in this dissertation, it is clear that journalist's sourcing practices are one of the key explanations behind different types of domestic violence framing. However, this chapter also answers the plea to understand how sources themselves present their information (Zoch and Molleda 2006, 302).

To do so, I inductively developed a typology of four types of anti-violence media engagement strategies (resistance, compliance, cooptation, and non-participation) that are associated with specific frames. The impetus of the typology creation was to combat the tendency in feminist scholarship to present a "dichotomous understanding of feminism as *either* coopted *or* resistant" to neoliberalism (Eschle and Maiguashca 2018, 224). One might be tempted to argue that I am simply presenting a dichotomy between resistance, on the one side, and compliance and cooptation on the other. The difference, one might argue, between compliance and cooptation are inconsequential. However, the difference is vital if one takes the critique of carceral feminism seriously. The media engagement of anti-violence advocates that comply and advance neoliberal carceral narratives is not equivalent to the media engagement of anti-violence advocates that are coopted to support carceral and individualizing discourses. The former type of media engagement draws on a long history of feminist analysis of gendered violence that supports increased policing and imprisonment. The latter type of media engagement does not actively seek to advance these narratives, but instead either strategically or inadvertently are hijacked to advance the narratives. While the fears around cooptation sometimes position feminists as dupes, this re-articulation demands that scholars pay attention to the active practices in which some anti-violence advocates collude with and support systems of inequality.

I further undermine the 'good' and 'bad' girl dichotomy by highlighting that individual anti-violence organizations and advocates might be involved in multiple strategies. While "resistant feminism [may hover] over the text as an implicit ideal" (Eschle and Maiguashca 2018, 228), the empirical evidence is much more complicated. An anti-violence advocate might both promote carceral agendas (compliance) and critique victim blame (resistance) in their media

engagement. Further, some anti-violence organizations and advocates might opt out of media engagement temporarily or permanently. These strategies are not mutually exclusive, but, instead, this multilayer analysis illustrates how the anti-violence sector is always navigating the tension between service provision and social change (Collier 2012; Lehrner and Allen 2009; Walker 1990) and feminist vs. non-feminist political orientation (Nicholos 2013; Janovicek 2007).

The key takeaway is that the political-economic conditions structure how and when anti-violence advocates engage the media and its effect. Anti-violence media engagement is often a secondary task because anti-violence organizations are underfunded, over-managed, and compelled to focus on service provision. Unlike tax-funded police communications, anti-violence media engagement and feminist analyses are often considered a 'special interest' (see Brodie 1995). The news, however, is not completely dire. This chapter also presents strong evidence that when anti-violence advocates do engage, they are often resisting problematic news discourses, despite the smaller, yet notable, patterns of compliance and cooptation. This suggests that resistance may not be the ideal, but rather the reality for many of those who engage with media.

Chapter 6: Conclusion

Let's call her Althea. I remember her as a strong, funny, and kind girl-almost-woman on our competitive soccer team. Every May 18, a photo of Althea in Grovenor Grizzly red or her headstone fills my social media feed. "I miss your sass," one of her closest friends and one of her eulogists wrote in 2017.

In the news headlines, she's the "girl stabbed twice in neck" and nameless at the request of her still bereaved parents and the Youth Criminal Justice Act (Gelinas 2009, A1). At 17 and a week from her high school graduation, her boyfriend murdered Althea while she sat on a couch in a condo kitchen in Fort St. John, BC (ibid).

The coverage is personally unsatisfying. The news can never fully capture the personal influence someone has on your life. The news cannot do justice to a beautiful soul, stolen too early.

While this dissertation is focused on Canada's news environment and relationships and structures that produce domestic violence news patterns, Althea's murder is a reminder of the deadly and personal cost of domestic violence in Canada. Similarly, Ellen's story from the introduction fleshes out one story of a person who lives on after being sexually assaulted, while also driving home the connections between Canada's news environment, carceral state, and gender-based violence. Throughout this dissertation, there are snippets of the horror and the banality of domestic violence. The stories of two women who I know personally are a reminder of the reality of gendered violence in Canada.

Key Findings and Contributions

The news has a role to play in addressing the violence. The ideal role for the news would be to hold institutions accountable, draw attention to cultural problems in Canada, and spotlight potential solutions. The news media could shed light on the prevalence of violence and provide detailed descriptions of the reality behind the numbers. It could dispel myths, explaining, for example, why women stay in abusive relationships or how the cycle of abuse works. Since the news media has the potential to shape public perceptions, its potential to exercise remarkable

power cannot be overlooked (Gillespie et al. 2013, 223). As one anti-violence advocate reminded me, “ending violence and eliminating violence against women is a shared role of everyone, and the media can be a powerful tool” (Kripa Sekhar, Executive Director, South Asian Women’s Centre, Interview, November 7, 2016). The problem is, “we talk about rape [and domestic violence], but we don’t carefully talk about rape [and domestic violence]” (Gay 2014, 132).

News Coverage of Domestic Violence

What this dissertation points to is that the Canadian news media is falling short of its potential. Canadian newspapers from 2014 to 2016 largely reinforced misconceptions about the prevalence of domestic violence and framed responsibility for the violence myopically. Rather than explain the social context of the violence, the news focused on individuals, victims, and racialized communities. These patterns of coverage likely do not foster a sense of social responsibility for the violence, something Enrique Gracia (2004) identified as critical in addressing domestic violence.

Racialized Responsibility and Belonging

Broader discussions of social responsibility focused on racialized communities. Just under half of the stories in the sample (43%) racialized who is responsible for the violence. The reader is left with the impression that Canada does not have a cultural problem of domestic violence; it has problems with specific cultures. This finding is similar to U.S. critiques of gender-based violence news (Chagnon 2018; Patil and Prukayastha 2015; McDonald 1999) and similar to critiques of political and discursive racial hierarchies in Canada (Thobani 2007; Razack 1994).

What I add is the ways in which media attention to both domestic violence in Canada and abroad reinforces racialized conceptions of belonging, responsibility, and nationhood.

There are four specific types of coverage that racialize belonging. First, "culture talk" (Razack 1994) is almost exclusively reserved for racialized victims, accused, and communities. The discussions of culture suggest violence is partially an imported or external problem. Second, mentions of Whiteness are almost always absent and unspoken, reinforcing the argument that "Whiteness is considered the universal norm and allows one to think and speak as if Whiteness described and defined the world" (Tator and Henry 2002, 41). Third, violence is distanced from Canada with the reliance on U.S.-based news wire stories. Since it is well-documented that the U.S. media market is obsessed with covering violent racialized bodies to shore up racial stereotypes and White supremacy (Oliver 2003; Dixon and Linz 2000; Gilliam 1996), newspapers are importing the racial baggage with the stories they bring in.

Fourth, this study updates earlier findings that violence against Indigenous women is underreported and considered not newsworthy (Gilchrist 2010). That 10% of the stories in the sample discuss violence within Indigenous communities suggests that the violence is newsworthy. However, the vast majority of these stories do not focus on an Indigenous woman's experience of violence, but instead focus on the broader Indigenous community. The news ends up maligning Indigenous communities, without contextualizing violence within ongoing colonialism and without amplifying individual Indigenous women's voices.

Racialization does not need blatant racism to promote a racialized sense of belonging and responsibility. I, for example, found no evidence of racist epithets being used and little evidence of overtly discriminatory coverage. The presence of racialized framing is a reminder that race matters in Canadian politics, media, and society (see Tolley 2015b). Yet, this coverage is

predicated on and advances racism. The two broad types of racialization – externalization and local racialization – reinforce a racialized notion of belonging. The coverage may not be blatantly racist, but it is not racially blind or neutral. It is subtly and politely racist. Immigrant and Indigenous communities in Canada and Black men outside Canada are trotted out as being more violent. In other words, the news media largely reinforces rather than interrupts the racial hierarchy in which Canada is misconstrued as a gender equal place, with a few bad (White) apples and some violent racialized communities.

Individualized Responsibility and Blame

The news also focused on individuals as the most responsible for domestic violence. While previous research noted the dominance of episodic framing (Easteal et al. 2015; Rolle et al. 2014; Gillespie et al. 2013; Fairbairn and Dawson 2013; Richards et al. 2011; Bullock and Cubert 2002), I clearly connect the focus on individuals to a broader societal trend of individualization. Individualization, writes Brodie (2009, 179), "places steeply rising demands on people to find personal causes and responses to what are, in effect, collective social problems." This type of coverage may be justified as a way to hold people accountable for their actions. However, the focus on the individual – a dominant frame in 73% of the sample – largely comes at the expense of engendering a sense of broader social responsibility.

Individualization obscures the prevalence of the violence, masks societal accountability for the violence, and promotes myopic responses to the violence. News largely reinforces erroneous notions that domestic violence is an isolated or extraordinary event in Canada (see Kelly 2003, 73), when, in fact, one-third of crimes reported to the police are related to spousal abuse (Burcyzcka 2018). Framing domestic violence individually places the blame on a few bad

apples. The solution becomes focused around individual interventions and punishment. Solutions that implicate society more broadly – addressing poverty, gender inequality, toxic masculinity, patriarchy, violent-supportive pop culture, etc. – are squeezed out of the discussion.

This trend was starker in the news's ongoing use of subtle victim blaming, adding to the literature that argues that the media blames victims (Lloyd and Ramon 2017; Gillespie et al. 2013, 13; Fairbairn and Dawson 2013; Taylor, Rae 2009; Berns 2004; Bullock and Cubert 2002). While overt victim blaming did not pervade the coverage, slightly under a third of stories implied that the person who experienced the violence is partially culpable. By questioning, but not explaining, why women stay in abusive relationships or by calling the woman a liar, the news did not shy away from pointing their fingers at people experiencing the violence.

I specifically identify that discourses of risk also pervade domestic violence news. The literature on rape culture is clear that media and other institutions rely on individualized notions of risk to blame survivors/victims of sexual violence (Barca 2018; Gotell 2008). Few studies have explicitly considered the use of risk discourses to consider domestic violence news, despite the overlap between experiences of sexual and domestic violence and the shared gendered nature of the violence. Instead, one study itself incorporates the language of risk to communicate how the media 'gets it wrong' about domestic violence (Carlyle et al. 2008). By drawing on the rape culture literature rather than the public health literature, I argue that discourses of risk are leveraged to responsibilize victims for the violence perpetrated against them.

What I want to be clear about is that the news should not be barred from discussing the messiness of domestic violence. People stay in relationships that, from the outside looking in, look toxic. People lie about, misremember, or misconstrue their experiences. Women can be violent too. However, the news has a responsibility to explain the reality of domestic violence.

Cases of victim blaming could be avoided if the news contextualized staying, lying, alcohol use, mutual violence, and the cycle of violence (see Berns 2004). This type of coverage would be more informative.

Unlike some of the other frames, how readers might respond to victim blaming has been studied. Carlyle et al. (2014) conducted an experiment investigating the potential effects of reading a story that placed blame on victims of domestic violence. Students who read stories that used victim blaming tropes said they were less willing to engage in helping and prosocial behaviours that might support a survivor of domestic violence or broader anti-violence efforts. That Canadian newspapers used victim blaming tropes in under a third of the stories is part of the problem of ongoing domestic violence.

Unfulfilled Promises of Accountability

Patterns of individualization and victim blame are exacerbated by the unfilled promise of thematically framed stories. Previous feminist research held up thematically framed stories – that is, stories focusing more broadly on the topic – as ideal (Easteal et al. 2015; Gillespie et al. 2013; Mazurok 2010). However, what this study demonstrates is that very few thematic stories (40% of the sample) explored the systems of oppression (<5% of the sample). Instead, the overwhelming pattern focused on the daily routines of the state, especially police, prisons, and punishment. This finding is in line with the literature on technocratic state responses to gendered violence in which violence against women is largely depoliticized (Mason 2017; Coulter 2009), as well as U.S. attention to gender-based violence (Chagnon 2016). By turning to Canadian newspaper coverage, I argue that it too depoliticizes much of the discussion of domestic violence.

One of the key findings of this dissertation is that carceral framing – the focus on police, prisons, and punishment – play a significant role in how news covers domestic violence (50%). Police are the most frequently cited, as the news turns to cover the day-to-day policing of domestic violence. This coverage largely normalizes that the police are the primary state institution meant to address domestic violence and rarely critically assesses how the carceral state is addressing domestic violence. Wacquant (2010) calls media attention to the carceral state the "crystallization of *law-and-order pornography"* (206) and the "theatricalization of penalty" (Wacquant 2007, 206). What I identified in news attention to domestic violence is the routine, boring, and normalized attention to the carceral state, along with sensational coverage. Both the G-rated and R-rated coverage work towards normalizing the carceral state as the key responder to and solver of domestic violence in Canada.

Table 6.1: Summary of Factors that Contribute to Five Domestic Violence Frames	
Individualization	• Journalists valuing individual accountability, objectivity/fairness, and facts • Organizational mandate to focus on local stories • Practice of writing human interest stories • Overreliance on police sources at the local level
Thematic	• Journalists valuing institutional accountability • Organizational mandate to focus on national stories • Investigative journalism • Anti-violence advocates quoted • Women writing the story
Victim Blame	• Journalists adopting risk discourses • Practice of dissecting horrific crimes in depth, sensationalizing domestic violence • Overworked journalists using shorthand • Not talking with anti-violence advocates to dispel myths
Racialization	• Journalistic values of proximity, sensationalism, relevance • Racism in the newsroom • Overreliance on news wire content • Sources using racialized tropes, including police discussion of Indigenous IPV
Carceral	• Journalistic values of public interest and accountability • Pro-police organizational ideology • Overreliance on police and court sources • Pro-carceral attitudes

Domestic Violence Framing Contributions

In addition to the contributions noted above, this study advances an understanding of gendered violence news frames and political communication. In a literature that is generally dominated with attention to U.S.-based news, I empirically document more contemporary domestic violence news patterns in Canada. While some of the U.S. findings are applicable to the Canadian market, there is a need to carefully consider the local environment. In this case, I clearly explain how the news replicates both U.S. and Canadian racial stereotypes throughout Canadian newspaper coverage.

