REFLECTIONS AND REINFORCEMENTS OF PUBLIC APATHY: NEWSPAPER COVERAGE AND FRAMING OF MISSING AND MURDERED INDIGENOUS WOMEN, GIRLS, AND TWO-SPIRIT PEOPLE IN CANADA

By

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Abstract

This dissertation discusses the alarming number of missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people in Canada. The primary focus of this dissertation is to identify and explain patterns in both the quantity of and framing in newspaper stories on this issue. It argues that the amount of newspaper coverage this issue receives and how it is discussed in the public domain has important consequences in attributing the responsibility for the causes of and solutions to this violence.

Utilizing 50,154 news articles in 310 online and print national, local, daily, and broadsheet English-language newspapers from 1960-2023, spanning across all regions in Canada, I conduct an extensive qualitative and quantitative media analysis. The objective of this analysis was twofold: 1) assess newspaper coverage over time and across regions to determine if patterns in the coverage change with the political and social environment; 2) analyze the differences in coverage among victims of violence to understand which individuals are considered to be newsworthy and why.

This project finds that Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people are largely absent in news stories, both in terms of how much coverage they receive and in the substance of these stories. In addition, the amount of coverage they receive and how they are framed broadly remains static over time and across regions. Although there are substantial differences in the quantity of coverage they receive depending on their age and if they are missing or murdered, most of the coverage frames this issue in the context of murder trials, police investigations, and the perpetrators of violence.

Using these data, I argue that newspaper coverage of this issue reflects and reinforces public apathy towards missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people, in turn legitimizing inadequate public and political responses to this issue. It is also emblematic of the deep entrenchment of racism and sexism in Canadian news media. The implications of this dissertation are clear: the absence of sustained news media coverage and current framing of this issue is not conducive for the necessary social and political change needed to redress this violence.

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I dedicate this dissertation to every single missing and murdered Indigenous woman, girl, and Two-Spirit person and their families. You are loved. You are missed. You are not and will not be forgotten.

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Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

In 2002, twenty-five year old Nicole Hoar went missing along what is colloquially referred to in Canada as the "Highway of Tears" - a 724 kilometer stretch of highway between Prince Rupert and Prince George in British Columbia where many women and girls have gone missing or have been murdered since the 1960s (Sabo 2019).[1] This region is characterized by poverty and inadequate transportation and infrastructure, forcing many who live along this highway to hitchhike (McDiarmid 2019; Reclaiming Power and Place 2019; Sabo 2019). Indeed, Nicole Hoar was tree planting in Prince George when she made plans to hitchhike to visit her sister and went missing. Unfortunately, she has never been found.

The disappearance of Nicole Hoar garnered intense news media coverage, as well as a robust and sustained police response (Human Rights Watch 2013). Newspaper stories generally portrayed her in a positive way, detailing who she was and what she meant to her family (Rolston 2010), and the police devoted a large amount of resources to search and rescue operations (Human Rights Watch 2013). However, Nicole Hoar is just one of the many women and girls who have gone missing along the Highway of Tears, the majority of whom are Indigenous (McDiarmid 2019; Sabo 2019). Even though Indigenous women and girls overwhelmingly comprise the missing and murdered along the Highway of Tears, it was not until Nicole Hoar - a white woman - went missing that large scale national and regional newspapers began covering the cases of the missing and murdered along this highway (Rolston 2010).

[1] Gloria Moody, a 27-year-old First Nations mother of two, is the first confirmed person to have been murdered along the Highway of Tears in 1969; however, it is widely accepted that there are likely many unconfirmed cases prior to this (Highway of Tears 2019).

This is not to say that Nicole Hoar was undeserving of sustained positive news media coverage and a thorough police investigation. Rather, her case illustrates the unequal and disproportionate institutional, public, and media responses that white women receive when they go missing or are murdered. The disproportionate amount of media coverage that white women receive is so prevalent that this phenomenon has been termed "missing white woman syndrome" (Conlin and Davie 2015; Min and Feaster 2010; Sommers 2017). There are marked disparities in the amount of media coverage that white women receive when they are missing or murdered.

Unlike Nicole Hoar, Indigenous women and girls who have gone missing or been murdered along the Highway of Tears often receive no media coverage at all (McDiarmid 2019; Morton 2016), nor do they receive the same level of police resources for their cases (Human Rights Watch 2013; Reclaiming Power and Place 2019). One Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) Officer's statement is emblematic of this: "if they're Natives, nobody gives a shit" (Human Rights Watch 2013). It is precisely because of their Indigeneity that Indigenous women and girls who have gone missing or been murdered along the Highway of Tears are underrepresented and misrepresented in mainstream news media (Human Rights Watch 2013).

However, the issue of missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people (MMIWG2S+)[2] - and their underrepresentation and misrepresentation in news media - is not just confined to the Highway of Tears. Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people across Canada are murdered and go missing at alarming and disproportionate rates. Over the past thirty years, the RCMP estimates that there are 164 missing and 1181 murdered Indigenous women and girls (Royal Canadian Mounted Police 2014), though numerous Indigenous activists,

[2] Note that throughout the dissertation, I only use the MMIWG2S+ acronym when referring to the MMIWG2S+ genocide, the issue of MMIWG2S+ more broadly, or official titles that use this acronym. An explanation of when and why the MMIWG2S+ acronym is used throughout this dissertation is outlined later in this chapter.

family members, and survivors estimate that this number is closer to 4000 (Reclaiming Power and Place 2019). Gender-based violence is an issue in Canada writ large, but the violence that Indigenous, women, girls, and Two-Spirit people experience is disproportionate: representing only two percent of the Canadian female population, Indigenous women account for approximately ten percent of all female homicides (Reclaiming Power and Place 2019). The average homicide rate for Indigenous women is six times higher than non-Indigenous women (Miladinovic and Mulligan 2014) and they are three times more likely to be killed by a stranger (Reclaiming Power and Place 2019).

Although they are overrepresented as victims of violence, Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people receive disproportionately less newspaper coverage than their non-Indigenous counterparts, both in terms of the number of newspaper articles written about them and the details in these stories (Gilchrist 2007, 2008, 2010; McKenzie 2010). The limited newspaper coverage of missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people signals to the public that their deaths and disappearances are unimportant and in turn has significant implications for both public and institutional responses to this issue (Gilchrist 2010; Jiwani and Young 2006; McKenzie 2010). In addition to limited coverage, previous studies on this topic have found that Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people are overwhelmingly framed as "high-risk" individuals. News articles about their deaths and disappearances overemphasize their sex-work, homelessness, and drug and alcohol use (García-Del Moral 2011; Jiwani and Young 2006; Strega et al. 2014), even when they do not engage in "high-risk" behaviour (McKenzie 2010). This type of coverage implicitly attributes the violence that Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people experience to their individual "choices," rather than the result of larger

systemic issues that shape and constrain individual behaviour (García-Del Moral 2011; Jiwani and Young 2006).

The violence that Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people experience has been the topic of several provincial and national commissions and inquiries, most notably the 2015 National Inquiry into Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls (the National Inquiry). The National Inquiry's final report documented the systemic and interconnected causes of the disproportionate and distressing violence Indigenous women and girls experience, concluding that this violence legally constitutes genocide.[3] This dissertation is concerned with one of the systemic causes of violence outlined in the National Inquiry's final report: newspaper coverage and framing.

Newspapers play an important role in telling the public *what* issues to think about and their perceived importance through agenda-setting (McCombs and Shaw 2017) and *how* to think about issues through framing (Entman 1989). Media frames are the overarching narratives or perspectives of a story through the selective emphasis of certain facts or angles (Entman 1993; Iyengar and Kinder 1987). Frames also entail responsibility: they tell the public who is responsible for causing and solving various social issues (Entman 1993), including gender-based violence (Boyle 2005). This is particularly salient for non-Indigenous Canadians who primarily receive their information about, and whose perceptions of, Indigenous Peoples and issues are informed and shaped through newspapers (Environics 2016; Harding 2005, 2006). As

[3] According to the 1948 United Nations definition, genocide is the "intent to destroy in whole or in part, a national, ethnic, racial or religious group" (Reclaiming Power and Place 2019). Genocidal acts are defined as: killing members of the groups, causing serious bodily or mental harm to the group; deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part; imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group; forcibly transferring children of the group to another group. The National Inquiry found that "Canada has displayed a continuous policy, with shifting expressed motives, but an ultimately steady intention, to destroy Indigenous Peoples physically, biologically, and as social units" (Reclaiming Power and Place 2019).

Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people continue to go missing and are murdered at an alarming and disproportionate rate - even after the launch of the National Inquiry - it is imperative that we have a robust understanding of how the media shapes what and how the Canadian public thinks about this issue.

Although existing research has found a large degree of consistency in the amount of coverage and framing amongst missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people, there are some notable exceptions. For example, the murder of Tina Fontaine, a 15-year-old girl from Sagkeeng First Nation in Manitoba, received sustained intense media coverage and her death was framed within the context of "government inaction and the lack of justice for the disappeared" (Drache et al. 2016, 43). Yet, in 2018 - just four years after Tina Fontaine was murdered - Darcie Muchikekwanape, a 15-year-old girl from Opaskwayak Cree Nation in Manitoba was murdered, but her death received almost no media coverage at all and she was framed in the context of her "struggle with drug and alcohol addiction" (Petz 2018).

The similarities between the murders of Darcie Muchikekwanape and Tina Fontaine are striking. Both girls were 15 when they were murdered at the height of the National Inquiry while in the care of Manitoba Child Welfare Services, yet the amount of coverage they received and how they were discussed in news media were entirely different. Why was Tina Fontaine considered more newsworthy and framed differently than Darcie Muchikekwanape? What explains this heterogeneity in the quantity of coverage and framing? The discrepancies in the amount of coverage and framing among missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls, paired with the important role that the media has in the attribution of the causes and solutions to this violence, motivates this dissertation's principal research questions:

1) How much coverage do missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people receive in newspapers? How are news stories about missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people framed, both in terms of their deaths and disappearances and as individuals themselves?
2) What explains patterns and variations in both the quantity of coverage and framing of missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people in newspapers?