To the gender-based violence news media literature, I systemized five frames that go beyond episodic/thematic framing. For one, some of the literature was largely racially-blind, ignoring how the coverage itself is racialized and varies based on who is be discussed. This is not a new insight (Enck-Wanzer 2009; Maxwell et al. 2000; Consalvo 1998). By corralling the insights in a frame, however, I am providing a template for future research to easily incorporate a discussion of race. The same can be said of carceral framing. Previous studies identified various components of the frame – police reliance, for example – but did not identify how this coverage is itself a way of framing the violence. Systemizing the frames created an opportunity to examine the overlap between the frames and the contradictions within the frame. I further contribute to a burgeoning literature in which it can be hard to compare findings across context and time. By collecting insights from across the vast array of studies, these five frames can be applied and adapted in future studies for better comparisons, debate, and engagement.

News Production

The strongest and most novel contribution of this study is that I connect textual patterns with news production studies, a gap noted in the literature (Philo 2007; De Vreese 2005; Scheufele and Tewksbury 2002; Shoemaker and Reese 1996). In Table 6.1, I summarize the various factors mentioned throughout the dissertation that contribute to each of the five frames. These factors are all conditioned and constrained by broader political-economic factors. It is important to note that these factors are not necessarily causal pathways, as I outline in previous chapters the nuanced relationships between the frames and different levels of news production. I also add empirical insights into contemporary newspapers work, the effect of shifting market conditions, and source influence on news. No study to date, to my knowledge, has explained the interplay between macro, meso, and micro levels that produce domestic violence news patterns in Canada or in other contexts. While I do not have all the answers, this study is hopefully the beginning of a broader conversation about gendered violence news production.

Neoliberal Influences on News Media and Their Sources

Explaining why the news media largely falls short of its ideal confirms the perils of applying neoliberal market logic to what should be considered a public good (Phelan 2014; Fenton 2011). This study includes empirical evidence that demonstrates how the economic and discursive restructuring of both the media and its sources explains much of the framing and selection patterns. Overworked journalists turn to easy stories, stereotypes, and sellable tropes. Since the output requirements have largely increased on the fewer number of individual journalists still working at newspapers, many continue to strengthen their relationships with strong sources, in this case the police, to meet the output demands. Journalists, especially those in smaller, local

settings, have largely ceded decisions of newsworthiness and framing to the police when they reprint police press releases and cover crime and police news in a pro forma manner.

This is one of the novel contributions of this study – I identified how police strongly influence contemporary news production. The key evidence was the different ways that the four police forces influenced domestic violence news. With Kingston Police focusing on domestic violence in their strategic communications, the local newspaper printed more domestic violence stories. Thunder Bay's newspaper printed less local stories, in large part because of the close relationship to the Thunder Bay Police who do not release information about domestic violence often. If they do, the police force and the newspaper are likely to racialize the violence or fail to mention that it is an occurrence of gendered violence. The other key piece of evidence is the reliance on police as sources, something I tied to the expansion of the carceral state and the sophistication of the technologies of police communications. While plenty of research acknowledges the close relationship between police and media (Ellis and McGovern 2015; Mawby 2010; Chermak 1994), this study points to evidence that the relationship seems to be further skewed towards police in the case of contemporary news coverage of domestic violence.

From the policing communications perspective, I add insight into why police might differ in their strategic communication. The literature on police "image management" often does not focus on comparing different police communication strategies. Instead, studies focus on one or more representative cases (Mawby 2014; McGovern and Lee 2010). My careful analysis of police communications in four cities outlines how police strategic communication is deeply informed by city politics, as they pertain to race and gender. Police image management around gendered violence is not a singular strategy, but rather varies between and within police forces. The extent of the difference is unknown and could be studied in future research.

On the flipside, I detailed how retrenchment of social services and increased oversight of anti-violence agencies strongly influence the relationship between anti-violence agencies and the news media. The lack of funding for communication makes it difficult for anti-violence agencies to provide information to the media on a regular basis, unlike the tax-funded police communications. However, I avoid pegging anti-violence advocates as either the sheros fighting against or victims of neoliberalism (see Eschle and Maiguashca 2018, 224). While anti-violence advocates are more likely to resist dominant narratives, anti-violence advocates are also associated with advancing a carceral narrative and individualization.

What I add to the literature on carceral feminism is ways in which some anti-violence advocates support the carceral state through their media engagement. This can happen for a number of reasons. On the one hand, I find evidence that some anti-violence advocates do genuinely support the carceral state, much in line with the literature on carceral feminism (Taylor 2018; Law 2014; Bernstein 2012; Bernstein 2010; Bumiller 2008; Gottschalk 2008; Bernstein 2007). On the other hand, some anti-violence advocates strategically voice their support so as to not cause undue harm to women, their organizations, and their funding. This mirrors the argument that journalists are not reproducing neoliberalism because they are neoliberals (Phelan 2014, 5). By and large, I find that many, though not all, anti-violence advocates are not reproducing carceral neoliberalism because they are carceral feminists. This finding counters some of the ways in which the literature on carceral feminism characterizes the relationship between the anti-violence movement and law enforcement.

Journalistic Values

Neoliberal carceral state influence on news production does not tell the whole story. Journalistic values, newsroom culture, and women have a perceptible influence on domestic violence news patterns. While neoliberalism may fundamentally shift how journalists work, it has not totally changed the 'rules of the game.' It is hopeful that journalists, despite obstacles, continue to strive to serve the public good.

My careful analysis of journalistic values highlights how many of the traditional news values continue to guide news selection, framing, and news wire story selection. Other studies focused on how values have shifted in the wake of technological change (Usher 2014). While I also found that immediacy and interactivity are vital values driving work in contemporary Canadian newsrooms, I also found that traditional values such as objectivity and sensationalism continue to influence the *selection* and *salience* patterns. I identified two news values influenced by neoliberalism – accountability and risk. In addition to adding these values to the literature on news values, I identify the specific guiding principles journalists use to select news wire stories. Since the news relies heavily on news wire stories, articulating the specific values guiding the decision-making processes as told to me by journalists in Thunder Bay add new insights into the composition of news.

Racism and Sexism in the Newsroom

This study also adds empirical insights that add to debate about whether non-white journalists and women in the newsroom are constrained by newsroom culture and structures or whether they act differently based on their racialized and gendered life experiences. That non-white journalists are largely constrained suggests that socialization and newsroom structure limit journalist's

independence. This confirms what previous studies have found to be the case – non-white reporters cannot and do not act differently due to newsroom culture and routines (Meyers and Gayle 2015; Drew 2011; Pritchard and Stonbely 2007; Ward 2006; Liebler 1994; Gitlin 1980; Gans 1979; Tuchman 1978) and the predominately White management largely reinforce a 'White gaze' (Tolley 2015b; Nishikawa et al. 2009; Heider 2000; Gitlin 1980). However, women write empirically differently about domestic violence, connecting individual stories to broader issues more than their male colleagues. Rather than being constrained as journalists within a newsroom hierarchy (Goodyear-Grant 2013; Lavie and Lehman-Wilzig 2003; Ross 2001; Henningham and Delano 1998; Liebler and Smith 1997; Jolliffe and Catlett 1994), I link the difference to women drawing on their experiences of gendered violence in Chapter 3. Women do not necessarily decrease sexist news content as some studies found (Chambers et al. 2004; Liebler and Smith 1997; Mills 1997). Women's experiences do influence news framing of domestic violence (Steiner 2012). What this suggests is that women and non-white journalists – who might be the same person – face different gendered and racialized newsroom environments.

Composition of those in management and the hierarchy itself seems to best explain the differences for women and racialized reporters. While there were women in management, there were less racialized editors and bosses. Reporters identified that women in leadership positions supported women in their careers to potentially write differently. The topic likely also played a role. Some viewed women as having special knowledge about gendered violence. Non-white women reporter's intersectional experiences of violence, however, were obscured. The news patterns themselves focused on the gendered nature of domestic violence and not the intersectional factors contributing to the violence. While women in the newsroom might be enabled, there is a strong critique as to which women's experiences are featured.

Domestic Violence News Production Contributions

In addition to the contributions noted above, this study adds empirical and theoretical contributions to the news production literature. To the hierarchy of influence literature, I add empirical evidence that supports the re-imaging of the relationships between news institutions and social institutions. Instead of embedded within social institutions, I join Colistra (2012) in redrawing the Hierarchy of Influence (HOI) model to place news institutions as parallel to government and other potential sources. What I add to Colistra's image is the empirical reality that sources often bypass the structures and cultures of journalism to more directly influence journalists and the news (Figure 3.1). Since many police press releases get reprinted as news in local newspapers, the police are more directly linked to the end product. This is not true for all sources, but does add nuance to the relationships between news organizations and strong sources in this contemporary moment.

The focus on sources is itself a key contribution. Scholars from various fields have called for more careful attention to news production "from the standpoint of the source" (Zoch and Molleda 2006, 302). What I show is the ways in which sources are associated with different types of frames and assessments of newsworthiness. I also show how broader political-economic forces influence the sources' communications processes to paint a fulsome picture of news production.

To the literature on neoliberalism, I empirically demonstrate how welfare retrenchment and oversight works in tandem with carceral expansion to have a noticeable influence on the news. Often the literatures on neoliberalism and media (Phelan 2014; Fenton 2011) and carceral state and media (Jiwani 2011) do not meet. I draw on scholars, namely, Wacquant (2010; 2007),

who argue that neoliberalism and investment in the carceral state is linked. What I add is that the neoliberal carceral state is often reinforced through media portrayals and the economic realities for both news and sources influence the news production process.

Improving News Media Attention to Domestic Violence

While the broader economic factors often overwhelm the news production process, I have also demonstrated that actors and newsroom culture influence domestic violence story selection and framing. It is for that reason that I turn to anti-violence advocates to discuss some suggestions for ways to improve news media coverage. Anti-violence advocates disagree on what exactly is needed to improve news coverage. I draw out some of the key themes that speak more directly to the findings of this study.

Several anti-violence advocates brought up racialized news coverage. The solution is not to avoid discussing violence within Black, Indigenous, and immigrant communities. Talking about violence against women in the South Asian community, Sekhar said, "it's important to cover these issues. The media has a very powerful voice and must cover these issues without labels" (Kripa Sekhar, Executive Director, South Asian Women's Centre, Interview, November 7, 2016). For Sekhar, journalists should avoid using the language of honour-based violence. The same is said of covering violence against Indigenous women and women who are extremely marginalized. The solution is not to avoid the topic (Kuokkanen 2015; Gilchrist 2010). However, when the media discusses the stories of "the most marginalized victims," like sex workers, the media should "give the full history" rather than leave people with the problematic impressions either she deserved to be killed or that the high rate of violence against Indigenous sex workers is an internal Indigenous problem (Biskane, Media Coordinator for a Native Women's

Organization, Interview, September 10, 2016). The solution, in a sense, is to contextualize the violence, be mindful of the implications of the coverage, and to talk more carefully about gendered violence.

To better cover violence against Indigenous people, anti-violence advocates suggested more education for journalists. “Journalists need to be aware of the TRC,” Truth and Reconciliation Commission (Communications Staff, Indigenous Organization, Interview, October 12, 2016). The media is specifically mentioned in recommendations 84, 85, and 86 (Truth and Reconciliations Commission of Canada 2015, 9-10). The latter is most applicable to Canadian newspapers, asking Canadian journalism programs to teach the histories of Indigenous peoples (ibid, 10). This is something newsrooms and individual journalists could do on their own. Then, journalists might be able to “write stories about MMIW from an Indigenous perspective” (Leanna Marshall, Community Member and Co-Lead, Walking With Our Sisters Thunder Bay, Interview, September 14, 2016) and hire more Indigenous journalists.

On covering violence outside Canada, the news is responsible for what it inadvertently communicates about Canada. Rather than promoting the erroneous statement Canada does not have similar issues, one anti-violence advocate suggested that it is both important “to be able to say this is what happened in India, but it’s not just there. Similar things happen in Canada” (Marcie Pointe, Executive Director, Working Women Community Centre, Interview, November 28, 2016). Pointe is not suggesting that the amount or experiences of rape in India are the same in Canada. Rather, Pointe and others were clear to suggest that the media needs to avoid exoticizing violence outside Canada and obscuring violence in Canada.

Anti-violence advocates agreed that the media must avoid victim blaming. The reason is simple – media wield language powerfully, so news media “language actually needs to be really

just held to a different standard" (Stefanie Lomatski, Coordinator, Sexual Assault Network, Interview, April 5, 2017). To answer "Why don't woman leave?", anti-violence advocates suggested that journalists ask themselves, "how quickly would you leave your life?" (Executive Director, Counseling Centre, Interview, October 14, 2016). It is also a matter of "asking different questions" (Leanna Marshall, Community Member and Co-Lead, Walking With Our Sisters Thunder Bay, Interview, September 14, 2016). For example, the news has focused on 'Why don't survivors report to police?' and one anti-violence advocate explained, "You are asking the wrong question…Try asking about the lead up to violence, from grooming, manipulation, etc." (Nicole Pietsch, Coordinator, Ontario Coalition of Rape Crisis Centres, Interview, December 14, 2016). Because the news media is a powerful institution, journalists and news organizations need to be more mindful of using victim blaming tropes.

One way to answer these different questions is to talk to anti-violence advocates. However, the premise of the asking needs to be mindful of the constraints that workers face, especially since funding is tied to service provision (see Collier 2012).

> The news could call on the people within the community to comment on the complexities of cases in a general way, as opposed to the specific circumstances. None of us are going to comment on that because we could harm the case. We can speak only from our experience. We can say, "Here's our experience in working with woman abuse. These are the complexities of it." (Debbie Zweeb, Executive Director, Faye Paterson House, Interview, September 16, 2016).

Talking to anti-violence advocates as experts will likely help reporters answer broader questions. At the very least, as I argued in this dissertation, asking anti-violence questions in a different way might also start to build a lasting relationship that might have long-term effects on news coverage.

Talking more with anti-violence advocates might also support journalists as they learn more about domestic violence. Anti-violence advocates generally thought that journalists and

decisions makers might benefit from reading more about domestic violence and referring to various media guides, such as *Use the Right Words* (Femifesto 2015). Specifically, Elayne Furoy from the Sexual Assault Centre in Kingston encouraged "editors and decision makers to learn more about trauma" (Executive Director, Interview, December 13, 2016). Trauma might make your memory fuzzy, but that does not mean you are lying. Trauma might inhibit your decision-making, but that does not mean you deserve it. While many general assignment journalists are not subject matter experts, they might benefit from learning a little more about the complexities about gendered violence before they write a story.

In writing stories, anti-violence advocates suggested that journalists explicitly name the violence with a careful attention to the language used. "Avoid euphemisms. As small as, 'so and so is charged with having sex with…' to 'so and so is charged with sexually assaulting…" Call it what it is" (Bailey Reid, Ottawa Coalition to End Violence Against Women, Interview, April 30, 2017). Without glamourizing or sensationalizing the violence, another anti-violence advocate argued to "just show it. It's not pretty looking. It's absolutely horrific. Women are bruised and beaten. Some need help showering and going to the bathroom." (Debra Vermette, Executive Director, Beendigen, Interview, October 18, 2016). Sanitizing the violence or using euphemisms obscures the violence.

One way to avoid sanitizing the violence is to listen to survivors. However, anti-violence advocates warn that the media often looks for survivor stories as the key anchor to any story without a regard for their healing process or without a regard for the complexities. Lalonde clearly articulated that the news needs to treat survivor stories as particular, but not singular.

> They always want a survivor story. They always want a very specific survivor story. At every interview where I am a subject matter expert, they'll end with "I know it's very delicate, I know it's not easy, but do you know someone?" And I'm always like "Well, first of all, you just talked

> to a survivor for five minutes, so stop pretending that we're not all one and the same." (Julie Lalonde, Public Educator, Interview, January 8, 2017).

Lalonde further argues that the news misses the opportunities to speak to survivors who are also subject matter experts. Since there is no one experience of trauma, news organizations would improve their coverage by paying attention to the particulars of individual cases and by connecting individual stories to broad social systems without claiming the experiences are universal.

Future Research

As with any research project, I am left with more questions that could spur future research. The usual suspects are at play here. Future research might benefit from a larger sample size or a longer time frame or a comparison of different media (T.V., social media, radio, etc.). A study could also expand the area of inquiry to include all gendered violence. Comparison between countries would also likely add an understanding of how different place-based political-economic forces shape domestic violence news production. In a sense, a bigger, longer, and better study would advance an understanding of shifts in gendered violence frames and the actors, structures, and relationships shaping the coverage.

There are also specific gaps that I identified through this research that warrants a deeper examination. Since the police play such a pivotal role in shaping the framing and newsworthiness of domestic violence, future research could turn to consider how police themselves approach domestic violence communications. By focusing on Canadian police communications, such research would fulfill two gaps in the literature. There is little research on police communications in Canada, aside from a few recent publications focused on police use of social media (Kudla and Parnaby 2018; O'Connor 2017; Schneider 2016). There is little to no

research on how police communicate about gendered violence. Since police strategies vary in this regard, future research could explain the differences and, with the application of a news production-type study, explain how different police forces developed divergent strategies. This topic will inspire my postdoctoral work, as I turn to document, compare, and explain police strategic social media and digital communication about gendered violence in Canada.

The same careful attention could also focus on feminist communication that bypasses the media. In Chapter 5, I detailed reasons why anti-violence advocates might not engage with traditional news media and one of the reasons cited was the focus on their own media production. Understanding better how and why some anti-violence organizations produce their own media will better flesh out Canada's information environment and will help to better understand how anti-violence advocates frame gender-based violence.

In addition to fleshing out the information environment, future research could examine the effects. Since little research has specifically examined the effects of domestic violence news, this area of research is underdeveloped. There are two specific audience studies that directly flow from the findings of this research. First, what my analysis shows is the subtle and overt reliance on racialized victim blaming and racialization more broadly. One media effects project might examine how racialized framing affects a reader's willingness to engage in prosocial behavior, updating Carlyle et al's (2014) findings. Second, since I found a reliance on police, an audience study could examine the degree to which people trust news that relies heavily on the police. Both effects studies would respond to specific findings in the dissertation – the reliance on racialization and carceral framing. They also touch on broader issues – the racial dynamics in Canada and issues of police misconduct, fake news, and media trust.

Implications

This research area is ripe for further attention. The study at hand nonetheless has notable implications of its own. The framing patterns broadly are not conducive for social change. Individualization, victim blame, and racialization responsibilize specific people in society, rather than society more broadly. Thematic framing, rather than counterbalancing this trend, often depoliticizes the violence and its solutions. While future research could test these assertions more rigorously, I would anticipate that news patterns broadly do not engender social responsibility, do not work towards preventing domestic violence, and do not support survivor's healing.

The news media is also not living up to its ideal as the fourth estate and "watchdog over the government" (Whitten-Woodring 2009, 595). It is not well positioned to hold police accountable and rather supports police institutions and their communication. The continued reliance on "cut-and-paste journalism" (Erdal 2009, 228) and reprinting of police press releases does a disservice to the reader and the media institution. I would anticipate that reliance on police will only continue as newspapers continue to constrict. The news media might be at a point of no return, as well, as the relationship is seemingly embedded in the day-to-day fabric of journalism. However, I want to be careful to not overstate the reliance, as this dissertation did not examine police-media relations more broadly. News media do, no doubt, rely on police to report on domestic violence and I would be surprised if that changed given the current conditions.

The application of market logic seems to be part of the concern driving dependence on policing. Stated differently, relying on consumers to buy newspapers and eschewing government funding does not ensure independence from the government. Instead, this dissertation identified a type of dependence on one part of the state – the police – and stems in part from both neoliberal

media logics and carceral expansion. The solution may not necessarily be government funding for news media, but the current situation is compromising the independence of the news media.

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Appendix A: Keyword Search Terms and the Limitations

The keywords used to search the databases were:

> ((Wife or girlfriend or financé or fiancée or marital or intimate or partner or domestic or relationship or married or bride or conjugal or interpersonal or husband or boyfriend or spousal or family or couple or dating or groom or newlywed or matrimonial or marriage) NEAR (assault or violence or batter* or threat or aggression or "black eye" or smother or coerce or harass or humiliat* or rape or murder or homicide or hit or shot or abus* or violate or belligerent or poison or strangle or control or kill or beat or fight or injure or slap or rage or bash or drown or punch or torture or force)) OR "reproductive coercion" OR "emergency shelter" OR "honour killing" OR "honor killing" OR "forced pregnancy" OR "intimate terrorism" OR "women's shelter" OR "dowry violence" OR "bride burning" OR "domestic incident" OR "coercive control" OR "domestic violence" OR "spousal violence" OR "domestic abuse" or "intimate partner violence"

The keyword search focuses on words that signal the story is about domestic violence rather than cases themselves that are domestic violence cases. So, for example, there are only a handful of stories about the Ghomeshi case in which women publicly accused former CBC radio host Jian Ghomeshi of non-consensually sexually assaulting them, some while dating and some as friends. Additional women, including former *Q* producer Kathryn Borel and anonymous media students, who worked with Ghomeshi accused him of sexual harassment and assault and these stories would not be included in the sample as it is not about violence within the context of an intimate relationship. Given the definition I provided in the introduction of domestic violence, however, the cases of Carla Ciccone, Lucy DeCoutere, the anonymous accuser in the trial, and a slew of so-called “bad date” accusers would potentially fit into the definition of domestic violence. The violence, in these cases, happened in the context of dating. However, the media tended towards discussing the violence as a form of sexual assault only and was not always picked up in the keyword search. The keyword search required that the violent term – such as “sexual assault” or “hit” – be closely associated with some moniker of an intimate relationship – “boyfriend”, “husband”, “partner”, etc. – or a label indicating some form of domestic violence – “domestic violence,” “dating violence,” etc. Other cases could also be missing if the news story does not include a clear indication of this type of violence. This is a drawback, as the sample does not include all the stories published about domestic violence cases on the dates in the constructed week. It does, however, include all the stories that

the media *labeled* as domestic violence. This is the purpose of this sampling technique – to understand how the news media discursively constructs domestic violence.

Appendix B: Newspaper Sampled

Newspaper	Number of Stories Published	% of the Sample	Framing Proportion of Stories Within Each Newspaper				
			Individualization	Thematic	Victim-Blame	Racialization	Carceral
24 Hours Toronto	4	.5%	100%	0%	25%	50%	50%
24 Hours Vancouver	5	.6%	40%	40%	0%	40%	40%
Brockville Recorder and Times	11	1.3%	82%	18%	18%	27%	55%
Calgary Herald	24	2.9%	67%	46%	17%	33%	29%
Cranbrook Daily Townsman	1	.1%	0%	100%	0%	0%	0%
Grand Prairie Daily Herald-Tribune	3	.4%	100%	67%	67%	33%	67%
Kenora Daily Miner and News	3	.4%	33%	67%	0%	67%	0%
Fort McMurray Today	2	.2%	50%	50%	100%	0%	0%
Guelph Mercury	10	1.2%	60%	70%	30%	30%	70%
Metro Calgary	3	.4%	33%	100%	0%	0%	100%
Metro Edmonton	1	.1%	100%	100%	100%	0%	100%
Metro Halifax	1	.1%	0%	100%	100%	0%	100%
Metro Toronto	3	.4%	67%	33%	33%	67%	33%
National Post	18	2.2%	67%	50%	39%	61%	56%
Niagara Falls Review	12	1.5%	58%	50%	42%	42%	17%
Northumberland Today	11	1.3%	64%	46%	27%	27%	27%
Ottawa Citizen	25	3.0%	88%	28%	12%	48%	52%
St. Thomas Times-Journal	4	.5%	25%	50%	25%	25%	0%
Cornwall Standard-Freeholder	18	2.2%	94%	11%	22%	22%	78%
The Barrier Examiner	7	.9%	57%	43%	43%	29%	43%
The Beacon Herald	4	.5%	75%	25%	0%	50%	0%
The Calgary Sun	20	2.4%	80%	20%	35%	45%	45%
The Chatham Daily News	13	1.6%	85%	8%	39%	8%	77%
The Chronicle-Herald (Halifax)	17	2.1%	82%	41%	12%	47%	53%
The Chronicle-Journal (Thunder Bay)	20	2.4%	80%	15%	10%	40%	80%
The Daily Bulletin (Kimberley)	1	.1%	0%	100%	0%	100%	0%
The Daily Observer (Pembroke)	6	.7%	83%	50%	50%	50%	33%
The Daily Press (Timmins)	3	.4%	67%	67%	33%	67%	33%
The Edmonton Journal	25	3.0%	68%	52%	36%	56%	44%
The Edmonton Sun	19	2.3%	79%	37%	37%	53%	53%

Newspaper	Number of Stories Published	% of the Sample	Framing Proportion of Stories Within Each Newspaper				
			Individualization	Thematic	Victim-Blame	Racialization	Carceral
Brantford Expositor	9	1.1%	67%	33%	33%	56%	56%
The Gazette (Montreal)	17	2.1%	65%	53%	18%	53%	41%
The Globe and Mail	22	2.7%	59%	73%	41%	59%	36%
Belleville Intelligencer	9	1.1%	78%	22%	11%	22%	78%
The Kingston Whig-Standard	24	2.9%	83%	29%	42%	25%	63%
Regina Leader-Post	28	3.4%	50%	68%	25%	29%	29%
The London Free Press	23	2.8%	61%	44%	22%	61%	35%
The North Bay Nugget	11	1.3%	73%	46%	18%	18%	82%
The Observer (Sarnia)	11	1.3%	82%	18%	46%	27%	55%
The Ottawa Sun	19	2.3%	68%	26%	32%	21%	47%
Orilla Packet & Times	5	.6%	80%	60%	60%	100%	40%
The Peterborough Examiner	14	1.7%	79%	21%	29%	36%	43%
Vancouver Province	18	2.2%	100%	17%	22%	50%	56%
The Record (Sherbrooke)	1	.1%	100%	0%	0%	100%	100%
The Sault Star	20	2.4%	85%	15%	15%	15%	80%
Woodstock Sentinel-Review	6	.7%	50%	50%	50%	33%	0%
The Simcoe-Review	2	.2%	50%	50%	50%	0%	0%
Hamilton Spectator	28	3.4%	79%	43%	54%	75%	50%
St. Catherine's Standard	13	1.6%	62%	31%	31%	31%	39%
Saskatoon Star Phoenix	20	2.4%	75%	45%	10%	65%	60%
The Sudbury Star	11	1.3%	73%	56%	46%	64%	46%
Owen Sound Sun Times	3	.4%	67%	33%	33%	67%	33%
Moose-Jaw Times-Herald	1	.1%	100%	0%	0%	0%	100%
The Toronto Sun	23	2.8%	91%	9%	44%	39%	48%
The Tribune (Welland)	11	1.3%	46%	46%	36%	36%	27%
The Vancouver Sun	18	2.2%	67%	56%	33%	50%	67%
The Whitehorse Star	8	1.0%	75%	38%	13%	88%	63%
The Windsor Star	21	2.6%	67%	43%	33%	24%	57%
Victoria Times Colonist	20	2.4%	80%	55%	40%	25%	45%
Toronto Star	49	6.0%	75%	53%	33%	71%	45%
Waterloo Region Record	17	2.1%	94%	35%	35%	47%	65%
Winnipeg Free Press	16	1.9%	69%	44%	38%	38%	44%
Winnipeg Sun	14	1.7%	79%	29%	36%	36%	50%

Newspaper	Number of Stories Published	% of the Sample	Framing Proportion of Stories Within Each Newspaper				
			Individualization	Thematic	Victim-Blame	Racialization	Carceral
Saint John Telegraph Journal	17	2.1%	82%	18%	24%	18%	88%

Appendix C: Regional Variation

Region	Number of Stories Published	% of the Sample
Yukon and Territories	8	1.0%
BC	63	7.7%
Alberta	97	11.8%
Saskatchewan	49	6.0%
Manitoba	30	3.6%
Ontario	478	58.1%
Quebec	18	2.2%
New Brunswick	17	2.1%
Nova Scotia	18	2.2%
PEI	0	0%
Newfoundland	0	0%
National	45	5.5%

Appendix D: Newspapers by Owner

Newspaper Owner	Number of Stories Published	% of the Sample
Globe and Mail	22	2.7%
Torstar Corporation	111	13.5%
Postmedia Network Inc.	371	45.1%
Sun Media	216	26.2%
Continental Newspapers Canada	20	2.4%
Black Press Ltd	2	.2%
Glacier Media	20	2.4%
FP Canadian Newspapers	16	1.9%
TC Media	2	.2%
Halifax Herald Ltd	17	2.1%
Glacier Media/Alta Newspaper Group LP	1	.1%
Brunswick News Inc.	17	2.1%
Independent	8	1.0%

Appendix E: Sample Description

The majority of the 823 stories are regular news items (89%). Under one percent are editorials; there are only four published in my sample. The remaining 10% of the sample are columns and opinion pieces written by staff columnists or guest writers. Some of the differences between columns and regular news items were hard to determine, especially as more newspapers blend opinion and news. I interviewed one *Ottawa Citizen* reporter who had an on-and-off biweekly column in addition to contributing to daily reporting. Coders were trained to look for obvious cues in the sample. Factiva often described the type of story in the biographic information at the top of the story. If that information was absent, coders relied on their best judgment to examine tone or look up the author. If the author was listed as a columnist, like the *National Post's* Christie Blatchford, then that story would be coded as a column. If there were any stories they could not determine the story type, the coders emailed me and we discussed the appropriate code. Since this variable achieved an acceptable level of agreement (Cohen's Kappa=0.938), I am confident that the sample contains mostly regular news stories, with a smattering of editorials and columns.