To answer these questions, this project creates three original datasets and employs a quantitative and qualitative media framing analysis of 50,154 newspaper articles from 310 online and print national, local, daily, and broadsheet English-language newspapers. This coverage is representative of 978 missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people across all regions in Canada from 1960-2023.

This project finds that Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people are largely absent in news stories about their deaths and disappearances, both in terms of the amount of coverage they receive and in the substance of newspaper stories. While some Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people receive more coverage than others, it is not because they are inherently more "newsworthy," rather it is the violence that they experience which is newsworthy. Most Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people are reduced to the gruesome details of and blamed for the violence that they experience, with most of the coverage framing this issue in the context of legal proceedings, police investigations, and the perpetrators of violence. Taken together, the central argument I advance using these data is that the quantity of coverage and framing of missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people in newspapers reflects and reinforces the public's apathy towards this issue, in turn legitimizing inadequate public and political responses. The absence of sustained newspaper coverage and the nature of

frames are not conducive for the necessary social and political change needed to redress the MMIWG2S+ genocide.

Media Coverage and Framing of Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women, Girls, and Two-Spirit People: A New Approach

This dissertation is principally concerned with identifying and explaining patterns in newspaper coverage of and among missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people. Although existing studies have been foundational in the creation of this field of research, they are confined to specific time periods and regions, examine a handful of individuals who share similar newsworthiness characteristics, and compare the newsworthiness of Indigenous women to white victims of violence. These limitations hinder a robust understanding of what the Canadian public is being told about this issue and which victims of violence are deemed deserving of public sympathy and why. As such, a new approach, one that is reflective of time and space and examines variations in the coverage amongst victims of violence, is needed.

As mentioned, existing studies on this topic either explicitly compare media coverage between Indigenous and non-Indigenous victims of crime or draw on theories about the newsworthiness of white women to explain why Indigenous victims of crime are not considered newsworthy. Given the deep entrenchment of racism in Canadian news media (Anderson and Robertson 2011), it is unsurprising that in comparison to white victims of crime, Indigenous victims of crime receive less coverage and are framed negatively. What - if anything - makes Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people newsworthy victims of violence themselves? Rather than comparing Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people to white women, my dissertation examines newspaper coverage and framing amongst them to better understand variations in the amount of coverage they receive and how they are framed.

Additionally, current research on this topic does not assess how age and crime type affect the amount of coverage Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people receive and how they are framed - two of the most important newsworthiness factors that determine the quantity of coverage and framing of victims of crime in news media (Christie 1986; Eliasson-Nannini and Sommerlad-Rogers 2014; Gekowski et al. 2012; Greer 2007; Janis and Power 2017; Wong and Harraway 2020). As will be discussed in more detail in the next chapter, this significant gap in the literature is in part due to existing studies' heterogeneous and small sample sizes. My dissertation addresses this gap by examining newspaper coverage of a large sample of 978 Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people, inclusive of multiple different crime types and age groups, to better understand how these newsworthiness factors account for patterns in the coverage and frames.

It is also important to keep sight of the fact that the amount of coverage an issue receives and how it is framed is not static and should be reflective of the political and social environment in which it is situated (McCombs 2005). To determine what issues get coverage and how they are framed, there is an inherent relationship between the public and the media. Though as will be discussed in more detail in the next chapter, there is a tension between the notion of the media as a shaper or reflection of public beliefs, values, and interests (Peter 2022; Tolley 2016). Regardless of whether or not the media shapes or reflects the public's beliefs, values, and interests, they are tied to space and time. In the case of missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people, we would expect to see the amount of coverage they receive and how they are framed change over time and across regions as there have been notable changes in the political environment over time and an increased, though regionally varied, public awareness and opinion about this issue (Environics 2016; Nanos 2022).

Indeed, the Trudeau government, which launched the National Inquiry and campaigned on improving Indigenous-state relations, is a stark contrast to the preceding Harper government, which attributed the issue of MMIWG2S+ to individual choices and disconnected crimes (Saramo 2016), claiming that Canada has no history of colonialism.[4] These shifts in the political environment have coincided with an increase in public awareness and opinion about the issue. For example, in 2016, one year after the launch of the National Inquiry, only a small percentage of non-Indigenous Canadians identified that the MMIWG2S+ genocide is a significant challenge that Indigenous Peoples face (Environics 2016). Conversely, in 2022, three years after the National Inquiry released its final report, 90 percent of non-Indigenous Canadians believed it is important for the government to provide justice for missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people (Nanos 2022). The twitter hashtag #MMIW was also used by many Indigenous Peoples to increase public awareness about the lives of the missing and murdered, and the National Inquiry (Moeke-Pickering et al. 2018). More broadly, the #MeToo and #TimesUp social movements have brought the issue of gender-based violence into the public consciousness.

Despite these clear shifts in the political and social landscape, existing studies on this topic only examine small periods of time, all before the launch of the National Inquiry - arguably the largest political response and corresponding increase in public awareness about this issue. The substantial shifts in the political and social environment beg the question: does the quantity of coverage and framing of missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people change alongside shifts in the political environment and public opinion of the issue? To provide a more robust understanding of how patterns in the coverage and framing correspond to

[4] Stephen Harper, 2009 G20 Meeting. September 24-25, 2009. Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, United States.

shifts in the political and social environment, my dissertation performs a large-scale quantitative analysis of newspaper coverage since the 1960s. I use public polling data to assess patterns in the coverage as they pertain to the social environment over time, and identify key legislative, policy, and grassroots responses to this issue to assess patterns in the coverage related to the political environment over time.[5]

Although broadly public opinion about MMIWG2S+ is increasing, as mentioned, it does vary significantly by region. For example, non-Indigenous Canadians in British Columbia, Ontario, Atlantic Canada, and the Territories all have more positive opinions about Indigenous Peoples and issues compared to those living in the Prairies and Alberta (Environics 2016; Nanos 2023). The number of missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people also varies greatly by region. The regional variation in the number of cases and public opinion and awareness of this issue are important because both cultural and spatial proximity play a significant role in determining what issues get coverage and how they are framed (Greer 2007). Cultural proximity suggests newsworthy stories are those that resonate with public values and beliefs and spatial proximity suggests stories that are geographically close to the public are considered newsworthy (Greer 2007). However, existing studies about missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people are regionally confined, potentially missing important patterns in the coverage as we would expect to see variations in the quantity of coverage and framing depending on regional public opinion and awareness of the issue and the number of cases within each region. My dissertation addresses this gap by utilizing regional public opinion data as a proxy for cultural proximity to the issue and the number of cases in each

[5] Appendix A contains a timeline of key legislative, policy, and grassroots responses regarding the issue of MMIWG2S+.

region as a proxy for spatial proximity to better understand regional variations in the quantity of coverage and framing of Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people.

Dissertation Contributions

This dissertation makes several important empirical, methodological, and theoretical contributions to the field by creating three original datasets: a database of 1752 missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people, a collection of 50,154 newspaper articles from 310 online and print national, local, daily, and broadsheet English-language newspapers, and a MMIWG2S+ media framing dictionary that contains seven distinct frames. Each of these datasets are the largest and first of their kind in the field. In particular, the MMIWG2S+ database I created is one of the most important empirical contributions of my dissertation and an incredible feat of data collection itself. Bringing these data together also better reveals the full extent of the loss and suffering and is a testament to the families who have for decades fought for their loved ones to be remembered, valued, and loved. This project's rich and robust original datasets can facilitate future research on this topic.

As will be discussed throughout the dissertation, the analysis I conduct using these datasets provide a more comprehensive understanding of the quantity and framing of news media coverage of and among missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people and sheds light into existing agenda-setting, media framing, and newsworthiness theories. By examining regional and temporal patterns in the coverage, this project can better understand the relationship between media and the political and social environment. Similarly, by comparing the quantity of coverage and framing among Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people, rather than to white women, and including newsworthiness factors like age and crime type, a better understanding can emerge as to which - if any - are newsworthy victims of violence and why.

Further, in addition to its empirical contributions, the MMIWG2S+ media framing dictionary I created is also a significant methodological contribution of the dissertation. Most existing news media framing analysis on this topic employ an inductive discourse analysis to examine coverage of Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people who share similar newsworthy characteristics, like age and crime type, or a deductive approach that applies only the "high-risk" frame to understanding the coverage. While these existing analyses are instrumental to the creation of the field, they are limited in their potential applicability for future research; the MMIWG2S+ genocide affects Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people of all ages and entails various types of violence. There are important insights into what types of frames exist and what variations in framing when a comprehensive representation of Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people is examined. The MMIWG2S+ dictionary I created is a powerful analytical tool that can serve as a reference for future framing analysis and makes important contributions to better understand how missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people are framed in newspapers.

Normative Dimensions of the Study and Definitions

Many aspects of this dissertation, from its research questions, objectives, methodology, and analysis of findings are based in feminist and Indigenous standpoint theory. A standpoint is a "location from which we view the world that then determines our field of vision, what we are able to see and what we are not able to see, what we are able to know, and what we don't know" (Chauhan 2022). Although there are many interpretations and reproductions of feminist standpoint theory, broadly feminist standpoint theorists believe that knowledge is socially situated, meaning that it can never be - nor should be - objective (Harding 1993). Knowledge is based on social and historical positionality and is inherently political because the personal is

political (Harding 1993). Indigenous standpoint theory has many of the core tenets of feminist standpoint theory but is specific to Indigenous Peoples' positions in settler colonial society. Indigenous standpoint theorists emphasize that research about Indigenous Peoples should also seek to benefit them and that research methodologies should integrate both Indigenous and Western ways of knowing into research (Cox et al. 2021**)**. As such, it is important to situate myself as a researcher within the larger context of my dissertation.

I am a first-generation university student and cisgender woman with Irish and Cherokee ancestry, though it is important to note upfront that I am not a member of the Cherokee Nation and grew up disconnected from this aspect of my heritage. I therefore cannot and do not claim to view the world and my position in it from a Cherokee perspective as I am still learning about and reconnecting with this aspect of my family's heritage. However, it is through this disconnection and reconnection that I became interested understanding how narratives about Indigenous Peoples and issues are shaped and packaged in media and mainstream society. As a first-generation university student, I also have a deep understanding of the barriers and inaccessibility of postsecondary education and fully recognize that the time and resources to undertake a doctoral degree is itself a privilege. I honour this privilege and am deeply grateful for the many sacrifices those in my family have made for me to get here.