The majority of the stories were printed physically in the newspaper in some format (82%), while the remaining 18% were only printed online on the dates sampled. This could mean that the story was only printed online or that the online version was released the day before the printed version was released. This research design does not provide rigorous enough data to systematically compare the online and printed version of the stories.

There is clear evidence of news reliance on news wire services and duplicated content across news chains. Thirty-two percent of the sample is sourced from a news wire service, such as *The Canadian Press* and *Associated Press*. Additionally, 42% of the sample is duplicated content. What that means is that people across the country are largely reading the same stories and less local reporting is filling the pages of local news. That there is more duplicated content than news wire content is explained by the fact that larger media organizations reprint in-house content across their newspapers. This is especially true, as some of the local Postmedia newspapers are no longer formatted in house. Instead, a centralized

formatting warehouse standardizes the national and international pages across the local Postmedia chain of newspapers. Because I was interested in patterns across the newspaper industry, I did not remove the duplicates from the analysis. Marking the duplicated stories identifies how patterns traverse across Canada and underscores the weakness of local reporting. To only count a duplicated story once misses the way the news industry is standardizing content and relying on external sources to fill their pages.[60]

The stories published in print are found throughout the newspaper. Forty-eight percent of the stories are found in the A-section or the first ten pages of the tabloid style newspapers. Five percent of stories were published on the front page. Eighteen percent were printed on the second and third pages of the first section of the paper. An additional 4% of the stories appear on the front page of later sections. These stories ranged from as short as 19 words to as long as 3,078 words, with an average of 486 words. This suggests that domestic violence is, when covered, considered a fairly important topic, some of the time.

Each newspaper published on average 13 stories, ranging from newspapers that only published one story to the *Toronto Star* publishing 49 stories representing 6% of the sample (see Appendix B). On the low end, some newspapers rarely covered domestic violence – 19 of 64 newspapers reported on domestic violence less than five times (30% of the sample newspapers). Aside from the *Toronto Star*, the remaining 44 papers (59% of the newspapers) published more than 10 and less than 28 stories. Only the *Toronto Star* published more than 28 stories, suggesting that there is something different about the local-cum-national newspaper. I explain the differences between the *Star* and other newspapers in Chapter 3.

Much of the coverage is driven by high-profile events. This skews the distribution of stories by year and date. The sample contains more stories from 2014 (48%), in part because a few of the randomly selected dates coincided with news about the Ray Rice case. Ray Rice is a now infamous NFL football running back who was caught on video brutally hitting his now-wife Janay Rice. News in Canada and the

[60] Earlier studies also analyzed the amount of duplicated content when newspapers were printing two daily newspapers (Hicks and Featherston 1978; Lemert 1974; Nixon and Jones 1956). The question was largely the same: what effect does ownership concentration and competition have on newspaper content duplication?

U.S. glommed onto the story. Thirty-one percent of the sample was published in 2015 and 21% in 2016. This maps with the overall search results in Factiva. There were more stories matching the keywords in 2014, less in 2015, and even less in 2016.

There was a sizable variation between the number of stories published in a single day. For a few dates, no newspaper published a story about domestic violence, while a handful of dates saw one to three stories published in the majority of the newspapers. The most stories published in a single day happened on September 14, 2014 (65 stories). As the news is always responding to real life events, the variation is logical. It also points to an advantage of a constructed sampling technique as opposed to a selection of random weeks or even months. The dates were fairly well distributed across the year for each year, avoiding an over-sampling of specific events.

There is regional variation in the sample skewed towards news printed in Ontario and ownership towards Postmedia (see Appendix C). Ontario newspapers account for over half of the sample (58%), as it is the province with the smallest town daily newspapers in circulation, and Postmedia-owned papers for 45% of the sample. That my sample includes a significant amount of Postmedia newspapers is not a design flaw – it reflects the concentration of ownership in Canada. PEI and Newfoundland daily newspapers are missing from the sample, although newspapers from the region were available through Factiva and when I included them in the search, I did not come up with any results. The following papers, while available through Factiva, did not show any stories during the time period: *Alberni Valley Times, Brandon Sun, Metro Ottawa, Metro Vancouver, Metro Winnipeg, Namaimo Daily News, Prince Albert Daily Herald, Prince George Citizen, Truro Daily News, Summerside Journal Pioneer, St. John's Telegram, Trail Daily Times,* and *Corner Brook Western Star.* It likely that these newspapers did not publish any domestic violence stories during this time period. It is also possible that they were not properly searchable in the database. The sample includes the only printed daily newspaper in the Territories – the independent *Whitehorse Star* in the Yukon. While collecting stories from all newspapers

printed in Canada would be the ideal research design, I focused my energies to collect newspapers that largely represent the news market, concentrated ownership, and regional variation.

There are some limitations to using the databases to create the sample. The databases do not include the news story in its original format. I cannot analyze the placement of stories vis-à-vis advertisements or other stories. The databases also do not include photos. Because I would not be able to track down all the photos, I decided that leaving the photos out of the analysis is better than an incomplete comparison of the photos. However, photos are a large component of how people read stories. To study photos, in a future project, would require a different research design in which one focused on specific papers and collected contemporaneously or from the microfiche. While the databases did differentiate between stories that were only printed online and stories that also appeared in print, I cannot reasonably assess the differences between online and in print stories. This would require a different research design. Given that some research suggests that the differences between online and print are not as large as imagined (Benson et al. 2012; Hoffman 2006), this drawback is not significant. I cannot assess the differences between mainstream newspaper coverage, public broadcaster coverage, and alternative news coverage. That PEI's *Guardian* and *Journal Pioneer* and Newfoundland's *Telegram* and *Western Star* are missing presents a challenge for understanding regional variation. I did not find any significant regional variation. This might be explained by the dominance of news produced in Ontario, or it might be a deficit of the sample. Finally, this study solely focused on English-language news attention due to my language limitations as an Anglo-researcher. Future research partnerships could adapt the methods to compare French and English Canadian news attention.

Appendix F: Coding Frame

Sampling: all articles, columns, and editorials from January 1, 2014 to December 31, 2016 about domestic violence, searched on Factiva using expansive search terms. The coded stories are sampled using a random sampling technique called constructed week sampling.

Exclude letters to the editor or throws or lists of community events or news quizzes or list of donations or lists of films (though, it can include extensive film and book reviews).

Exclude stories about family violence (parental abuse, elder abuse, child abuse, etc.) that do not also discuss intimate partner violence, but include stories broadly about the phenomenon of family violence or "honour killing."

Exclude stories about date rape, where there is no existing relationship.

Exclude stories about homeless shelters, but include stories about domestic violence shelters or homeless shelters that serve women who experience violence, explicitly noted in the story.

Unit of Analysis: depending on the variable, the unit of analysis will be either a sentence or sentence fragment (two or more words) or the entire story.

Story Duplication: In cases where the sample includes exact duplications or similar duplication of stories, code each of the duplicated news stories as unique stories. Note in the discourse notes any duplicated stories, as well as code variable #9.

Domestic Violence Definition: any form of violence committed by a current or former spouse, boyfriend, girlfriend, or cohabitating partner. Violence includes any physical or sexual abuse, threats, coercion, emotional, and psychological abuse. This definition excludes one-night stands or friend-on-friend violence, but includes violence in heterosexual, same-sex, transgender, gender-queer, and polyamorous relationships.

Individual vs. General Stories About Domestic Violence: The stories in this sample focus on domestic violence, including individual incidents of domestic violence, stories that generally discuss domestic violence, stories about women's shelter, and so on. All the variables below apply to all types of stories – that is both stories that discuss individual incidents of domestic violence and stories that discuss broader issues as they relate to domestic violence. For example, when coding for the gender of the perpetrator, the variable is looking for the gender of an individual perpetrator in stories about individual incidents and the discussion of the gender of perpetrators, if any, in stories about domestic violence generally.

Additional Coding Notes: Unless the coding notes or question for an individual variable explicitly asks the coder to only code explicit mentions of a word or phrase, all reasonable synonyms should be coded.

Variable number	Variable name/label	Variable label/values/coding information
		DOMESTIC VIOLENCE IN CANADIAN NEWS
1	**Story ID** (StoryID)	***Story identification*** A unique identifier, starting at 1 to *n*
2	**Newspaper**	***Which newspaper was the story featured in?***

	(paper)	**1**	24 Hours Toronto	**39**	The Edmonton Sun
		2	24 Hours Vancouver	**40**	The Expositor
		3	Alberni Valley Times	**41**	The Gazette (Montreal)
		4	Brandon Sun	**42**	The Globe and Mail
		5	Brockville Recorder and Times	**43**	The Intelligencer
		6	Calgary Herald	**44**	The Journal-Pioneer
		7	Cranbrook Daily Townsman	**45**	The Kingston Whig-Standard
		8	Daily Herald-Tribune	**46**	The Leader-Post
		9	Daily Miner and News	**47**	The London Free Press
		10	Fort McMurray Today	**48**	The North Bay Nugget
		11	Guelph Mercury	**49**	The Observer (Sarnia)
		12	Metro Calgary	**50**	The Ottawa Sun
		13	Metro Edmonton	**51**	The Packet & Times
		14	Metro Halifax	**52**	The Peterborough Examiner
		15	Metro Ottawa	**53**	The Province
		16	Metro Toronto	**54**	The Record (Sherbrooke)
		17	Metro Vancouver	**55**	The Sault Star
		18	Metro Winnipeg	**56**	The Sentinel-Review
		19	Nanaimo Daily News	**57**	The Simcoe Reformer
		20	National Post	**58**	The Spectator
		21	Niagara Falls Review	**59**	The Standard
		22	Northumberland Today	**60**	The Star Phoenix
		23	Ottawa Citizen	**61**	The Sudbury Star
		24	Prince Albert Daily Herald	**62**	The Sun Times (Owen Sound)
		25	Prince George Citizen	**63**	The Telegram
		26	St. Thomas Times-Journal	**64**	The Times-Herald
		27	Standard-Freeholder	**65**	The Toronto Sun
		28	The Barrie Examiner	**66**	The Trail Times
		29	The Beacon Herald	**67**	The Tribune (Welland)
		30	The Calgary Sun	**68**	The Vancouver Sun
		31	The Chatham Daily News	**69**	The Western Star
		32	The Chronicle-Herald	**70**	The Whitehorse Star
		33	The Chronicle-Journal	**71**	The Windsor Star
		34	The Daily Bulletin (Kimberley)	**72**	Times Colonist
		35	The Daily News (Truro)	**73**	Toronto Star
		36	The Daily Observer(Pembroke)	**74**	Waterloo Region Record
		37	The Daily Press (Timmins)	**75**	Winnipeg Free Press
		38	The Edmonton Journal	**76**	Winnipeg Sun
				78	Saint John Telegraph Journal

3	**Date** (date)	***Date of story***: dd-mmm-yy e.g. 26-Feb-15

HARDCOPY OR ONLINE NEWS		
4	**Medium** (Med)	***Did the news story appear in a hardcopy version of the newspaper?*** 1. Yes 2. No 99. I don't know/Unclear
		Coding notes: Code "no" when Factiva (the database) does not include a page number, lists the page number as "0," lists it as "Breaking News." Code "yes" when the paper information includes a page number, such as "B6," "1," "GT2," or "12."

5	**Story type** (storytyp)	***Type of Story*** 1. Regular news item 2. Editorial 3. Column 4. Self-Help Column 5. Other
		Coding notes: Editorials often are found at the end of the front section and do not include an individual journalist's by-line. Columns include columns by regular columnist or by guest writers. If the story is labelled "Analysis", code as a column. A self-help column is typically written to "Dear Amy" or another individual and that individual responds with advice. Only code #4 if the article is responding to a self-help letter. Record Other in Discourse Notes

6	**Length of Story** (length)	***How many words are there in the story?*** Record the exact number of words.
		Use a word counting feature on the computer, such as Microsoft Word, if possible or use the word count listed in the Factiva information box.

7	**Reporter Gender** (rgender)	***What is the gender of the reporter or author of the story?*** 1. Woman 2. Man 3. Both Woman and Man 99. Not applicable
		Look up reporters if you are unclear about their gender. Select 99 if the author is the editorial board, the paper's name, etc. is listed as the author or in cases that does not list an author.

8	**News Wire** (News wire)	***Is the story listed as coming from a News Wire service?*** 1. Yes 2. No
		Code yes (1) in cases where the author or another line indicates that the story is from CP, Associated Press, Canadian Press or another news wire service.

9	**Duplication** (Dup)	***Is the story a duplicate story of another story in the sample?*** 1. Yes 2. No

		Code yes (1) if the reporter is the exact same and the headline, story content, and length are the exact same or very similar. For example, for a 500 word story, it would be the exact same if it is within 10 or 20 words. ***Do not code yes if the story simply reports the same subject matter. Record in the discourse notes which stories are the same or similar.***

PAGE NUMBER VARIABLES		
10	*(For news stories that use consecutive numbering, use variable #9)*	
	Page Number (pagenum1)	***What is the page number of the story?*** Record the page number: 1-*n* 99. The paper uses non-numerical numbering
		Coding notes: Record 99 if there is no page number listed or if they list the page number as 0 or if the page number is a letter followed by a number (such as A1 or B2).
11	*(For news stories that use letters and numbers A1, B1, etc., use variables #10 and #11)*	
	Page Number (pagenum2)	What is the letter in the page number sequence? 1. A 12. L 23. W 34. SR 2. B 13. M 24. X 35. BR 3. C 14. N 25. Y 36. _____ 4. D 15. O 26. Z 37. _____ 5. E 16. P 27. GT 38. _____ 6. F 17. Q 28. IN 39. _____ 7. G 18. R 29. WD 40. _____ 8. H 19. S 30. FP 41. _____ 9. I 20. T 31. DM 42. _____ 10. J 21. U 32. NP 99. The paper does not use 11. K 22. V 33. PM alphabetized page numbers
		Coding notes: Code all page numbers that include letters and numbers with this variable
12	**Page Number** (pagenum3)	***What is the page number after the alphabetized section for the story?*** Record the page number: 1-*n* 99. The paper does not use consecutive alphabetized page numbers
		Coding notes: Code all page numbers that include letters and numbers with this variable

STORY FOCUS		
13	**Story Focus1** (Focus1)	***Please give your overall impression of the story: does the news story substantially focus on an individual event of domestic violence?*** 1. Yes 2. No
		Coding Notes: Substantially focus: the story spends much of the space discussing an individual event of domestic violence. By individual event, I mean a single incident or a series of incidents between the same people or a single person's experience with domestic violence over a lifetime.

14	**Story Focus2** (Focus2)	***Please give your overall impression of the story: does the news story substantially focus on domestic violence broadly?*** 1. Yes 2. No

		Coding Notes: By substantially focus, I mean that the story spends most or much of the word space discussing domestic violence broadly. By "domestic violence broadly," I am referring to a story that focuses on multiple events of domestic violence mentioned about differently people. This could include discussing prevalence more generally across the country, region, community, specific group, or world. Or a discussion of over-time fluctuations of domestic violence, trends in sentencing, social causes of domestic violence, etc.

STORY FEATURES
Coding notes: For these variables, search the entire news story. That is, code anything that appears in any aspect of the story, including main headline, underline (secondary headline), second-page headlines, the text of the story, photo, cutline, fact box and quote box.

SCOPE OF CRIME		
15	**Murder** (Murder)	***Does the story mention spousal murder?*** 1. Yes 2. No
		Code yes if the story mentions a spousal killing, homicide, murder, or any synonym of the word "murder," or any synonym of "spouse" such as intimate-partner, partner, wife, husband, girl-friend, etc.

16	**Sexual Assault** (SAssault)	***Does the story mention spousal sexual violence?*** 3. Yes 4. No
		Code yes if the story mentions marital rape, forced sex, coerced sexual acts, sexual harassment, or any synonym phrase or word that conveys that the story is explicitly discussing an act of sexual violence within the confines of a marriage, dating relationship, or co-pendent relationship between intimate-partners.

17	**Assault** (Assault)	***Does the story mention spousal or intimate-partner physical assault or abuse?*** 1. Yes 2. No
		Coding Notes*:** Code yes if the story mentions any case of physical violence against a spouse, including attempted murder, physical sexual violence, etc. ***DO NOT code "yes" if the story ONLY discusses murder.

18	**Mental Abuse** (MAbuse)	***Does the story mention spousal or intimate-partner mental or emotional abuse?*** 1. Yes 2. No
		Coding Notes: Code yes if the story mentions controlling behaviours, verbal abuse, bullying behaviours, verbal threats, constant criticism, intimidation, shaming, uttering death threats, confinement, and/or manipulation. In the discourse notes record any form of violence mentioned in the story that does not fit with variables 15 through 18.

TYPE OF DOMESTIC VIOLENCE		
19	**Perpetrator Gender** (PGender)	***What is the gender of the perpetrator(s)?*** 1. Man 2. Woman 3. Both man and woman 4. Another gender or gender non-conforming 99. The story does not discuss specific perpetrators or the gender of perpetrators more broadly
		Coding Notes: Look for specific cues to gender or sex (male, female), including the use of personal pronouns ("she" and "he"). If there are multiple perpetrators, code as #1 if all are noted as men and #2 if all are noted as women. However, code #3 if the story discusses multiple perpetrators and these perpetrators are identified as both men and women. If the story, for example, discusses how men are more violence, then code as #1. If the story, for example, discusses how both women and men commit violence in intimate relationships, code as #3. Code #4 if the story explicitly mentions a perpetrator's gender as not falling on the binary gender spectrum, such as noting the gender as "two-spirit" or "trans-gender." Note, "two-spirit" can also refer to a sexual identity, but may refer to non-binary gender identities for some Indigenous communities. Look for keys in the story to see if the reference to "two-spirit" is referring to gender, sexuality, or potentially both. Include unusual mentions of gender in the *discourse notes*, especially mentions that are derogatory or evaluative. Code 99 in stories that discuss domestic violence broadly (such as trends or statistics) and that do not discuss any gender of the perpetrator(s).

20	**Victim Gender** (VGender)	***What is the gender of the victim(s) or survivor(s)?*** 1. Man 2. Woman 3. Both man and woman 4. Another gender or gender non-conforming 99. The story does not discuss specific victims/survivors or the gender of victims/survivors more broadly
		Coding Notes: Look for specific cues to gender or sex (male, female), including the use of personal pronouns ("she" and "he"). If there are multiple victims, code as #1 if all are noted as men and #2 if all are noted as women. However, code #3 if the story discusses multiple victims and these victims/survivors are identified as both men and women. If the story, for example, discusses how women experience more violence in relationships, then code as #2. If the story, for example, discusses how both women and men experience violence in intimate relationships, code as #3. Code #4 if the story explicitly mentions a perpetrator's gender as not falling on the binary gender spectrum, such as noting the gender as "two-spirit" or "trans-gender." Note, "two-spirit" can also refer to a sexual identity, but may refer to non-binary gender identities for some Indigenous communities. Look for keys in the story to see if the reference to "two-spirit" is referring to gender, sexuality, or potentially both.

		Include unusual mentions of gender in the *discourse notes*, especially mentions that are derogatory or evaluative. Code 99 in stories that discuss domestic violence broadly (such as trends or statistics) and that do not discuss any gender of the victim(s)/survivor(s).

21	**Victim Perp** (VictimPerp)	***Does the story mention that the victim (or victims) also perpetrated violence within an intimate partnership or does the story mention that the perpetrator (or perpetrators) also was (were) victimized within an intimate partnership?*** 1. Yes 2. No
		Coding Notes: Code yes if the story explicitly notes that the people in the story are portrayed as both victims and perpetrators of domestic violence.

22	**Perpetrator Class** (PClass)	***What is the mentioned class of the perpetrator(s)?*** 1. Poor/Lower Class 2. Middle Class 3. Upper Class 4. More than one class mentioned 99. No class mentioned
		Coding notes: Only code explicit mentions of class, such as "poor people hit each other more often" or "people from all socioeconomic groups perpetrate domestic violence." Code any mention to class that is a clear reference or a synonym of class or socioeconomic group. See variable 23 for synonyms. **CODE 99 IF THE STORY ONLY MENTIONS AN OCCUPATION, see variables 24 & 25** *Record in the discourse notes any illusions to class, even if you code #4 Discourse Notes*

23	**Victim Class** (VClass)	***What is the mentioned class of the victim(s)?*** 1. Poor/Lower Class 2. Middle Class 3. Upper Class 4. More than one class mentioned 99. No class mentioned
		Coding notes: Only code explicit mentions of class, such as "wealthy women experience violence too." **Lower Class:** poverty, underprivileged, penniless, broke, working class*, living a trailer or mobile home, living in the bad part of town, often would go hungry, lives in a housing project/rent-controlled/subsidized place, etc. **Middle Class:** working class*, average income, neither rich nor poor, living in an average neighbourhood, living in the suburbs**, etc. **Upper Class:** affluent, wealthy, rich, living in a mansion, living in the suburbs**, attended boarding school, flies a private jet, etc. * Working class could refer to someone in the middle class. Use the context to judge whether the explicit reference relates to someone who is relatively poor or more average income. ** The suburbs could reference either middle or upper class. Use the context to judge whether the explicit reference relates to average wealth (middle class) or considerable wealth (upper class). **CODE 99 IF THE STORY ONLY MENTIONS AN OCCUPATION, see**

		variables 24 & 25 *Record in the discourse notes any illusions to class, even if you code #4 Discourse Notes*

24	**Perpetrator Profession** (PProf)	***What is the mentioned profession or job or occupation category of the victim(s)?*** 1. Marginalized or criminalized occupations or unemployed 2. Working class occupations 3. Professional and white collar occupations 4. Political or Ruling occupations 5. Celebritized occupations 6. More than one occupation for the perpetrator mentioned 7. Other 99. No occupation mentioned
		Coding Notes: Only code explicit mentions of an occupation, job, vocation, profession, or a paid position of employment. **Marginalized:** any morally repugnant or socially undesirable jobs, including sex work, panhandling, illicit drug dealer, etc. Also include unemployed. **Working class:** refers to jobs that are typically wage-based. This includes both agrarian (i.e. farmers) and blue collar workers who do skilled or unskilled manufacturing, mining, sanitation, custodial work, oil field work, construction, mechanical maintenance, warehousing, firefighting, technical installation and other physical work. This also include pink collar workers who do customer service, entertainment, sale or other service-oriented work with typically hourly waged pay. **Professional:** this includes jobs that typically require advanced tertiary education, such as physician or medical professional, professor, nurse, lawyer, engineer, news reporter, religious professional accountant, teacher, banker, etc. A white collar profession involves performing managerial or administrative work. This work is performed in an office, cubicle or other admin setting. This also includes mid-level civil servants and small business leaders or owners. **Political:** this includes elected and non-elected political and ruling officials, such a city, regional or national politicians, senators, military leaders, upper-level servants, CEOs of mega corporations, police chiefs, ambassadors, monarchs, etc. Also include here: soldiers and policing officers. **Celebritized:** this includes all occupations that are considered famous and receive a lot of media attention. This includes professional sports stars, famous actresses, or T.V. personalities. Note: while these occupation categories may correlate with amount of income, these are not references to class or income brackets. ***Discourse Notes***

25	**Victim Profession** (VProf)	***What is the mentioned profession or job or occupation category of the victim(s)?*** 1. Marginalized or criminalized occupations or unemployed 2. Working class occupations 3. Professional and white collar occupations 4. Political or Ruling occupations 5. Celebritized occupations 6. More than one occupation for the victim mentioned 7. Other 99. No occupation mentioned

		Coding Notes: Only code explicit mentions of an occupation, job, vocation, profession, or a paid position of employment. See above for more information about the coding. ***Discourse Notes***

26	**Perpetrator Sexuality** (PSexuality)	***What is the mentioned sexuality of the perpetrator(s)?*** 1. Heterosexual 2. Homosexual 3. Two-Spirited 4. Bi-sexual or Pan-sexual 5. Other sexuality (record in discourse notes) 6. Multiple sexualities 99. No sexuality is mentioned or it is unclear
		Coding notes: Code explicit mentions of sexuality. Also include subtle cues, such as reference to two intimate partners gendered pronouns. For example, code a story about two people in a relationship as "she" and "he" as heterosexual or "he" and "he" as homosexual. *Include unusual mentions of sexuality in the discourse notes.*

27	**Victim Sexuality** (VSexuality)	***What is the sexuality of the victim(s)?*** 1. Heterosexual 2. Homosexual 3. Two-Spirited 4. Bi-sexual or Pan-sexual 5. Other sexuality (record in discourse notes) 6. Multiple sexualities 99. No sexuality is mentioned or it is unclear
		Coding notes: Code explicit mentions of sexuality. Include subtle cues, such as reference to two intimate partners gendered pronouns. For example, code a story about two people in a relationship as "she" and "he" as heterosexual or "he" and "he" as homosexual. *Include unusual mentions of sexuality in the discourse notes.*

FRAMING
Coding notes: For these variables, search the entire news package. That is, code anything that appears in any aspect of the story, including main headline, underline (secondary headline), second-page headlines, the text of the story, photo, cutline, fact box and quote box.

		FRAME #1
28	**VPastAbuse** (VPAbuse)	***Does the article mention the victim's past experiences of abuse?*** 1. Yes 2. No
		Coding notes: This could include references to past abusive relationships, childhood abuse, perpetration of abuse, police reports of past abuse with the current partner or past partner, or being an abuser, etc. ***Discourse Notes***

29	**VSexual** (Vsexual)	***Does the article mention the victim's sexual history?*** 1. Yes 2. No

		Coding notes: This could include references to the victim's past sexual partners, sex work habits, lovers, etc. ***Discourse Notes***

30	**VCriminal** (VCrim)	***Does the article mention the victim's criminal history?*** 1. Yes 2. No
		Coding notes: This could include references to the victim's past or current crimes or arrests. ***Discourse Notes***

---DELETED APPEARANCE, VARIABLE 31---

32	**VReport** (Vreport)	***Does the article mention the victim's failure to report past or current domestic violence?*** 1. Yes 2. No
		Coding notes: This could include references to a victim not filing police reports, not reporting violence to appropriate authorities, etc. ***Discourse Notes***

33	**VSubstance** (VSub)	***Does the article mention the victim's past or current alcohol or drug use?*** 1. Yes 2. No
		Coding notes: This could include references to stints in rehab, being known for taking drugs, being known for be drunk, etc. ***Discourse Notes***

34	**PSubstance** (PSub)	***Does the article mention the perpetrator's past or current alcohol or drug use?*** 1. Yes 2. No
		Coding notes: This could include references to stints in rehab, being known for taking drugs, being known for be drunk, etc. ***Discourse Notes***

35	**VLie** (VLie)	***Does the article explicitly mention that the victim(s) may have lied about the assault?*** 1. Yes 2. No
		Coding notes: Code as "yes" if the article mention the victim may have made the assault up or lied about the scope of the assault or has a history of false reporting. ***Discourse Notes***

36	**VStay** (VStay)	***Does the article mention that the victim stayed with the abusive individual or returned to the abusive individual?*** 1. Yes 2. No
		Coding notes: Code as "yes" if the article mentions why the individual woman stayed or why women or victims stay in general. ***Discourse Notes***

37	**VSymmetry** (VSym)	***Does the article suggest that women and men equally experience and equally perpetrate sexual and domestic violence?*** 1. Yes 2. No
		Coding notes: Code yes if the explicitly notes how men and women are equally violent or equally victimized or if the article suggests that men are more victimized because they do not report. ***Discourse Notes***

38	**VEmpower** (VEmpower)	***Does the article suggest ways that victims can protect themselves, suggestion solutions for survivors to leave or get healthy?*** 1. Yes 2. No
		Coding notes: This could include information directed at individuals being abused about how to leave abusive relationships, how to choose non-abusive partners, how to protect themselves from further violence, how to take self-defence classes, etc. ***Discourse Notes***