My employment experiences throughout the duration of this degree have also largely informed my decision to take a standpoint approach for this project and the standpoint that I possess. During my degree, I had the immense privilege of working for the National Inquiry as a Senior Researcher, where I researched and wrote two chapters included in the Final Report on media representation[6] and the criminal justice system[7], and a supplementary report on the child

[6] Chapter 5 - Deeper Dive: Media and Representation.
[7] Chapter 8- Deeper Dive: Criminalizing and Incarcerating Indigenous Women

welfare system in Manitoba. Several of the 231 Calls for Justice were based on the findings and recommendations in the chapters I wrote. I was also fortunate that after my employment with the National Inquiry I was able to work for the Native Women's Association of Canada in their MMIWG2S+ department. Both employment experiences profoundly affected me personally and as a researcher. For example, during my time at the National Inquiry I was given the responsibility to read private testimony and contextualize it within academic literature to create a more robust understanding of the topics I was researching. Through this experience, I was able to see firsthand how merging Indigenous Knowledge and Western knowledge results in a robust research framework. I was also able to see first-hand the impact that media representation of missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people has on their families and this in turn encouraged me to pursue this project. Similarly, through sharing circles and engagement sessions during my time at the Native Women's Association of Canada, I was able to connect with family members and survivors on a variety of topics. Through this, I gained a better appreciation of how research and advocacy with Indigenous Peoples should always strive to benefit the communities of interest. In effect, these experiences positioned me in a way to understand the importance of not only including, but centering the experiences and knowledge of Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people at the core of how I as an academic approach research.

My positionality also informs how I understand and define key concepts in this project. Currently, the most up-to-date acronym for missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people is MMIWG2S+. Though not explicitly stated, the "+" in this acronym is inclusive of transgender and gender-diverse individuals; however, it is important to note other gender identities may not be accurately captured or represented in the MMIWG2S+ acronym but

are nevertheless affected by the MMIWG2S+ genocide. For example, the term “Two-Spirit " is widely used as a pan-Indigenous definition of non-binary or gender-diverse people, yet it is exclusively a First Nations term that does not apply to Inuit. More broadly, as the concept of gender is constructed, the language we use to describe and define gender identities is fluid and ever evolving. I fully acknowledge that the language I am using at the time of this dissertation’s publication might not be accurate or relevant in the future. Similarly, although gender and sexual identity are often represented together in the Two-Spirit, Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, Queer, Questioning, Intersex, and Asexual (2SLGBTQQIA+) community, the MMIWG2S+ genocide is inherently and explicitly about gender (Reclaiming Power and Place 2019). This is not to say that Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people who have multiple identities represented in the 2SLGBTQQIA+ community do not go missing or are murdered, rather it is to explain why gender identity but not sexuality is included in the MMIWG2S+ acronym.

It is also important to note upfront that I opted not to use the MMIWG2S+ acronym when specifically referencing missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people as individuals or collectively. In various capacities, numerous Elders have expressed to me that the MMIWG2S+ acronym - which is reductive in nature - further marginalizes the lives and stories of Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people and desensitizes the public to the reality of what is meant by missing and murdered. It is important that as a researcher I honour this knowledge shared with me where possible. As such, throughout this dissertation, I only use the acronym when referring to the MMIWG2S+ genocide, the issue of MMIWG2S+ more broadly, or official titles that use this acronym. Put differently, MMIWG2S+ is the issue, but we cannot forget that it is *Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people* who have been murdered or are missing that comprise this issue.

Like the discussion earlier about language and gender identity, at the time of writing this dissertation, Indigenous is the most widely used term that encompasses First Nations, Inuit, and Métis, inclusive of self-identifying and individuals with and without status within these groups. While Indigenous groups are all distinct, and there are important differences within the overarching category of Indigenous Peoples, throughout this project I use the term Indigenous to broadly refer to all three groups. I understand that this is a possible limitation in my research, as the differences between First Nations, Inuit, and Métis women, girls, and Two-Spirit people could impact both the quantity of coverage they receive and how they are framed. However, it is beyond the scope and feasibility of this study to uncover potential differences in coverage between these groups. I also recognize that the language around what is meant by First Nations, Inuit, and Métis has changed over time and that some Indigenous People may refer to themselves as Native or Aboriginal. In using the term Indigenous to refer to First Nations, Inuit, and Métis, my intention is not to exclude individuals who refer to themselves as Native or Aboriginal, but rather it is an effort to be as inclusive and up to date on language as possible.

Further, what is meant by - and importantly *who* is represented as - missing and murdered is important to define. To do so, I draw upon the National Inquiry. The National Inquiry found that the MMIWGS+ genocide is a result of long-standing interconnected colonial, racist, and sexist systems and institutions, as well as various policies that have both purposively and indirectly contributed to the marginalization and vulnerability of Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people being susceptible to and targets of violence. As such, it is important to note that in addition to cases of homicide, this dissertation includes cases where an individual died because of institutional negligence or failure. I also include cases where an individual died under suspicious circumstances or foul play was suspected but their death was not officially ruled a

homicide by police. As highlighted in the National Inquiry's Final Report, there are substantial issues related to institutional racism and bias that affect police handling and classification of cases (Reclaiming Power and Place 2019). Both the accuracy of the databases I created in this study and a robust understanding of the quantity of coverage and framing of missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people could be compromised if I excluded suspicious death or foul play cases. Beyond this, many families whose loved ones are missing or murdered have expressed the emotional harm it causes when suspicious death and suspected foul play cases are excluded from official police and government reports (Reclaiming Power and Place 2019).

In addition to ongoing missing persons cases, I opted to examine news coverage of individuals who went missing but were subsequently found. As will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 2, the media play a significant role in missing persons cases to shape police investigation efforts, public response, and the likelihood of someone coming forward with valuable information (Lam et al. 2023; Moss 2019). Given the limited understanding of both the quantity of coverage and framing of missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people, it was important to include cases of missing but subsequently found individuals to discover potentially important insights into media coverage and the nature of frames.

I should also note that I chose not to include missing and murdered Indigenous men or boys as a part of this dissertation. Although they too are disproportionately overrepresented as homicide victims and missing persons (Statistics Canada 2021), as mentioned earlier, the issue of missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people is inherently gendered.[8] Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people are murdered and go missing not only because

[8] Some grassroots organizations also advocate for the inclusion of Indigenous men and boys in the conversation about MMIWG2S+ (Deerchild 2015).

they are Indigenous, *but because of their gender*: the issue of MMIWG2S+ is rooted at the intersection of colonialism and patriarchy (Reclaiming Power and Place 2019). This is not to say that missing and murdered Indigenous men and boys do not deserve the same amount of public attention as women and girls, but rather the ways in which the MMIWG2S+ genocide is approached and addressed - particularly in the context of news media - must acknowledge the gendered nature of this issue as there are marked disparities between the type and amount of coverage men and women crime victims receive (Jeanis and Powers 2017; Taylor et al. 2013). As such, a gender-based analysis is required to fully understand the quantity and framing of media coverage of missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people.

Lastly, I have given a great deal of consideration around sharing the MMIWG2S+ database I created publicly. On the one hand, it is incredibly important that the lives of missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people no longer remain silent and absent from public discourse. Each missing and murdered person in the MMIWG2S+ database is loved, valued, and greatly missed by their friends and family. It is important that the public know this and know who they are. However, I have decided not to share the MMIWG2S+ database I created publicly. Sharing the names of individuals without seeking permission from each family - which is far beyond the scope of this dissertation - could cause potential harm to families who might not want their loved ones' case to be shared in this way. I am however open to share aggregate data from the MMIWG2S+ database, as I do throughout the dissertation.

Dissertation Overview

The remainder of the dissertation is organized in five main chapters. In **Chapter 2,** I discuss the major bodies of literature that inform and shape my dissertation's questions and scope, namely

agenda-setting theories, theories of newsworthiness, and media framing models. In doing so, I summarize the key findings of studies that utilize these theories in the context of newspaper coverage of missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people, and gender-based violence and crime more broadly. Following this review of existing research, I outline the limitations and gaps in our current understanding of this topic and elaborate on how and where this project addresses these issues, highlighting the importance of the dissertation's research design.

Chapter 3 is principally concerned with understanding the quantity of newspaper coverage of missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people. The overarching objective of this chapter is to determine whether the amount of media coverage has shifted with the broader political context and public opinion of MMIWG2S+ over time and between regions, and to assess differences in the quantity of coverage amongst Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people based on their age and crime type. This chapter finds that age and crime type are more important than region and time in determining which Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people receive coverage and why. However, while some Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people are deemed worthy of coverage - and this is primarily predicted by their age and type of crime committed against them - these findings are not always consistent amongst all individuals within these groups. In some instances, individual cases account for trends in the coverage based on age group and crime type, rather than these findings being characteristic of age and crime type as a whole. Put differently, the media oscillates between intense coverage for a few Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people and overwhelming indifference for the rest. Taken together, the central argument that I advance in this chapter is that the overwhelming lack of coverage that most Indigenous women, girls, and

Two-Spirit people receive, paired with the significant amount of coverage for a few, ignores both the pervasive and routine nature of the MMIWG2S+ genocide and does not make this issue salient for the public.

Moving beyond the quantity of coverage, **Chapter 4** identifies and explains what frames exist in newspaper coverage of missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people. The content analysis I employ in this chapter produces a MMIWG2S+ media framing dictionary which contains seven distinct frames: legal, police, high-risk, perpetrator, systemic, violent victimization, and loved. The remainder of the chapter is centered on a discussion of the results of the frames in the MMIWG2S+ media framing dictionary and contextualizes these findings within the existing literature and the larger political and social environment regarding the issue of MMIWG2S+. The findings from the content analysis demonstrate that missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people are not just misrepresented in how they are framed but are also largely absent themselves in newspaper stories about their deaths and disappearances.