39	**VResp** (VResp)	***Please give your impression of the story: to what extent does the story attribute responsibility for violence to the victim(s) or perpetrator(s)?*** 1. Perpetrator is completely responsible 2. Perpetrator is mostly responsible 3. Perpetrator and victim share equal responsibility 4. Victim is mostly responsible 5. Victim is completely responsible 99. The story does not attribute responsibility to either the perpetrator or survivor for domestic violence. Or, the story attributes responsibility to factors outside the perpetrator or survivor.
		Coding notes: Stories that attribute complete responsibility to a perpetrator could include talking about the criminal conviction for abuse or using language to explicitly note that the perpetrator was abusive. Stories that use language such as allegedly or supposedly to refer to the perpetrator's behaviours likely suggest that the perpetrator is mostly responsible, instead of the more definitive language to suggest the perpetrator is totally responsible. Stories that may attribute responsibility to the victim could include the following cues: the story could suggestions that the victim was "asking for it" or their behaviour warranted a violent response. Or, if the article suggests that the victim should have known that person was going to hurt them. Or, if the article suggests that the victim's parents should have taught the victim better. Asks questions such as "Why didn't the victim go to the police sooner?" or "are you prepared for the police to dismiss your case?" Or, if the article mentions the level of alcohol consumption on the part of the victim as an explanation for the assault. ***NO Discourse Notes*** *Record if the story explicitly attributes responsibility (person, thing, factor, etc.)*

FRAME #2

40	**RLocation** (Rloca)	***In what country did the violence primarily take place?*** 1. Canada 2. Outside Canada 3. The article mentions violence both in Canada and outside Canada 99. The article does not specify the country in which the violence took place
		Coding notes: The article must explicitly identify the country. Record as Canada (#1) if the article mentions a city, town, or province that is clearly located in Canada. Similarly, record as outside Canada (#2) if the article mentions a city, town, state, region, or province that is clearly located outside Canada. Likely the article will specify the country if the violence occurs outside Canada, but, for example, the article may discuss violence in Minnesota without mentioning U.S. ***Discourse Notes***

41	**R WhiteV** (RwhiteV)	***Does the article mention that the victim(s) are White or Caucasian?*** 1. Yes 2. No
		Coding notes: The mention must be clear and explicit. ***Discourse Notes***

42	**R WhiteP** (RwhiteP)	***Does the article mention that the perpetrator(s) are White or Caucasian?*** 1. Yes 2. No
		Coding notes: The mention must be clear and explicit. ***Discourse Notes***

43	**RNonWhiteV** (RNWhiteV)	***Does the article mention that the victim(s) are non-white or racialized?*** 1. Yes 2. No
		Coding notes: The portrayal that the victim is non-white must be clear and explicit. For example, code yes for references to Black, Indigenous, Brown, mixed-race, or South Asian. Include references to race, ethnicity, and skin colour. <u>Do not code yes</u>, for references to a religious group (variables 45 & 46) or Indigenous peoples (variables 54 & 55). ***Discourse Notes***

44	**RNonWhiteP** (RNWhiteP)	***Does the article mention that the perpetrator(s) non-white or racialized?*** 1. Yes 2. No
		Coding notes: The portrayal that the perpetrator is non-white must be clear and explicit, see above. <u>Do not code yes</u>, for references to a religious group (variables 45 & 46) or Indigenous peoples (variables 54 & 55). ***Discourse Notes***

45	**RReligionP** (RReligionP)	***What is the mentioned or inferred religion/spiritual belief of the perpetrator(s)?*** 1. Christian (Protestant or Catholic, etc.) 2. Jewish 3. Muslim 4. Hindu 5. Sikh 6. Buddhist 7. Mormon

		8. Jehovah Witness 9. Other religion *(record in discourse notes)* 10. Non-religious (atheists, agnostics and humanists) 11. Multiple religions listed 99. No religion listed
		Coding notes: Include explicit and implied mentions of religion, such "the perpetrator followed Shafia law" or "a Catholic priest said they he knew the couple well as they often attended church" or "she wore a hijab." ***Discourse Notes***

46	**RReligionV** (RReligionV)	***What is the mentioned or inferred religion/spiritual belief of the victim(s)?*** 1. Christian (Protestant or Catholic, etc.) 2. Jewish 3. Muslim 4. Hindu 5. Sikh 6. Buddhist 7. Mormon 8. Jehovah Witness 9. Other religion *(record in discourse notes)* 10. Non-religious (atheists, agnostics and humanists) 11. Multiple religions listed 99. No religion listed
		Coding notes: Include explicit & implied mentions, see above. ***Discourse Notes***

47	**RBornV** (RBornV)	***What is the victim(s)'s or victim(s)'s parents' mentioned country of origin or birth?*** 1. The victim or victim's parents is/are born in Canada 2. The victim or victim's parents is/are born outside Canada 3. The story explicitly mentions that the victims and/or parents were born both outside and inside Canada 99. There is no mention of the victim's birth country
		Coding notes: Code #1 for explicit references <u>only</u>, such as "born in Canada" or "their birthplace is Toronto." Code #2 for explicit references <u>only</u>, such as "born in China" or "their birthplace is London" or "she emigrated from Bulgaria in 2012" or "they are originally from Sydney." ***Discourse Notes***

48	**RBornP** (RBornP)	***What is the perpetrator(s)'s or perpetrator(s)'s parents' mentioned country of origin or birth?*** 1. The perpetrator or perpetrator's parents is/are born in Canada 2. The perpetrator or perpetrator's parents is/are born outside Canada 3. The story explicitly mentions that the perpetrators and/or parents were born both outside and inside Canada 99. There is no mention of the perpetrator's birth country
		Coding notes: Code <u>only</u> explicit references; see above. ***Discourse Notes***

49	**RNationalityV** (RNatV)	***What is the mentioned nationality of the victim(s)?*** 1. Canadian 2. Hyphen-Canadian 3. Non-Canadian 4. Both Canadian and non-Canadian nationalities are mentioned 99. There is no mention of the victim's nationality

		Coding notes: Code explicit references only. Code #1, for example, "the victim is a new Canadian" or "Canadian men are reporting domestic violence at higher rates than before" or etc. Code #2 for explicit references, such as "She is Indian-Canadian." Code #3 for explicit reference such as "this British couple" or "South African women experience lots of domestic violence." Code #4 if victims are explicitly referred to two or more of the following: Canadian, Hyphen-Canadian, and Non-Canadian. ***Discourse Notes***

50	**RNationalityP** (RNatP)	***What is the mentioned nationality of the perpetrator(s)?*** 1. Canadian 2. Hyphen-Canadian 3. Non-Canadian 4. Both Canadian and non-Canadian nationalities are mentioned 99. There is no mention of the perpetrator's nationality
		Coding notes: Code yes for explicit references only. See above for examples. ***Discourse Notes***

51	**RLanguageV** (RLangV)	***Does the story explicitly mention that the victim(s) speaks a specific language?*** 1. French or English 2. A non-official language 3. Both official and non-official language 99. No mention of the victim's language
		Coding Notes: Code #1 for any explicit mention of the victim's ability to speak an official language (French or English). Code #2 for any explicit note that the victim can speak any non-official language (not French or English). Code #3 if the article explicitly mentions that the victim can speak both an official language (French or English) and a non-official language. ***Discourse Notes***

52	**RLanguageP** (RLangP)	***Does the story explicitly mention that the perpetrator(s) speaks a specific language?*** 1. French or English 2. A non-official language 3. Both official and non-official language 99. No mention of the perpetrator's language
		Coding notes: Code only explicit references; see above. ***Discourse Notes***

53	**RHonor** (RHonor)	***Does the article mention honour killing?*** 1. Yes 2. No
		Coding Notes: Code yes to any explicit reference to the term "honour killing."

54	**RAIndigenous** (RaIndigenous)	***Does the article mention domestic violence against Indigenous people?*** 1. Yes 2. No
		Coding Notes: Code yes to reference to domestic violence against Indigenous women or indigenous people. Synonyms for Indigenous include: aboriginal, native, First Nation, "Indian," etc. ***Discourse Notes***

55	**RBIndigenous** (RBIndigenous)	***Does the article mention domestic violence committed by Indigenous people?*** 1. Yes 2. No
		Coding Notes: Code yes to reference Indigenous people committing domestic violence. For example, "Chief was charged with dv." ***Discourse Notes***

		FRAME 3
56	**IFrequency** (IFreq)	***What does the article explicitly say about the general frequency of domestic violence?*** 1. Rarely 2. Sometimes 3. Often 99. The article does not explicitly mention domestic violence frequency
		Coding notes: Code #1 in cases, for example, where the story says "most men are not violent" or "domestic violence is not that common" etc. Code #3 for stories, for example, that indicate "domestic violence occurs at high rates" or "women are likely to experience domestic violence" etc. ***Discourse Notes***

57	**IPRare** (IPRare)	***Does the article mention that the perpetrator(s)'s involvement in domestic violence was unexpected or out of character?*** 1. Yes 2. No
		Coding notes: For example, "she never hit anyone before" or "the neighbours thought he was nice guy and could not believe he killed her" or "they were such a nice couple; I cannot believe it" or "the neighbours reported how their neighbourhood was so close knit and domestic violence doesn't happen in such a tight neighbourhood" or "If you had known him, you would not have expected this violence. He was such a nice man." etc. ***Discourse Notes***

58	**IPMentalIll** (IPMental)	***Does the article mention a perpetrator(s)'s history of mental illness or current struggle with mental illness?*** 1. Yes 2. No
		Coding notes: For example, "she is unstable emotionally" or "he was in and out of a psych ward" etc. ***Discourse Notes***

59	**IJustify** (IJust)	***Please give your impression of the story: Does the article use language that could be interpreted as justifying the perpetrator(s)'s actions?*** 1. Yes 2. No
		Coding notes: By justification, I am referring to both language that implicitly or explicitly approves of the perpetrators actions (likely rare) as well as language that rationalizes or reasons or gives excuses for the perpetrator's actions. Language that could give someone this impression could include: mentioning the perpetrator's biological urges as the reason why they might perpetrate such violence or comments such as "boys will be boys" or mention how individuals in certain situations are more prone to violence, such as being provoked or discussing how the individual is just responding to their partner cheating, etc. or suggest that the perpetrator's alcoholism is an

		excuse for the violence, or suggest that the perpetrator had religious reasons etc. ***Discourse Notes***

		FRAME 4
60	**SFeminism** (SFem)	***Does the article mention feminism or sexism or patriarchy?*** 1. Yes 2. No
		Coding notes: The evaluation must be clear and explicit, including mentions of feminist, feminism, intersectionality, "women's rights", or synonym of feminism. Record YES if the story mentions sexism, patriarchy or any other synonym of either these two words. ***Discourse Notes***

61	**SRacism** (SRacism)	***Does the article mention racism or White privilege, etc.?*** 1. Yes 2. No
		Coding notes: Record YES if the story mentions racism or White privilege or any other synonym of either these two words, such as "bigotry" or "racial discrimination" or "racial unfairness" or "race bias" or "racial hatred" or "legacy of Jim Crow" or "ethnic intolerance" or "they are treated unfairly because of the colour of their skin or their ethnic heritage" or "the court favour White perpetrators" or "she cannot get justice because of the baggage that accompanies her ethnic identity" or "Black men get carded; of course their partners do not trust the police" or "Muslim people feel scrutinized because of the focus on the hijab and feel like face prejudice" etc. ***Discourse Notes***

62	**SColonialism** (SColonial)	***Does the article mention colonialism?*** 1. Yes 2. No
		Coding notes: Code yes for explicit mentions of colonialism. Include synonyms or phrases that refer to colonialism. For example, code yes if the article mentions the legacy of residential school systems or how the reserve system as a potential source of problems. Include mentions that talk about history of unfair treatment by the state towards Indigenous peoples or mentions of racism towards Indigenous people (also code yes above) or mentions of how the Truth and Reconciliation Commission will or will not address historical or contemporary injustices, etc. ***Discourse Notes***

63	**SSocio** (SScio)	***Does the article mention how different socioeconomic situations impact experiences and/or perpetration of domestic violence?*** 1. Yes 2. No
		Coding notes: By socioeconomic, I am referring to any mention of a specific class (lower, middle, upper, etc.), mention of socioeconomic positions, and synonyms of class and socioeconomic status. For example, the article could discuss how inadequate to housing for those without social means contributes to experiences of vulnerability or how people without financial means to leave abusive relationships are more likely to be murdered. Here include any

		discussion of finances, class, or socioeconomic status as it relates to an experience of domestic violence, the likelihood of perpetrating or experiencing domestic violence, or how it influences one's prospects after the violence (including the ability to leave an abusive relationship, access to legal structures, access to the police, etc.). ***Discourse Notes***

64	**Svaw** (Svaw)	***Does the article mention that domestic violence is linked with gender?*** 1. Yes 2. No
		Coding notes: For example, code yes if the articles indicates that domestic violence is "violence against women" or "gender-based violence," or "murdered and missing Indigenous women" or "men experience high rates of violence in the home" etc. Also look for phrases about how women experience higher rates of violence or how men are more likely to perpetrate violence or how women are vulnerable in relationships, etc. Also, code yes if the story reports statistics that highlight how domestic violence is skewed along gender lines, etc. ***Discourse Notes***

65	**SReader** (SReader)	***Does the article suggest solutions or avenues for the reader to help survivors of domestic violence?*** 1. Yes 2. No
		Coding notes: This could include discussing how individuals can support individuals experiencing violence in their intimate relationships, a list of signs that someone may be experiencing domestic violence, a domestic violence hotline number to call, etc. Code yes even if the solutions are directed at someone experiencing violence in their relationship. ***Discourse Notes***

66	**SPrevention** (SPrevention)	***Does the article discuss how to prevent domestic violence?*** 1. Yes 2. No
		Coding notes: This could strategies, such as training sessions, awareness campaigns, etc. that are aimed at preventing domestic violence. ***Discourse Notes***

67	**SSolutions** (SSolutions)	***Does the article discuss potential legislative or policy changes that could better address domestic violence?*** 1. Yes 2. No
		Coding notes: This could include listing policy options, legislative bills that could be proposed, legislative bills that have already been introduced, policy options for hospitals, etc. In other words, include mentions of potential or in progress legislative or policy changes with the government or with institutions that serve those involved in domestic violence, including the hospital, courts, prisons, housing, etc. ***Discourse Notes***

68	**SImmigration** (SImm)	***Does the article discuss how to immigration status could impact how people experience domestic violence?*** 1. Yes 2. No
		Coding notes: This could include discussing the precarity when your abuser

		is your sponsor, culture of immigration silence, or how being immigrant may make it difficult to access resources. ***Discourse Notes***

		SUBJECTIVE QUESTIONS
69	**SQRace** (SQRace)	***Please give your impression of the story: does the story attribute responsibility to a racialized, cultural or religious group for the violence?*** 1. Yes 2. No
		Coding notes: Look for cues like "Muslim people experience high rates of domestic violence because the way Muslim communities promote…" or "Black people are more violent" or etc. Exclude reference to Indigenous people, see variable 71 ***Discourse Notes***

70	**SQIndigenous** (SQAb)	***Please give your impression of the story: does the story attribute responsibility to an Indigenous person or people for domestic violence?*** 1. Yes 2. No
		Coding notes: Look for cues like "Indigenous communities experience extremely high rates of domestic violence" or "Indigenous men are more violent" or "Indigenous women are missing because of Indigenous men" or etc. ***Discourse Notes***

71	**SQCan** (SQCan)	***Please give your impression of the story: does the story attribute responsibility to Canada for solving domestic violence?*** 1. Yes 2. No
		Coding notes: Look for cues like "this is a Canadian problem" or discussing the responsibility of the police or state. By Canada, it could refer to the state or nation; that is the government or the people that live there. ***Discourse Notes***

		OTHER INFORMATION & SOURCES
72	**Statistics** (Stats)	***Does the article use statistics to discuss domestic violence?*** 1. Yes 2. No
		Coding Notes: Code yes if there is any use of statistics, figures, fractions, etc. in the article related to domestic violence.

73	**Police** (Police)	***Does the article reference police as sources?*** 1. Yes 2. No
		Coding Notes: Code yes if there is any use of people officially associated with police as sources, including when police are quoted, police reports are referenced, police comments are paraphrased, etc.

74	**PoliceQ** (Policeq)	***How many police officer or report words are quoted?*** 0- *n*

		Coding Notes: Count only direct quotations, those in quotation marks. If the police officer or department's quote appears twice, such as in the headline and in the main body of the story, count the words twice. Count contractions as one word, such as aren't or don't. Count figures, such as 3,222, as one word.

75	**Anti-Violence** (AV)	***Does the article include quotes or commentary from anti-violence activists or anti-violence workers as sources?*** 1. Yes 2. No
		Coding Notes: Code yes if there is any use of people identified as anti-violence activists or workers are included in the story, such as shelter workers, national advocates against domestic violence, etc.

76	**AVQuotes** (Avq)	***How many anti-violence workers' words are quoted?*** 0- *n*
		Coding Notes: Count only direct quotations, those in quotation marks. See above for further details on how to code direct quotes.

77	**Gov't Sources** (GovtS)	***Does the article include quotes or commentary from official, government sources?*** 1. Yes 2. No
		Coding Notes: Code yes if there is any use of people identified in association with the local, provincial, federal, or state government, including ministers, elected politicians, civil servants, ministry spokespeople, crown attorney, etc. and their commentary, insights, or quotes. Exclude reference to police, code yes to variable 74.

78	**Gov'tQ** (govtq)	***How many words are quoted from government sources?*** 0- *n*
		Coding Notes: Count only direct quotations, those in quotation marks. See above for further details on how to code direct quotes.

79	**Race Anti-Violence** (RAV)	***Does the article include quotes or commentary from experts explicitly identified in the story as non-white?*** 1. Yes 2. No
		Coding Notes: Code yes if there is any use of people identified as anti-violence activists or workers are included in the story, such as shelter workers, national advocates against domestic violence, who are explicitly identified as non-white or explicitly identified as advocating against violence against non-white people. Include here, people explicitly identified as Indigenous.

80	**RAVQ** (ravq)	***How many words are quoted from experts explicitly identified as non-white?*** 0- *n*
		Coding Notes: Count only direct quotations, those in quotation marks. See above for further details on how to code direct quotes.

81	**Other Sources** (OSource)	***Are there any other categories of sources quoted or referenced in the story?*** 1. Yes 2. No
		Coding Notes: Code yes if there is anyone else quoted or referenced did not fit into the above categories (police, official government sources, anti-violence workers, anti-violence workers who work on race or who are non-white). *Discourse notes*: ONLY write the title of the source as it appears in the story. If it is the name of an individual person, write the title of the person as it relates to the story, such as "friend of the victim" or "neighbour" or "defendant's lawyer," etc. Do not record the quoted material.

82	**DomSource** (DSource)	***Please give your overall impression of the story: what category of source is dominant?*** 1. Police 2. Anti-violence workers, activists 3. Government sources 4. Lawyers or judges 5. Friends and family of the perpetrator 6. Friends and family of the victim 7. Neighbours 8. Medical Professionals 9. Other 10. There are no sources in the story 11. Sports Official 99. There are no dominant source category in the story
		Coding Notes: By dominant, it is the most space for quotes or paraphrases and/or their analysis of the domestic violence incident or domestic violence generally are taken more seriously or authoritatively then the rest.

CODER INFORMATION		
83	**Coder Information** (cinfo)	***Who coded the story?*** 1. Bailey 2. Stephen 3. Anna 4. Tara 5. Katherine 6. Linnea

DO NOT CODE		
STRUCTURAL FEATURES OF THE NEWS STORY		
84	**Media Owner** (Owner)	***Which media corporation owns the newspaper?*** 1. Globe and Mail Inc. 2. Torstar Corp (Toronto Star, The Hamilton Spectator, Metro Vancouver, etc.) 3. Postmedia Network Inc./Sun Media (National Post, Calgary Herald, Ottawa Citizen, Edmonton Journal, etc.) * 4. Sun Media* 5. Continental Newspapers Canada (The Chronicle-Journal, etc.) 6. Black Press Ltd (Red Deer Advocate, etc.)

		7. Glacier Media (Prince George Times-Colonist, etc.) 8. Brunswick News Inc. (The Telegraph Journal, etc.) 9. FP Canadian Newspapers LP (Winnipeg Free Press, Brandon Sun, etc.) 10. TC Media (Cape Breton Post, Prince Albert Daily Herald, etc.) 11. Halifax Herald Ltd. (the Chronicle-Herald) 12. Alta Newspaper Group LP/Glacier Media (Lethbridge Herald, etc.) 13. Brunswick News Inc. (The Telegraph-Journal, etc.) 14. Glacier Media 15. *Independent* (The Whitehorse Star, Fort Frances Daily Bulletin)
		Coding Notes: If you do not know the ownership, use the "About us" page on the newspaper or http://www.newspaperscanada.ca/ownership or use the Copyright on the paper information on the database to indicate ownership. *Record #3 for papers bought out by Postmedia buyout, but code as #4 for Sun media corporation before buy out. The deal closed April 13, 2015 – use as before and after date.

85	**Paywall** (Paywall)	***Did the newspaper have a paywall at the time of publication?*** 1. Yes 2. No
		Coding notes: Use the Canada Newspaper Guide provided at training to identify if the newspaper had a paywall or metered access at the time of publication. Use 99 if the newspaper is not listed on the grid.

86	**Free** (Free)	***Is the newspaper a free or paid daily?*** 1. Free 2. Paid
		Coding notes: Use the Canada Newspaper Guide to identify the newspaper's revenue status.

87	**Province** (Province)	***Where is the publishing newspaper located?*** 1. BC 2. Alberta 3. Sask 4. Manitoba 5. Yukon 6. Ontario 7. Quebec 8. New Brunswick 9. Nova Scotia 10. National (Globe & Mail, National Post…)

88	**Total Week Circulation** (WeekCirc)	***What is the audited total weekday circulation?*** Record the number
		Coding notes: Use Canada Newspaper's audited data for 2014 and 2015 and search various sources for 2016. 99 is missing data.

89	**Total Weekend Circulation** (WEndCirc)	***What is the audited total weekend circulation?*** Record the number
		Coding notes: Use Canada Newspaper's audited data for 2014 and 2015 and search various sources for 2016. Average if they report Saturday and Sunday stats separately. 99 is missing data.

90	**Year** (Year)	***What year is the story published?*** 1. 2014 2. 2015 3. 2016

91	**Trial** (Trial)	***Does the story mention a domestic violence trial?*** 1. Yes 2. No
		Coding notes: Code no if the story only mentions an arraignment hearing, charges laid, or a suspect being taken into custody.

92	**News Bulletin** (NewsBull)	***Is the story a news brief?*** 1. Yes 2. No
		Coding notes: A brief, succinct news story that does not greatly exceed 100 words and often is written in one large paragraph or two to three short paragraphs. If the story is in a list of other short stories, it is almost definitely a news brief.

93	**Local** (Local)	***Is the story about the same city/town/near region as the publishing newspaper?*** 1. Yes 2. No
		Coding notes: Code yes for stories that centrally focus on the same city of general near region close to the publishing newspaper. A news wire can also be a local news story.

94	**Police Bulletin** (PoliceBull)	***Is the story a police bulletin?*** 1. Yes 2. No
		Coding notes: A police bulletin is a short, news brief that generally does not greatly exceed 100 words. The story generally focuses on police activity, domestic violence arrests, police responses to domestic violence, police charges of domestic, etc. The police may or may not be quoted in the story and may or not may be sources in the story. It often focuses, in brief, on a police response to a domestic violence call.

Appendix G: Process of Coder Training

Coder training unfolded in four stages. After the coders were hired, coders were asked to read the coding frame and a short write up about the project before our first training session. Then, together we went over each of the variables. I showed them how to find the structural variables and acquainted them with recording protocols. Coders then went off on their own and coded six stories that I selected from the sample that seemed both typical of the broader sample and evinced some tricky coding issues. We then came back together and compared their coding with my own and previous coder's responses and then went over any differences. The differences were often fixed by adding additional coding notes to the coding grid, adding some clarity to the structural variables, and, early on, a slight adjustment to variables. With the training complete, individual coders set off to code their portion of the stories. Throughout their coding, I continued to spot check for accuracy and consistency of coding.

Appendix H: Intercoder Reliability Test Process and Results

Early in the coding process, I also subjected each of the coders' responses to an intercoder reliability test (IRT). Intercoder reliability measures the degree to which independent coders reach the same conclusions about the material (Tinsley and Weiss 2000, 98; Lacy and Riffe 1996). An IRT is vital to develop trust with the readers. As Kimberley Neuendorf (2002) notes, "given that a goal of content analysis is to identify and record relatively objective (or at least intersubjective) characteristics of messages, reliability is paramount. Without the establishment of reliability, content analysis measures are useless" (141; see McHugh 2012). In effect, an IRT measures the degree to which each coder is interpreting the variables similarly and the extent to which they are doing it consistently.

Intersubjective agreement is important for both manifest and latent content. For manifest content, such as the newspaper the story is written in, reliability is needed to ensure that the facts of the stories are being properly recorded. For latent content, it is vital for the interpretations to be shared across coders as that makes it more likely for readers to also perceive similar meanings (Potter and Levine-Donnerstein 1997, 266). This latter characteristic is imperative – if the coders cannot agree, then how can you build a quantitative analysis from the variables?

I ran the first of two IRT early in the coding process with the first two coders on 10% of the stories coded to date (52 stories). It is recommended to use at least 10% or 50 units for an IRT (Neuendorf 2002; Lacy and Riffe 1996). Most of the variables received a standard level of agreement for a Cohen's Kappa from 0.700 to 1.000. I used the Cohen's Kappa calculation because it is recommended for nominal data (McHughs 2012). I also used measures of agreement to verify any unusual scores. To interpret the values, it is suggested that ≤ 0 indicates no agreement, 0.01–0.20 none to slight, 0.21–0.40 fair, 0.41–0.60 moderate, 0.61–0.80 substantial, and 0.81–1.00 almost perfect agreement (McHughes 2012; Cohen 1960). This might be considered too lenient; I followed the advice that variables with less than 0.700 should be treated cautiously or reconsidered (McHughes 2012).

Interestingly, measures for victim and perpetrator class were very unreliable, below 0.50. The coders could not agree, for example, on whether a cottage was a reference to upper class or middle class. I found that the coders were coding class relative to their socioeconomic position. One coder, from a well-off background, often coded things like "cottages" or "private school" as middle class, while another less well-off coder coded the same things as upper class. Research in the U.S. suggests that people are bad at accurately assessing their relative status, with more people identifying as lower or middle class than the economic data would suggest (Morin and Motel 2012). To address the issue, I created two variables – one that asks about class and another that asks about profession. Both variables achieved an acceptable level of reliability in the second IRT, with class achieving 0.799 for accused and 0.750 for the survivor and profession achieving 0.970 for the accused and 0.929 for the survivor.

The second IRT retested a random sample of an additional 80 stories or 11% of the sample. I ran the IRT so that every coder overlapped with another two coders. Most of the variables received a standard level of agreement (Cohen's Kappa=0.735 to 1.00), with average 0.860 agreement score across the variables. For the three variables below 0.700, I discarded them or identified data entry errors causing the score. Some of the variables had lower than desired scores. For example, victim's sexualization (Cohen's Kappa 0.787) had little variation in the responses. The coders only disagreed on one story. For the 0.735 to 0.800 range, I have been tentative in drawing conclusions or I relied on other variables to bolster the analysis. Each of the composite frame variables had high agreement. The lower scores for single variables did not undermine the overall reliability of the frame variables. Individualization achieved a Cohen's Kappa of 0.889, thematic framing 0.979, racialization 0.939, and victim-blame 0.870. For the agreement percentages, the lowest level was 81%. The majority are in perfect or nearly perfect agreement. Since the coders were well trained, it is unlikely that guessing explains the high levels of percentage agreement. The results from the IRT suggest that the data is highly reliable as the coders largely agreed on how to code the variables.