Building on the analysis I conduct in Chapter 4, **Chapter 5** assesses whether media frames have shifted with the broader social and political context around MMIWG2S+ and examines variations in framing among Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people based on their age and the type of crime committed against them. This chapter principally finds that over time as public opinion and awareness of the issue increased, Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people were in some ways framed more positively. However, at the same time they were framed more positively, the frequency of negative frames did not significantly decrease. The analysis in this chapter also confirms that while there are some regional variations in framing, these differences can largely be attributed to individual cases within provinces and territories,

rather than these differences reflecting regional public opinion more broadly. There are however significant differences in how Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people are framed, depending on their age and type of crime committed against them. Using these findings, I make the case that Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people themselves are not inherently newsworthy victims of violence, rather it is the violence that they experience which is newsworthy. The central argument I advance is that if the media are a mirror that reflects public opinion and values, how missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people are framed in newspapers reflects and reinforces the public's apathy towards this issue.

In the **Conclusion**, I summarize the main findings of the dissertation, contextualize its overarching contributions, and expand on areas for future research. I conclude the dissertation with a personal reflection about its findings and what I think they mean for the future of media representation of missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people.

Chapter 2

FOUNDATIONS FOR A NEW RESEARCH DESIGN

In setting the foundation for a new research design that more accurately identifies and explains newspaper coverage and framing of missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people, this chapter outlines the major bodies of literature and existing research that inform and shape my dissertation's questions, scope, and methodology. First, I provide an overview of the debate in the literature about the media's role as a mirror or shaper of public opinion, explain theories of newsworthiness, and outline media framing theories. I summarize the key findings of studies that utilize these theories and concepts to explain media coverage of gender-based violence and victims of crime more broadly, and where possible, specifically missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people. Following this, I identify the gaps in the literature that hinder a fulsome understanding of newspaper coverage and framing of this issue. This chapter concludes by expanding upon where and how this project's research framework makes important contributions to the field.

By highlighting the gaps in current research on media coverage of this issue, I argue that current research on this topic is confined to specific time periods and regions, limiting our understanding of media responsiveness to the political and social environment in which it is situated. Similarly, I argue that current studies do not accurately account for variations in the amount of coverage and framing among missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people, limiting our understanding as to which victims of violence are newsworthy and why. In doing so, I make the case that only with a comprehensive analysis across space, time, and among victims of violence, can patterns and variations in the quantity of coverage and nature of frames be identified and explained. Taken together, I argue that the gaps in existing

literature and research on this topic do not enable a robust understanding of what and how the public thinks about Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people and the violence they experience.

Newsworthiness and News Values: What Stories Get Told and Why

An abundance of events happen every day, yet only a fraction of them is reported on in the news media (Hall 1973). In deciding what stories to cover, journalists must assess their newsworthiness. In effect, newsworthiness is "what makes a story worth telling" (Jiwani 2006, 38). However, the "selection of a story is not random" (Bouchard et al. 2020, 21). As a gatekeeper of news (Friedrich et al. 2015; Shoemaker and Vos 2009), journalists make a number of considerations to determine the newsworthiness of a story and these considerations are intimately connected to news values. In their seminal work, Gatlung and Ruge (1965) identified news values as the set of criteria that determine which events are covered and why. News values are influenced by both internal and external factors.

Internally, there are several journalistic constraints that influence journalists' determinations of newsworthiness, like the political economy of newspapers (Harcup 2004; Lau 2004; Tolley 2016), the composition of newsrooms (Donsbach 2004) and media ownership (Tolley 2016). The political economy of the news media industry means that time pressures and space limitations that journalists face affect which stories get told and how much detail they receive (Harcup 2004; Lau 2004; Tolley 2016). These time and space constraints often result in simplified and partially told stories, leading journalists to employ stereotypes and tropes for added "colour" and context (Tolley 2016, 19). Similarly, journalists often privilege "credible" news sources and because of time constraints, will include sources that are available for immediate comment (Harcup 2004). Media ownership is another significant constraint, with both

women and Indigenous Peoples disproportionately underrepresented in Canadian media. For example. only one-third of editorial positions in Canada are held by women and more than seventy-five percent of English language national columnists are men (Tolley 2016). Similarly, Postmedia, which owns ten of the largest daily newspapers in Canada, has a board of directors comprised of eight men and two women, all of whom are white (Tolley 2016). Other top Canadian media organizations' boards of directors have strikingly similar demographics. The homogeneity of the media is substantially worse for racial and ethnic minorities, including Indigenous people, who only represent approximately three percent of news staff (Tolley 2016). The composition of media newsrooms and boards of directors does not necessarily on its own lead to inclusive coverage, but how and what stories are reported is significantly influenced by who is doing the reporting. "Journalists must decide what is true, what is relevant, and what is, in a moral sense, good or bad" (Donsbach 2004, 136). Most importantly, how journalists evaluate and interpret information is significantly influenced by other journalists, largely due to proximity and perceived credibility (Donsbach 2004). In effect, the homogeneity of the Canadian news media plays a role in what and how news stories are reported.

Externally, an event's intrinsic properties like "conflict, drama, social impact, novelty, magnitude, proximity, timeliness, brevity and visual attractiveness" are considered in determining what events are considered newsworthy and how they are discussed. (Tolley 2016, 20). "Commonplace" events rarely appear in the news because they are not striking or deemed significant (Tolley 2016). In addition, David Taras also argues that temporal and spatial immediacy, human interest, and negative consequences are important news values (1990). However, there is a great deal of debate in the literature as to whether the public or the media determines the external aspects of news values. Put differently, who leads and who follows when

determining what and who is considered newsworthy? Some scholars argue that the media are like a mirror that reflects the public (Peter 2022; Tolley 2016). In selecting which stories get coverage, the media reflects the public's commonly held beliefs, values, and interests. In this regard, the public drives what stories are newsworthy. Though, as David Taras has argued, the media are more of a "distorted mirror" because it acts as a reflection between journalists and their subjects (1990). As a distorted mirror, news stories are interpretive and constructed, not simply selected (Tolley 2016). Decisions around newsworthiness do not exist in a vacuum; journalists' own subjectivity plays a role in their decision making and reporting (Donsbach 2004; Tolley 2016). In contrast, other scholars argue that rather than reflecting the public's beliefs, values, and interests, the media shapes them. As a shaper, the media play a critical role in determining which stories are covered and how they are covered (Tolley 2016). "The media are not passive facilitators, but instead help shape how we see the world around us" (Tolley 2016, 14). Central to the idea that the media are a shaper is gatekeeping theory. In connecting us to political issues, the media act as a "gatekeeper" that funnels political issues into a limited number of stories (Tolley 2016).

One of the ways that the media act as a shaper and gatekeeper is through agenda-setting. The media set the public agenda by determining what issues get covered and how much coverage they receive. The amount of coverage the media gives to issues has a strong correlation to "the importance attributed to these issues by mass audiences" (Scheufele and Tewksbury 2007, 11). In other words, the media play a significant role in public salience. Priming, an extension of agenda-setting, suggests to the public that specific issues should be used as "as benchmarks for evaluating the performance of leaders and governments (Scheufele and Tewksbury 2007, 11). Taken together, "by making some issues more salient in people's mind (agenda-setting), mass

media can also shape the considerations that people take into account when making judgments about political candidates or issues (priming)" (Scheufele and Tewksbury 2007, 11).

Regardless of whether the media are a shaper or mirror, what stories get told and how much coverage they receive are nonetheless based on values that the public has either created or condoned (Tolley 2016). In this sense, there is a symbiotic relationship between the media and the public in determining what stories are newsworthy. However, it is important to note that our current understanding of what news values are and what determines newsworthiness is largely heteronormative and Eurocentric. The media have been and continue to be deeply rooted in colonialism, sexism, and racism, a discussion I return to in the conclusion chapter. Although it is far beyond the scope of this dissertation to ascertain the media's role as a shaper or mirror in the context of missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people, as will be discussed in the following chapters, who gets coverage and how they are framed can provide important insights into what the public is being told about this issue. As a mirror or shaper, media coverage of missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people not only "tells us something about the media but also something about ourselves" (Tolley 2016, 20).

Newsworthiness of Crime Victims

Crime is one of the most newsworthy events (Greer 2007). In determining the newsworthiness of crime victims, an abundance of research shows that an individual's status as an "ideal" victim largely determines if they get coverage and how much coverage they receive (Christie 1986; Greer 2007; Gekowski et al. 2012). Individuals who are deemed "vulnerable, defenseless, innocent and worthy of sympathy and compassion" (Greer 2007, 4) are "most readily given the

complete and legitimate status of being a victim" (Christie 1986, 18). As a result, women, the elderly, and children are typically seen as the ideal victim and are therefore the most covered victim of crime (Carrabine et al. 2004; Christie 1986; Gruenewald et al. 2011; Jeanis and Power 2017). For example, news stories about sex-crimes committed against children "typically feature very young victims - well below the age of consent" because they are easily portrayed as completely innocent victims of violence (Greer 2007, 28).

In addition to gender and age, notions of ideal victimhood are also inherently tied to race and class. Existing research shows that racial minorities receive significantly less news coverage than white victims of violence (Bjornstrom et al. 2010; Gruenewald et al. 2009; Gruenewald et al. 2011; Lundmand 2003; Pritchard and Hughes 1997; Slakoff and Fradella 2019). Indeed, many Black feminist scholars have challenged the colloquialism "if it bleeds it leads," noting that "it really depends on who is bleeding" (Dowler et al. 2006, 841; Slakoff and Fradella 2019, 83). The phenomenon of "missing white woman syndrome" (Conlin and Davie 2015; Min and Feaster 2010; Sommers 2017), discussed in the introductory chapter, is intensified for white middle-class and affluent women (Peelo et al. 2004), and is particularly salient in the Canadian news context (Collins 2014). In contrast, individuals who exist on the margins of society, those who are homeless, with substance use issues, and engage in sex-work are the antithesis to the ideal victim (Carrabine et al. 2004; Strega et al. 2014). In effect, there is "a hierarchy of victimization, both reflected and reinforced in media" (Greer 2007, 4). The media both creates and condones which victims of violence are deemed worthy of coverage.