Appendix I: Ethics Approval

May 12, 2016

Ms. Bailey Gerrits
Ph.D. Candidate
Department of Political Studies
Queen's University
Kingston, ON, K7L 3N6

GREB Ref #: GPLST-119-16; Romeo # 6018327
Title: "GPLST-119-16 Domestic Violence in Canadian News: Production and Patterns"

Dear Ms. Gerrits:

The General Research Ethics Board (GREB), by means of a delegated board review, has cleared your proposal entitled **"GPLST-119-16 Domestic Violence in Canadian News: Production and Patterns"** for ethical compliance with the Tri-Council Guidelines (TCPS 2 (2014)) and Queen's ethics policies. In accordance with the Tri-Council Guidelines (Article 6.14) and Standard Operating Procedures (405.001), your project has been cleared for one year. You are reminded of your obligation to submit an annual renewal form prior to the annual renewal due date (access this form at http://www.queensu.ca/traq/signon.html/; click on "Events"; under "Create New Event" click on "General Research Ethics Board Annual Renewal Form for Approved Studies"). Pease note that when your research project is completed, you need to submit an Annual Renewal Form in Romeo/traq indicating that the project is 'completed' so that the file can be closed. This should be submitted at the time of completion; there is no need to wait until the annual renewal due date.

You are reminded of your obligation to advise the GREB of any adverse event(s) that occur during this one year period (access this form at http://www.queensu.ca/traq/signon.html/; click on "Events"; under "Create New Event" click on "General Research Ethics Board Adverse Event Form"). An adverse event includes, but is not limited to, a complaint, a change or unexpected event that alters the level of risk for the researcher or participants or situation that requires a substantial change in approach to a participant(s). You are also advised that all adverse events must be reported to the GREB within 48 hours.

You are also reminded that all changes that might affect human participants must be cleared by the GREB. For example, you must report changes to the level of risk, applicant characteristics, and implementation of new procedures. To submit an amendment form, access the application by at http://www.queensu.ca/traq/signon.html; click on "Events"; under "Create New Event" click on "General Research Ethics Board Request for Amendment of Approved Studies". Once submitted, these changes will automatically be sent to the Ethics Coordinator, Ms. Gail Irving, at the Office of Research Services for further review and clearance by the GREB or GREB Chair.

On behalf of the General Research Ethics Board, I wish you continued success in your research.

Sincerely,

John D. Freeman

John Freeman, Ph.D.
Chair
General Research Ethics Board

c: Dr. Elizabeth Goodyear-Grant and Dr. Margaret Little, Supervisors
Dr. Andrew Lister, Chair, Unit REB
Ms. Brenda Batson, Dept. Admin.

Appendix J: Interview Guides

Interview Guide for Journalists and News Workers

Organizational Questions

- Could you please state your current job position for the record?
- Could you please explain to me your relative rank in the organization?
- Who do you consider your superior or boss?
- Are there people who you supervise?
- (If freelancer) How often do you work for X newspaper?

Role of News in Society

- Could you please tell me what role the newspapers and news media play in Canadian society?
- Could you please tell me what role your newspaper plays in your community?

Intro Question about Domestic Violence

- What do you think are the most pressing issues in the city? What are the most prevalent crimes?
- What do you think is the most pressing issue regarding domestic violence in your city? Could you please talk me about how you understand domestic violence in your city? Who is most affected? Why it occurs? Where it occurs?
- What role do you see the news media playing in addressing domestic violence? Do you think it is important to cover domestic violence stories? If so, what makes domestic violence important?
- How important do you think it is for your newspaper to publish stories about domestic violence?
- Could you please walk me through the typical life of a domestic violence news story: from its inception to publication?
- Could you please walk me through a typical fact-verification for a domestic violence story?
- What types of domestic violence stories make good news?
- What types of domestic violence stories are likely to be prominently featured in paper, on the front page, above the fold, etc.?
- What types of domestic violence news stories are less likely to get published or less likely to be featured prominently?
- Who is typically assigned news stories about domestic violence?
- Is there anyone that you think reports on domestic violence particularly well in your news organization or at another news organization?
- What type of training did you receive to cover domestic violence stories?
- In what ways do you consider the audience when writing a story about domestic violence?
- Who do you think is the primary audience for domestic violence news stories?
- In your opinion, what makes a domestic violence news story interesting to this audience?

News Norms

- What are the most important journalist norms?
- Could you explain to me how these norms [or the most important norm] may impact how your report on a domestic violence news story?
- How important is objectivity in reporting on domestic violence?
- What does a non-objective piece of reporting look like?
- What role does impartiality play in writing domestic violence news stories?
- Are these journalist norms shifting in current media terrain?

Sources

- Who do you consult the most often when reporting on domestic violence?
- Are there any sources that often send you stories about domestic violence?
- How often do you contact the police about potential domestic violence stories?
- Could you please explain to me regarding your relationship with the police? Is there a specific person within the police organization that you contact the most often?
- How often do the police contact you about potential domestic violence stories?
- How often do you reach out to shelters, anti-violence advocates, legal personnel, etc. in the city when reporting on domestic violence?

Gendered + Racialized Organizational Questions

- Does your newspaper have a mentorship program? Or an ongoing training program for new journalists? Could you please tell me a little about this program?
- Would you be willing to share an organizational chart of your newspaper or helping me create an organizational chart?
- How often does your paper hire freelancers? How often do they cover domestic violence?
- How many women work in the newsroom? What beats do they typically cover?
- How many people who are visible minorities/non-white do you employ? What beats do they typically cover?
- Who are the full-time, most highly ranked journalists?
- How many women and/or non-white people are on the editorial board?
- In what ways do you think your gender impacts which news stories you are assigned? OR In what ways do you think the gender of the reporter impacts which news stories they are assigned?
- In what ways do you think your race or ethnicity impacts which news stories you are assigned? OR In what ways do you think the race or ethnicity of the reporter impacts which news stories they are assigned?
- What race, ethnicity would you most identify with? What race or ethnicity do you think people most associate you with?
- Are non-white and white journalists typically assigned different types of stories or columns?
- Are women and men journalists typically assigned different types of stories or columns?
- Do you think that women or non-white journalist have or would cover a domestic violence news story differently than, say, a white man reporting on the same incident of domestic violence?

Economic Considerations

- What is the biggest challenge facing your paper in publishing a good newspaper?
- Could you please tell me how you think the newspaper's owners impact domestic violence news coverage, including the choice to cover certain stories, where they go in the paper, etc.?
- When Post-Media bought your newspaper, how did that change how you reported on domestic violence?
- Have there been recent cuts to your newsroom? If so, how have the cuts impacted how you cover domestic violence?
- How often do you think about potential advertisers and what they might think about a domestic violence story?

Ideology

- Do you think your newspaper has an ideological orientation? If so, how would you describe this orientation?

- In what ways do you think this orientation impacts what domestic violence stories get covered and how these stories are covered?

Questions about News Content

- What types of details do you think are important to include about a domestic violence story? Do these details differ from what you think is important to generally include a news article?
- What types of details do you think are potentially irrelevant to a domestic violence news story?
- If one thinks of stereotyping as something that all humans do to understand the world, in what ways do you think certain stereotypes play a role in what domestic violence incidents make the news and how they are covered?
- What types of identities of either the victim or perpetrator make the story more interesting?
- In what ways do you think your gender impacts the ways you cover domestic violence news stories?
- When covering domestic violence, how much attention would you pay to gender in the story?
- In what ways do you think your race or ethnicity impacts the ways you cover domestic violence news stories?
- When covering domestic violence, how much attention would you pay to race or ethnicity in the story?

Final Questions

- Do you, at all, feel a need to improve how your newspaper or newspapers in general reports on domestic violence? If so, in what ways?
- Is there anyone else in your newsroom or a source that who you think I should interview to more fully understand domestic violence news production?
- Would you be willing to share their contact information with me?
    - If so, are you willing to allow me to tell the potential participant that you gave me their name?
    - If so, can I tell the potential participant where I learned about their involvement in media production?
- Is there anything you would like to add? Are there any questions that you think I needed to ask?

Interview Guide – Police

General Issues

- What do you think is the most pressing issue facing your city?
- What do you think is the most pressing issue regarding domestic violence in your city?
- What role do you see the police playing in addressing these issues?
- Are there certain areas of the city that suffers from more domestic violence?

Organization Questions

- Could you please state your current job position for the record?
- Could you please explain to me your role in the police force?
- How did you come to be hired as the communication officer?
- Who is your direct supervisor?
- What is your background, employment or school?
- What type of on-the-job training did you receive?
- How has this position evolved in recent years in this police organization?

Press Releases

- How often do you release press releases about domestic violence?

- What considerations do you make when drafting the press release?
- What type of information do you typically include in a domestic violence press release?
- What is the typical timeline from finding out about a domestic incident and the release of the press release?
- Could you please tell me about the approval process to send out the press release?
- What types of domestic violence would you not send to the media, not put on your website, or not put in a press release?

Relationship to Newspaper

- Could you please explain to me your relationship with your local newspaper or national newspaper?
- How often do you contact the newspaper? How often do they contact you?
- Do you have good relationships with several reporters or editors, one main contact, *[local journalist name]*, etc.?
- What type of information do you typically contact the news organization about?
- Tell me, is there anything that you would change about police-newspaper relations?

Final Questions

- Is there anyone else in this organization who you think I should interview to more fully understand domestic violence news production?
- Would you be willing to share their contact information with me?
  - If so, are you willing to allow me to tell the potential participant that you gave me their name?
  - If so, can I tell the potential participant where I learned about their involvement in media production?
- Is there anything you would like to add? Are there any questions that you think I needed to ask?

Interview Guide – Anti-Violence Advocates

General Issues

- What do you think is the most pressing issue facing your city?
- What do you think is the most pressing issue regarding domestic violence in your city?
- What do you think about the policing of domestic violence in your city?
- Are there any successful prevention programs related to domestic violence in your city?
- What role do you see the news media in addressing domestic violence in your city?

Organization Communication

- Do you think your organization needs to communicate with the public?
- In what ways does your organization communicate with the public about domestic violence? Or communicate with news organizations?
- What is your preferred method to communicate with the public or newspapers?
  - If press releases:
    - How often do you release press releases regarding domestic violence?
    - What considerations do you make when drafting the press release?
    - What type of information do you typically include in a domestic violence press release?
    - Could you please talk me about the approval process to send out the press release?
    - What types of domestic violence would you not send to the media or put on your website in a press release?
- What are the greatest barriers facing your organization in communicating with the public?

- What voices do you think are missing from public discourse about domestic violence?

Organization Questions

- Could you please state your current job position for the record?
- Could you please explain to me your role in the shelter?
- How did you come to be hired as the communication officer? – *Exclude for ED*
- Who is your direct supervisor?
- What is your background, employment or school?
- What type of on-the-job communication training did you receive?
- How has this position evolved in recent years in the shelter?
- How much are you able to spend on public communication?
- Who, in your organization, is most responsible for communicating about domestic violence?

Relationship to Newspaper

- Could you please explain to me your relationship with your local newspaper or national newspaper?
- How often do you contact the newspaper? How often do they contact you?
- Do you have good relationships with several reporters or editors, one main contact, etc.?
- What type of information do you typically contact the news organization about?
- Tell me, is there anything that you would change about relationship with newspapers?
- Who do you think newspapers should be talking to about domestic violence?
- What do you think about X newspapers typical coverage of domestic violence?
- If newspapers are doing a poor job, what do they need improve?
- Are there particular issues related to coverage domestic violence committed by or against non-white people?
- Could you please talk to me about potential gendered implications of domestic violence news coverage?
- What information is missing from news reports?

Final Questions

- What would improve news coverage of domestic violence?
- Is there anyone else in your organization or community who you think I should interview to more fully understand domestic violence news production?
- Would you be willing to share their contact information with me?
    - If so, are you willing to allow me to tell the potential participant that you gave me their name?
    - If so, can I tell the potential participant where I learned about their involvement in media production?
- Is there anything you would like to add? Are there any questions that you think I needed to ask?

Appendix K: Positionality

It seems more like commonsense these days, but it important to unpack how a researcher's positionality and demographic attributes directly influence fieldwork (English 1994, 80). Research is accurately represented as a dialogic engagement between a situated researcher and participants (ibid; Rose 1997, 308). Each interview involves reciprocity where there is "a mutual negotiation of meaning and power" (Lather 1986, 267). The researcher, then, must be excavated to avoid overgeneralizations and mischaracterizations of the research process (Mattingly and Falconer-Al-Hindi 1995, 428-29; McDowell 1992, 413). While these interviews and observations reveal important patterns about domestic violence news production, all the interactions were subjective and contingent on both parties involved. This should not downplay the results as I have engaged in a triangulation to understand how these relationships and factors manifest textually, in interviews, and in direct observations.

My habitus created both opportunities and barriers in the research process. As a younger White woman, I am aware that my skin colour often eliminated barriers with police and journalists in Thunder Bay, given the racial tensions. It also created a barrier when asking some racialized journalists about their experiences of racism in the newsroom. These are not universal experiences, but ones that I was attentive to. My youthful appearance and gender also often created interesting interview dynamics, when some people, often older men, would over explain their answers because they seemed to think I was less knowledgeable. It also created connections with younger women journalists. While we were clearly still within the interviewer-interviewee power hierarchy, the dynamics were often friendlier and more laid-back given our closeness in age and stage in our career.

With a quick Google search, participants could see my political commitment towards addressing gendered violence and could assess information that might lead them to assume other political commitments. My anti-violence background had the effect of giving me credibility and access for anti-violence organizations. It also gave me an air of bias. I thought my anti-violence volunteer activities might create barriers with police; however, as I argue in Chapter 5, anti-violence work is often deeply

implicated in the carceral state and I may have been seen as an ally in ways that I did not anticipate. My anti-violence commitments, however, could potentially explain why the *Toronto Sun* denied me access. Their denial could also be related to the fact that I was associated with the Pierre Elliott Trudeau Foundation (PETF) – an organization funding my research – at the very moment his son was Prime Minister and leader of the Liberal Party in Canada. Just as my anti-violence activism cut both ways, my association with the PETF opened doors – the former editor-in-chief of the *Globe* was a PETF mentor and connected me with the current editor-in-chief – and also created some tension. I started interviewing journalists around the time the media spotlighted the $200,000 donation to the foundation from a Chinese businessman after dining with Prime Minister Justin Trudeau. From one interviewee assuming that I had access to the Prime Minister to another almost denying the interview, the information available online influenced who I talked with and what they presumed about the interviews.

Unmasking the researcher, however, should not discount the identified patterns and explanations. While the inter-affective engagement in each interview undoubtedly influenced the answers, the patterns across the interviews, texts, and observations support an augmented hierarchy of influences model to explain domestic violence framing and newsworthiness.