Existing research on the quantity of news coverage that missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people receive is consistent with the race aspect of ideal victimhood, with research showing that they receive disproportionately less news media

coverage than their non-Indigenous counterparts. For example, Kristen Gilchrist's comparative study of missing and murdered white and Indigenous women found that on average, white women received three times more coverage than Indigenous women (2010). Her study also found that articles about white women appear in a more prominent place in newspapers compared to Indigenous women (Gilchrist 2010). McKenzie's 2008 case study of Daleen Kay Bosse Muskego who went missing from Saskatoon also highlights this. There was only a total of 51 articles over a four-year period about Daleen, and notably none during the critical first two weeks she was missing (McKenzie 2008).

Beyond an individual's status as an ideal victim, many scholars cite crime type, indicated by both its rarity and severity, as important factors in determining victim newsworthiness. An abundance of research shows that crimes that occur less frequently and are particularly violent or extreme in nature are more likely to receive coverage than those of a more routine nature (Chermak 1995; Gekowski et al. 2012; Gruenewald et al. 2011; Johnstone et al. 1995; Soothill et al. 2002). Specifically in the case of violence against women, research shows that when this violence is more routine in nature, like non-fatal and/or intimate partner violence, it is largely absent from the media agenda (Gilchrist 2010; Jewkes 2004). A similar pattern emerges for sex-crimes committed against children. Even though most sex-crimes against children are committed by someone they know, news stories tend to focus on those "who have been abused by a stranger or someone in a position of authority" (Greer 2007, 28). In effect, crimes that are considered more commonplace are not readily covered in news media.

Amongst all types of crime, homicides are typically the most newsworthy type of crime because they are both rare and severe, though not all homicides are considered equally as newsworthy (Gekowski et al. 2012; Gruenewald et al. 2011; Taylor and Sorenson 2002).

Homicides that involve strangers and those that are violent and sexual in nature (Marsh 1991; Reiner 2007), particularly serial killings (Eliasson-Nannini and Sommerlad-Rogers 2014; Gekowski et al. 2012; Wong and Harraway 2020), are treated as the most newsworthy. In addition, Greer (2007) also found that homicide that lead to large public inquiries or commissions because of some type of social injustice, for example police brutality, also receive a significant amount of news media coverage. Of note for this project, research shows that missing individuals are less likely to receive coverage than those who are murdered (Jeanis and Powers 2017).

There is also a vast discrepancy in the amount of news coverage among minority crime victims. As mentioned in the introductory chapter, Tina Fontaine received a significant amount of media coverage compared to other missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people, with Drache et al. (2016) attributing this to the influx of Indigenous issues more broadly during the time she was murdered. These researchers also found that missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people received less coverage in regions with a high degree of political activism around resource extraction, indicating that the political environment has an impact on how much coverage this issue receives. However, Drache et al.'s study falls short in explaining *why specifically* Tina Fontaine received more news coverage compared to similar cases at the time of her murder. Many scholars have grappled with this very issue: what makes traditionally "unnewsworthy" victims of violence newsworthy?

Existing research shows that not one theory of newsworthiness accounts for variations in the amount of news coverage among minority victims. For example, Gruenewald et al. (2011) found that crime severity and victim vulnerability increased the likelihood of Black and Hispanic crime victims receiving coverage and how prominently these stories were featured in

newspapers and Meyers' 2004 study found that Black women who are victims of crime are rarely afforded news media coverage unless the crime committed against them is particularly severe or rare. Further, Slakoff and Fradella found that news stories of missing Black women in the United States vary greatly depending on age, with missing Black children being more likely to receive coverage than older Black women (2019). Clearly there are notable differences in how much news coverage minority victims receive that shed light into their apparent newsworthiness. Although existing studies that examine differences in the quantity of news coverage among minority crime victims are specific to the United States, as will be expanded upon later in this chapter, they offer important insights in news media coverage of missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people in the Canadian context.

Media Framing: How Stories are Told

If newsworthiness determines what stories get told, media framing is how stories are told. In other words, "framing focuses not on which topics or issues are selected for coverage by the news media, but instead on the particular ways those issues are presented" (Scheufele and Tewksbury 2007, 15). Media frames are the lens or overarching narrative of a news story. Frames act as heuristics that allow complex issues and ideas to be understood and can explicitly and implicitly shape attitudes and opinions based on what is included in the frame and how it is understood (Carter 2013). By emphasizing or deemphasizing certain aspects of an issue, frames signal to the public what part of the story is important (Carter 2013). Indeed, information that is excluded in a news story is just as important as what information is included in shaping public attitudes (Entman 1993). Through the selection of some aspects of a story over others, frames "promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation and/or treatment recommendation for the item described" (Entman 1993).

Shanto Iyengar's seminal work on the framing of poverty categorized media frames as either episodic or thematic. Thematic framing emphasizes larger societal and structural issues, whereas episodic framing takes the "the form of a case study or event-oriented report and depicts public issues in terms of concrete instances" (Iyengar 1991, 14). The differences between episodic and thematic frames have important consequences in determining who is responsible for causing and solving political and social issues. For example, when the issue of poverty was framed thematically, Iyengar found that the public was less likely to believe that poverty is a result of individual choice (1991). The nature of episodic and thematic framing is particularly salient in the context of missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people because a "key element in the construction of a compelling crime narrative is the attribution of responsibility or blame" (Greer 2007). This has real world importance as some public polling data shows that there is significant agreement amongst non-Indigenous Canadians about who is responsible for the MMIWG2S+ genocide, why it occurred, and if it is ongoing (Association for Canadian Studies 2019).

However, the public's ability to resonate and be influenced by frames is determined by framing effects. Although my dissertation does not explicitly test framing effects, this body of literature demonstrates the importance of a robust understanding of what frames the Canadian public is being exposed to about the deaths and disappearances of Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people. Throughout the remainder of this section, I explain each of the three dominant media framing effects (mediational processes, moderators, and competitions) and make the case that non-Indigenous Canadians are likely extremely susceptible to media framing in the context of this issue.

The first way that framing effects can occur is through mediational processes. For a frame to successfully influence the public, they must have some prior knowledge about the contents of the frame (Chong and Druckman 2007; Kinder and Saunders 1996; Nelson et al. 1997; Sniderman and Theriault 1999). For example, for a person to be influenced by a news story that frames the MMIWG2S+ genocide as a part of larger colonial practices, they would have to be familiar with the concept of colonialism to understand the frame. Consequently, media framing effects are greater among people who have *more* knowledge about the issue or group being framed (Chong and Druckman 2007). In addition to having knowledge about a frame, recent or frequent exposure to a frame makes it more likely a person can subconsciously access that frame and thus be influenced by it (Chong and Druckman 2007).

The second way that framing effects occur is through "moderators," where moderating variables change the strength of framing effects (Chong and Druckman 2007). One important source of moderating variables is existing attitudes and beliefs about an issue or group. Individuals with strong beliefs or values about an issue are less susceptible to frames that counter those values (Chong and Druckman 2007). Another moderating variable is the perceived credibility of the frame. Frames that are delivered by reliable sources and frames that reference longstanding cultural values are more successful at influencing public opinion (Chong and Druckman 2007).

Finally, framing effects occur through "competition." Most often, there are two competing frames in a news story (Chong and Druckman 2007). When individuals are presented with conflicting frames, they choose the frame that is consistent with their prior knowledge or values (Chong and Druckman 2007). This holds true when a new issue is presented to an individual that they do not have prior knowledge about; the frame that most resonates with their

values will be the most successful at influencing their opinion (Chong and Druckman 2007). This is true more broadly for negative and positive frames. When presented with positive and negative frames, the public is more susceptible to negative framing (Soroka et al. 2019; Soroka and Adams 2015).

Public polling data about Indigenous Peoples and issues, and specifically missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people, highlights the importance of media framing effects in this context. While the majority of non-Indigenous Canadians may have a basic understanding of missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people, they lack a broader understanding of its impact on Indigenous communities and its structural and systemic causes (Environics 2016). In other words, non-Indigenous Canadians have a *perceived* level of knowledge about missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people, suggesting that they are highly susceptible to mediational framing processes. Similarly, because non-Indigenous Canadians have strong beliefs about Indigenous Peoples and issues, both positive and negative (Angus Reid Institute 2018), they would likely be susceptible to moderating effects. When taken together, public polling data about this issue and the media framing effects literature highlight the need for a more fulsome account of how missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people are framed. Again, although it is beyond the scope of this dissertation to explicitly test media framing effects, the frames I uncover in Chapter 4 and the subsequent analysis I conduct in Chapter 5 shed light into what frames might resonate with the Canadian public and why.

Media Framing of Gender Based Violence

Gender-based violence is a systemic issue, yet an abundance of research demonstrates that it is primarily framed episodically as isolated events in news media (Bullock and Cubert 2002;

Gillespie et al. 2013; Lee and Wong 2020; Taylor 2009). The episodic framing of gender-based violence can broadly be categorized into three dominant frames: authority frames, victim blaming frames, and perpetrator frames. In this section, I outline how these frames are used to discuss gender-based violence more broadly and specifically missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people. As will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 4, some of the frames I identified through the content analysis are consistent with the literature on media framing of gender-based violence, while other frames are new additions to this field of research. As such, while the categories of frames in the next section are named differently than the frames I uncover, some of their content is similar.

Authority Frames

Existing studies show that news coverage of gender-based violence is framed through a perspective that privileges voices of authority (Bullock and Cubert 2002; Fairbairn and Dawson 2013; Gerrits 2019). For example, Bullock and Cubert's analysis of domestic violence in news media in the United States found that most of the coverage contained a police or "just the facts" frame that utilize police as expert sources (2002). This type of frame describes the "who, what, when, how" aspects of domestic violence, without further speculating on why it occurred (Bullock and Cubert 2002). The authority frame in news coverage of gender-based violence unsurprising. Police are the most common sources in news media coverage of crime, and in particular gender-based violence (Chermak 1995; Ericson 1989; Gerrits 2019; Surette 2007). For example, in her 2019 doctoral thesis of domestic violence in Canadian newspapers, including missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people, Bailey Gerrits found that most news media stories quote police officers for "framing and significance" (202). Of the domestic violence stories in Canadian newspapers that involve Indigenous

Peoples, 61 percent include official statements from police (Gerrits 2019, 192). This type of framing suggests that the police are doing a satisfactory job in investigating the cases of missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people (McKenzie 2008), despite well documented evidence that suggests otherwise (Human Rights Watch 2013; Palmater 2016; Reclaiming Power and Place 2019).

Overemphasizing police as news sources in news media coverage of domestic violence not only frames police as a part of the solution to this violence, but it suggests that police themselves have a significant role in determining the newsworthiness of various crime victims and how they are framed (Gerrits 2019). In the case of missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people this has important consequences: the well-documented systemic racism in police institutions has contributed to police mishandling and misclassification of this violence (Human Rights Watch 2013; Palmater 2016; Reclaiming Power and Place 2019). In addition, the overemphasis of police as news sources in domestic violence stories comes at the expensive of including families as expert sources (Bullock and Cubert 2002). Specifically in the case of Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people, families are seldomly contacted by media or included as sources in stories about their deaths and disappearances (Shah 2021). For example, McKenzie's 2008 analysis of news media coverage of Daleen Kay Bosse Muskego found that her family's efforts to find her were often secondary in news stories about her disappearance.

Victim Blaming Frames

Another dominant frame that exists in news media coverage of gender-based violence is the victim blaming frame (Berns 2001, 2004; Bullock 2007; Bullock and Cubert 2002; Gillespie et

al. 2013; Meyers 1997). An abundance of research shows that news media coverage of "physical and sexual violence against women has demonstrated a tendency to blame females for their victimization" (Fairbairn and Dawson 2003, 7). In the case of intimate partner violence, victims are framed as ought to having "known better" than to be involved with their abusers (Fairbairn and Dawson 2003, 6) or that they somehow provoked the perpetrators to commit violence (Berns 2004). More broadly, research shows that victims of gender-based violence are often blamed for the violence they experience based on individual characteristics, like being "marginalized or 'from the fringes' of society in some way" (Fairbairn and Dawson 2003, 7).

This victim blaming frame is present in news media coverage of missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people, with existing studies finding that they are primarily framed as "high-risk individuals". This type of framing emphasizes sex-work, drug and alcohol use and addiction, and homelessness (García-Del Moral 2011; Jiwani and Young 2009; Strega et al. 2014). By emphasizing their "high-risk" behaviour, the deaths and disappearances of Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people are framed as a product of individual choices. Strega et al.'s study on media framing of Indigenous sex-workers who were murdered or missing from Vancouver's Downtown Eastside in 2006-2009 highlights this (2014). These researchers found that the media continually framed sex-work as a lifestyle choice, suggesting that Indigenous women who engage in sex-work and experience violence are at fault: by choosing to engage in a "high-risk" lifestyle, Indigenous sex-workers must also accept the violent consequences of that lifestyle (Strega et al. 2014). Jiwani and Young's (2009) content analysis and García-Del Moral's (2011) discourse analysis of the Indigenous women murdered by serial killer Robert Pickton also found that news stories framed them as high-risk individuals, without examining the larger systemic causes of violence. High-risk framing of missing and murdered

Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people “displace structural explanations with individual ones" (Strega et al. 2014, 3). In effect, this type of framing advances a narrative that Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people are to blame for the violence against them, without examining the colonial constructs that shape and constrain individual “choices” (García-Del Moral 2011; Jiwani and Young 2009; Strega et al. 2014).

The high-risk frame has significant consequences in the context of missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people. Many Indigenous sex-workers in Vancouver’s Downtown Eastside and in other urban areas are trafficked because they are seen as vulnerable and “easy” targets (Bourgeois 2018; Native Women’s Association of Canada 2014; Sethi 2010; Shah 2021; Sikka 2010). Even though Indigenous women are overrepresented as victims of human and sex-trade trafficking (Ma Mawi Wi Chi Itata 2013), the media rarely mentions the relationship between sex trafficking, intergenerational trauma, poverty, and violence when reporting on the issue of MMIWG2S+ (Culthane 2003). Instead, news media privilege the “exotic and spectacular representation of drugs, sex, violence, and crime rather than the ordinary and mundane brutality of everyday poverty” (Culthane 2003, 595). News media overlook Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people as victims of crime and instead frame them as “high-risk” individuals, in turn enabling sex and human traffickers to target Indigenous women and girls (Shah 2021).

The high-risk frame that is used in current news coverage of missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people mirrors early newspaper representations of Indigenous women as sq*aw (Razack 2002). The term sq*aw is a sexist and racist slur that describes Indigenous women as dirty, immoral, lazy, and unworthy (Coward 2016; LaRoque 2007). This type of framing was - and still is - often used to justify the violence Indigenous

women and girls experience (Carter 1997; Morton 2018; Pierce 2015) and continues to present Indigenous women as unfit mothers within the confinement of the Victorian family model (Anderson 2001). Indeed, through residential schools, birth alerts, and the 60s scoop, the Canadian government targets Indigenous women by claiming that they are unfit mothers. This in turn legitimizes the forced removal of Indigenous children and contributes to their overrepresentation in Child Welfare Services (Reclaiming Power and Place 2019). As sq*aw, Indigenous women are seen as unfit mothers because of issues like domestic violence and poverty - all issues that are products of Canada's past and current colonial policies.

Even when Indigenous women do not engage in "high-risk" behaviour, some studies have shown that they are still framed as such. McKenzie's 2008 case study of Daleen Kay Bosse Muskego mentioned earlier in the chapter highlights this. Even though Daleen, a mother and a university student, did not engage in a "high-risk lifestyle," the media reported her disappearance in a way that suggested she was partying and was even "choosing to be missing" (McKenzie 2008, 158). Newspapers did not provide any positive or personal details about Daleen, only that she had been spotted around 2:20 am on the Thursday following her disappearance, encouraging readers to assume that she was out drinking or doing drugs (McKenzie 2008). McKenzie's case study of news media coverage of Daleen Kay Bosse Muskego is also indicative of how news media will often covertly, rather than explicitly, blame victims of gender-based violence, suggesting that they are somehow at fault for the violence they experience (Bullock and Cubert 2002).

More broadly, emphasizing Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people's criminal behaviour vis-à-vis the high risk-frame is indicative of how gender-based violence is often framed as an issue that occurs to "others" (Bullock and Cubert 2002; Janzen et al. 2011; Jiwani

and Young 2006). For example, in their analysis of American newspaper coverage of domestic violence, Bullock and Cubert (2002) found that the criminal behavior of both the perpetrators and victims were routinely mentioned to implicitly suggest that those involved in domestic violence were already "troublemakers" (490). Kristen Gilchrist uncovered a similar pattern in her qualitative analysis of missing and murdered Indigenous women in Canadian newspapers: even when Indigenous women are framed positively, it is done so in a way to highlight their "non-normative otherness" (2010). By framing gender-based violence as an issue that happens to "others" the public can easily remove themselves as a necessary solution to this pressing social issue.

Perpetrator Frames

Unlike victims of gender-based violence - who are often blamed for the violence they experience - news media often covertly and overtly justify and excuse the perpetrators of violence. Most often, gender-based violence is framed as a result of the characteristics of individual perpetrators, rather than the larger issue of gender-based violence (Bullock and Cubert 2002; Carlye et al. 2008). For example, drug and alcohol abuse and mental health issues are often used to excuse the perpetrators violence (Bullock 2007) - a stark contrast to how these same issues are used to frame Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people as "high-risk" individuals. Perpetrators of violence are also often framed as deviants, suggesting that only "monsters" can commit such violence (Jiwani and Young 2006), ignoring the routine and pervasive nature of gender-based violence writ-large. In the case of missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people, both García-Del Moral (2011) and Jiwani and Young (2009) found that news coverage of the Indigenous women murdered by serial killer Robert overwhelmingly focused on him, his family, the details of his trial. These findings are consistent with the literature on

newsworthiness of crime victims mentioned earlier in the chapter; oftentimes it is not the victims themselves who are newsworthy, rather it is the perpetrator who is considered newsworthy, and consequently determines the newsworthiness of victims (Gekowski et al. 2012).

Presencing Frame

As discussed earlier in this chapter, news values, which are largely Eurocentric and heteronormative, influence what stories get told and how they are framed. Our current understanding of media framing of gender-based violence and missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people is therefore based on Eurocentric and heteronormative news values that "fail to acknowledge the Indigenous agency that rests in stories" (Savarese 2017, 178) and "limit the ability of gendered and racialized survivors to bear witness to their loved one's experiences of victimization" (de Finney 2014; Savarese 2017, 159). To counter dominant understandings of news values, some scholarship seeks to provide an "alternative to the silencings and exclusions" that characterize media coverage of missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people (Savarese 2017, 180). For example, in her work on media coverage of Kinew James and Amber Tuccaro, Josephine Savarese expanded upon Leanne Simpson's (2019) conception of "presencing" to explore how missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people manifest agency as opposed to being "unaware victims of the more typical fascination with their perceived vulnerability and victimhood" in news media (2017, 178). In essence, presencing seeks to move beyond humanizing Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people and understand how they can be fully present and aware of the social, political and historical circumstances shaping their situations and actions (Savarese 2017). Presencing "offers a way of more deeply appreciating" (Savarese 2017, 161) the lives of Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people because it fully engages with their "hope,

desire, humor, and possibility" (de Finney 2014, 22). Although it is beyond the scope of dissertation to utilize presencing, it is important to acknowledge this growing body of literature that seeks to fully document and engage with the lives and stories of missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people.

Variations in the Framing of Victims of Gender-Based Violence

Taken together, most existing research shows that Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people are famed as high-risk individuals and as a result are blamed for the violence they experience. However, as mentioned in the introductory chapter, existing studies have also found that there are notable differences in framing among Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people. For example, Drache et al. found in their analysis that the murder of Tina Fontaine was framed within the context of "government inaction and the lack of justice for the disappeared" (Drache et al. 2016, 43). What explains the differences in how Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people are framed? Although no studies to date on this topic specifically address this question, an abundance of research about the variations in framing among victims of crime more broadly demonstrate that victim age and crime type are significant newsworthiness factors that affect how victims of crime are framed. Like the differences in the quantity of coverage among crime victims discussed earlier in the chapter, the "hierarchy of victimization" that determines how much coverage victims of crime receive also affects how they are framed. "Ideal" victims of violence – children and the elderly - are framed positively and sympathetically in news media (Greer 2007; Taylor and Sorenson 2008). Similarly, crime severity and rarity also influence how victims of crime are framed. News stories about domestic violence are "less likely to be opinion dominated, be emotional, and begin with a 'hook'" (Taylor and Sorenson 2008, 121) whereas

news stories about serial killings are sensational in nature (Eliasson-Nannini and Sommerlad-Rogers 2014; Gekowski et al. 2012; Wong and Harraway 2020).

As mentioned, the way in which Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people are framed based on their age and type of crime committed against them is not explicitly addressed in the literature. Existing research on this topic is homogeneous in nature, with individual studies examining news coverage of Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people who share a similar victimology. Although I argue later in this chapter that this homogeneity is a significant gap in the literature, comparing the findings of research on this topic does shed some light into the variations in framing based on crime type and age. For example, Kristen Gilchrist's study of news media coverage for three Indigenous women, all of whom were missing or murdered in a similar way, found that news media coverage was "detached in tone" (2010, 1). In contrast, García-Del Moral (2011) and Jiwani and Young (2009) found that news media coverage of Indigenous women who were murdered by serial killer Robert Pickton, most of whom were sex-workers, was graphic and sensational: news media stories detailed their mutilated remains and their disposal (García-Del Moral 2011; Jiwani and Young 2009). The Indigenous women that Pickton murdered were "literally represented as waste- their mutilated bodies were found *in* the garbage, disposed of *as* garbage" (García-Del Moral 2011, 47). Further, most studies to date - except for Drache et al.'s (2016) analysis of the framing of Tina Fontaine - examine the framing of Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people between the ages of 18-35. Although most of the existing research has found that news media frame the violence that Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people experience episodically, Drache et al. did find that the murder of Tina Fontaine was framed thematically. The varied findings in current research indicate that age and crime type are likely important factors that affect how Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit

people are framed, highlighting the importance of a more robust analysis of these newsworthiness factors.

Unsurprisingly, existing research also shows that minority victims of crime are framed less sympathetically than white victims of crime (Gruenewald et al. 2011; Meyers 2004; Slakoff and Fradella 2019). This is true for Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people. Kristen Gilchrist's comparative case study of white and Indigenous women who were missing or murdered highlights this. In her study, she found that white women were described as valued family and community members, whereas the details of the Indigenous women's lives were scant in comparison (Gilchrist 2010). Existing research also shows that when both Indigenous and non-Indigenous women engage in "high-risk" behaviour, they are framed differently. White women who engage in a "high-risk" lifestyle are framed as "good" women who are worthy of saving and reporting on, whereas Indigenous women are portrayed as "bad" women who are unworthy of news coverage (Acoose 1995). For example, unlike Indigenous sex-workers who go missing or are murdered, white sex workers are often portrayed as "fallen" women who can be saved (Hallgrimsdottir et al. 2005). García-Del Moral found a similar pattern in her discourse analysis of Robert Pickton's victims. Unlike Pickton's Indigenous victims, his white victims were often described in a beautiful and poetic way, describing their lives and aspirations (García-Del Moral 2011).

However, some newer research shows that gender-based violence frames are changing over time. For example, in their analysis of domestic violence in Canadian newspapers, Fairbairn and Dawson found that although victim blaming frames remain constant over time, news stories about domestic violence are becoming less likely to employ a frame "that excuses or justifies the perpetrator's actions" (2013, 1), attributing these changes to shifts in the social and political

environment regarding gender-based violence. Existing research also shows that news media framing of gender-based violence varies greatly by region. For example, Slakoff and Fradella's analysis of American newspaper coverage of Black homicide victims varied greatly across regions, with news stories in the Southern States being more likely to frame homicide victims in the context of their motherhood whereas news stories from the Midwest were more salacious in nature (Slakoff and Fradella 2019). Although there are few studies that examine regional differences in newspaper coverage on various social issues in the Canadian context (Lawlor and Tolley 2017) - and even fewer studies examine regional differences in newspaper coverage of Indigenous Peoples (Wallace 2019), and in particular missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people (Drache et al. 2016) - these studies have identified that there are important regional differences in the framing of certain social issues.

Limitations of Current Research

To summarize, the majority of existing research on the quantity and framing of news media coverage of missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people has found that they are considered less newsworthy than white women (Gilchrist 2010), do not receive a significant amount of coverage (Gilchrist 2007, 2009, 2010, McKenzie 2008), and are framed as "high-risk" individuals (García-Del Moral 2011; Jiwani and Young 2006; Strega et al. 2014). However, some studies demonstrate that a few missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people receive significantly more coverage than others and the violence they experience is framed in the context of larger systemic issues but fall short in explaining why (Drache et al. 2016). In surveying the media framing literature, there are several gaps in knowledge that hinder a robust understanding of the quantity of coverage and framing of missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people. In the remainder of this section, I

expand on the empirical, theoretical, and methodological gaps in the current literature, setting the foundation for why a new research approach on this topic is necessary.

Regional and Temporal Confinement

Research on both the quantity and framing of missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people is temporally and regionally confined. Existing studies only examine a few years of coverage, all prior to the National Inquiry. For example, three of the largest studies on newspaper coverage of missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people are all confined to Vancouver's Downtown Eastside and between 2001-2009 (García-Del Moral 2011; Jiwani and Young 2006; Strega et al. 2014). Although Drache et al.'s (2016) research includes multiple provinces and territories, the coverage they examine is not exclusive to missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people. No studies to date specifically examine how the quantity and framing of missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people change over time and across regions. As media frames are socially and politically situated, and existing research shows that there are important differences in frames about gender-based violence over time and across regions, the absence of a media analysis that explores coverage over a large time period and across all regions in Canada likely misses key patterns. My dissertation addresses this gap by assessing patterns in the coverage and framing of missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people spanning from 1960 onwards across all regions in Canada.

There are also several methodological limitations in the current research related to the sample of news coverage examined and type of analysis employed. For example, Jiwani and Young's (2006) discourse analysis only examines 128 articles between 2001 and 2006 and García-Del Moral's (2011) discourse analysis only examines 74 articles in the *Toronto Star and*

140 articles in *CBC News* in 2007. Strega et. al's 2014 framing analysis does include a larger sample of newspapers (402 articles), but it is primarily qualitative in nature. Drache et al.'s 2016 content analysis of 30,000 news articles between 2006-2015 which spans across multiple newspapers is by far the largest quantitative analysis of Indigenous issues; however, only 24 percent of the coverage was specifically about missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people, of which the researchers only conducted an in-depth analysis of 528 articles. My dissertation expands the current literature's methodological scope by examining a total of 50,154 print and online news articles in a range of English-language newspapers and employs a mixed-methods approach, utilizing the strengths of both qualitative and quantitative methods. This approach enables the project to ascertain at a granular level what frames exist in newspapers and examine individual cases to help explain patterns and variations in the coverage.

Newsworthiness Factors

Our current understanding of the quantity of coverage and framing of missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people is largely confined to the race aspect of ideal victimhood. Existing studies on this topic either explicitly compare news coverage between white women and Indigenous women to explain their newsworthiness and/or draw on the theory of ideal victimhood (García-Del Moral 2011; Jiwani and Young 2006; Strega et al. 2014, Gilchrist 2010). As mentioned in the introductory chapter, given the colonial and racist landscape of Canadian news media (Anderson and Robertson 2011) it is unsurprising that in comparison to white women, Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people are not deemed as "ideal victims." No studies to date explicitly compare the newsworthiness among Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people to understand patterns and variations in the quantity of coverage and nature of frames. This is an important oversight that limits our current

understanding of which individuals are considered newsworthy and why. My dissertation addresses this gap by explicitly comparing the quantity of coverage framing among Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people.

Relatedly, existing studies examine a handful of Indigenous women of similar ages and backgrounds, despite an abundance of research showing there are significant differences in the amount of coverage and framing among minority victims of crime based age and crime type. For example, Kristen Gilchrist's seminal study on this topic examines Indigenous women, all aged 18-30 who "attended school or were working and maintained close connections with friends and family" (2010, 6). Similarly, Strega et al.'s study (2014) only focused on sex-workers, specifically in Vancouver's Downtown Eastside. Smaller qualitative discourse analysis also only examines women from Vancouver's Downtown Eastside (Longstaff 2017) or are centered on serial killer Robert Pickton's victims (García-Del Moral 2011; Jiwani and Young 2006). Although Drache et al.'s study (2016) is inclusive of multiple missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people, their substantive analysis is only focused on Tina Fontaine. Exclusively examining news media coverage of individuals who share similar newsworthiness characteristics cannot accurately explain variations in the quantity of coverage and framing among missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people. This dissertation contributes to existing research on this topic by including previously unexplored newsworthy factors in my analysis such as age and crime type and compares these newsworthy factors with a large and representative sample of missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people.

A New Research Design

The current gaps in the literature regarding both the quantity of coverage and framing of missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people hinder a robust understanding of how salient this issue is in newspapers and how the causes and solutions to this violence are framed. As such, the overarching objective of the dissertation is to identify and explain patterns in both the quantity and framing, accounting for important newsworthiness factors, over time and across regions. While I will expand on the specific methodological techniques I employ in the dissertation's remaining chapters, in this section I provide a brief overview of the study's research design, its operationalization of variables, and highlight the contributions that this multifaceted and mixed methods approach makes to the literature.

First, to be able to collect newspaper articles of missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit, I created a MMIWG2S+ database. In total, the MMIWG2S+ database I created included 1752 Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people who are missing or murdered. Chapter 3 provides a more in-depth explanation of this database. As discussed, because existing research shows the amount of coverage crime victims receive, and in particular victims of gender-based violence, is impacted by the type of crime committed against them and their age them (Chermak 1995; Gekowski et al. 2012; Gruenewald et al. 2011; Soothill et al. 2002), the database I created includes an individual's age and the type of crime committed against them or if they are missing. The inclusion of age and crime type can help to better understand variations in the newsworthiness amongst missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people. For the purposes of my study, I categorized age into the following four groups: 0-9, 10-19, 20-59 and 60+. These age groups represent some of the main differences in the literature regarding the newsworthiness of crime victims based on age.

I organized crime type by the following categories: missing; died in foster care; homicides committed by intimate partner or family violence that are solved; homicides committed by a friend, acquaintance or stranger that are solved; solved and unsolved missing or murdered along the Highway of Tears victims; medical racism; died in police custody or killed by police; victim of serial killer; suspicious death; and all other unsolved homicides. I developed these categories using the available data for each of the individuals in the MMIWG2S+ database. In Table 2.1 below, I identify if each crime type is rare and its corresponding severity. I operationalized the severity of each crime using a Likert scale of 1-5, with 5 being the most severe and indicate if a crime type is rare as a "yes" or "no" based on existing literature and the relative frequency to the other crime types in the MMIWG2S+ database. However, it is important to acknowledge that all violence against Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people is severe. The intent of classifying crime severity is not to diminish any of the violence that Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people experience or to suggest that some is worse than others, rather it is to understand the relationship between crime type and newsworthiness to better understand variations in the coverage among missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people. Importantly, the inclusion of missing but subsequently found individuals, suspicious deaths, deaths because of institutional negligence, and cases where no foul play was officially suspected enables a more fulsome understanding of the extent the MMIWG2S+ genocide and serves as testament to the families who have for decades fought for their loved ones to be remembered, valued, and loved.

Table 2.1: Crime Rarity and Severity

Crime Type	Rare	Severity
Confirmed or Suspected Victim of Serial Killer	yes	5
Died in Foster Care	yes	3
Solved Homicide (intimate partner or family member)	no	2
Solved and Unsolved Highway of Tears Victims	yes	2
Solved Homicide (by acquaintance, friend, or stranger)	no	2
Medical Racism	yes	2
Died in Police Custody or Killed by Police	yes	2
All other Unsolved Homicides	no	2
Suspicious Death	yes	1
Missing	no	1

Further, for the purposes of my analysis, I categorized time into seven periods defined by decade: 1960-1969, 1970-1979, 1980-1989, 1990-1999, 2000-2009, 2010-2019, 2020-2023. Importantly, these time periods coincide with some of the major shifts in the political environment and public opinion and awareness of missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people. Appendix A provides an overview of the key policies, legislation, and grassroots responses to the issue of MMWIG2S+. Similarly, utilizing public polling data, I define public awareness as the public's general level of understanding about Indigenous Peoples, issues, and MMIWG2S+, and operationalize it as "high, medium, or low". Similarly, I define public opinion as the judgement and viewpoint the public has about Indigenous Peoples, issues, and MMIWG2S+ and operationalize it as as either positive or negative. Appendix C outlines the list of the public polling data consulted for this study related to public awareness and opinion.

The intention of my analysis is not to try and explain why shifts in the coverage and framing of missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people do or do not occur based on the political or social environment over time and across regions, but rather to contextualize general patterns in the coverage and better understand the relationship between media and the political and social landscape it is situated in. I also use regional public polling data as a proxy for regional public support and awareness of the issue and the number of cases within each region as a proxy for spatial proximity to the issue. I opted to analyze regional patterns in the quantity of coverage based on where an individual went missing or was murdered, not by the location of each newspaper. Understanding how cultural and spatial proximity is connected to individual newspapers, both at the local and national level with various degrees of readership, is beyond the scope of the dissertation.

Next, utilizing the information in the MMIWG2S+ database, I collected newspaper articles to be able to identify and explain patterns in the quantity of coverage and nature of frames. The next chapter provides a more fulsome account of the MMIWG2S+ newspaper data collection process. Of the 1752 individuals in the MMIWG2S+ database, I collected 50,154 newspaper articles for 978 missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people, across all regions in Canada from the 1960s onwards. The MMIWG2S+ database and newspaper articles I collected are important contributions of my dissertation and incredible feats of data collection, both representing the largest data collected on this issue. As discussed in the introduction, by enumerating missing and murdered individuals and examining a large and representative sample of coverage across time and space, a more comprehensive understanding of the quantity of coverage and nature of frames can emerge and significantly advance the methodological scope of the current literature.

I chose to examine newspaper coverage instead of other forms of media because most non-Indigenous Canadians receive information about Indigenous peoples and issues from traditional news media sources. “The regular consumption of news media are a huge source of collective knowledge in Canadian society” (Dusome 2020), with 36 percent of non-Indigenous Canadians primarily receiving information about Indigenous Peoples and issues through newspaper (Environics 2016). In contexts where non-Indigenous Canadians have little knowledge, contact, or personal interactions with Indigenous Peoples, the news media play an integral role in shaping their perceptions (Harding 2005; Harding 2006). Indeed, non-Indigenous Canadians who follow news stories about Indigenous Peoples and issues are twice as likely (72 percent) to say that Indigenous histories and cultures “play a very important role in defining Canada” compared to non-Indigenous Canadians that pay little or no attention (35 percent) (Environics 2016).

While some studies have found that social media can increase awareness about and reframe missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people (Moeke-Pickering et al. 2018), it is difficult to determine the reach of social media and its ability to influence issue salience for non-Indigenous Canadians. There are considerable challenges with social media content because often it is “posted, shared, and seen only by Indigenous Peoples themselves” (Shah 2021). There is also substantial debate in recent agenda-setting literature about the ability for social media to shape the media agenda and shape public opinion more broadly (Neumann et al. 2014). If we accept that the media can either shape or mirror public opinion, it is plausible that dominant views and awareness about a given issue on social media are also reflected in mainstream news media. As such, exclusively examining newspaper

coverage is both internally and externally valid and can provide insights into public salience of the issue.

Following the newspaper data collection process, I then performed both a qualitative and quantitative media framing analysis to uncover and contextualize frames in the coverage. The content analysis I employed produced a MMIWG2S+ media framing dictionary with seven distinct frames. Chapter 4 outlines the content analysis process in more detail and the corresponding frames in the MMIWG2S+ media framing dictionary. The mixed methods approach I use is a significant methodological contribution to both the quantitative or qualitative literature on this topic. Further, the MMIWG2S+ media framing dictionary I created is a powerful analytical tool that can serve as a reference for future framing analysis and makes important contributions to understand how missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people are framed.

Finally, utilizing the MMIWG2S+ media framing dictionary and the newspaper database, I was able to identify an explain patterns and variations in the quantity and framing of missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people over time, across regions, and among individuals based on their age and crime type. To do so, I employed various statistical analysis, which will be explained in the next chapter.

Moving Forward

This chapter outlined the existing theories and state of research on news media representation of missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people and gender-based violence and victims of crime more broadly. In doing so, I explained how this dissertation's research framework contributes to several of the empirical, theoretical, and methodological gaps by expanding sample size to include a larger and more inclusive representation of time region,

age, and crime type. By contributing to filling these gaps, this dissertation's research framework seeks to identify and explain patterns in the quantity of coverage and framing of missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people across time and space, accounting for variations in newsworthy factors. In the next chapter, I seek to better understand the patterns and variations in the quantity of coverage. Building off this, Chapter 4 identifies what frames exist in the coverage and Chapter 5 explains variations in framing among missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people.

Chapter 3

NO NEWS ISN'T ALWAYS GOOD NEWS

As outlined in the previous chapter, existing research shows that most Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people - who are disproportionately overrepresented as victims of violence - receive minimal news media coverage (Gilchrist 2007, 2009, 2010; McKenzie 2008). Although collectively Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people are considered unnewsworthy, some studies have found that a few individuals receive a substantial amount of coverage compared to others (Drache et al. 2016); however, important questions remain as to why. Why do some Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people receive a significant and sustained amount of newspaper coverage while others receive none? Utilizing two original databases, this chapter assesses how victim age, crime type, time period, and region affect the quantity of newspaper coverage among Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people to better understand which victims of violence are deemed newsworthy and why.

This chapter begins by explaining how I created the MMIWG2S+ database and the newspaper article data collection process. Following this, I briefly outline the specific statistical techniques I employed to assess patterns in the quantity of coverage. The remainder of this chapter discusses the results from the statistical analysis I employed and provides compelling evidence that sheds light into the notion that the media are a mirror and existing theories about the newsworthiness of crime victims. The analysis I conduct in this chapter demonstrates that age and type of crime are the most important factors for predicting which Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people receive coverage and the number and length of news articles written about their deaths and disappearances. Though, as will be discussed in more detail in the remainder of this chapter, some Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people receive substantially more coverage than others, even when they share similar newsworthiness factors. I

make the case that individual missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people largely account for patterns in the coverage, rather than these patterns being indicative of newsworthiness factors as a whole. With this data, I argue that the overwhelming lack of media coverage that most missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people receive, paired with the significant amount of coverage for a few individuals, ignores both the pervasive and routine nature of this violence and is not conductive for making this issue salient for the public.

MMIWG2S+ Database Creation

Creating a database of Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people who have disappeared or been murdered was necessary to obtain a large and representative sample of newspaper coverage to be able to identify patterns in both the quantity of coverage and nature of frames. As such, I created a MMIWG2S+ database of 1752 missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people from 1900 to 2023, spanning across all regions in Canada. This original and robust database allows for a more comprehensive understanding of media coverage of missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people over time and space. Where possible, the following information was included for each individual in the database: name, Indigenous community, age, status (missing or murdered), province or territory that they went missing from or were murdered in, year they went missing or were murdered, gender identity, type of crime committed against them, and notes surrounding their death or disappearance. Although the true number of cases is unknown, this database better reveals the full extent of the loss and suffering of the MMIWG2S+ genocide. Enumerating missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people together is a testament to the resilience of families who have long fought for their loved ones to be remembered, loved, and valued.

The foundation of the MMIWG2S+ database I created is derived from the Sovereign Bodies Institute's database. The Sovereign Bodies Institute is a United States-based not-for-profit organization that was founded and led by a MMIWG2S+ survivor. Their database contains over 4000 missing and murdered Indigenous people in North America from 1900 onwards and is continually updated through community and grassroots efforts. For the Sovereign Bodies Institute to share their database with me for academic purposes, I was required to fill out an application that explained the scope of my dissertation and my ancestry. My application was then reviewed and approved by the Sovereign Bodies Institute's Board of Directors. The data that the Sovereign Bodies Institute agreed to share with me were links from media, police reports, and other information in the public domain. I could not have created the database used in this study without the Sovereign Bodies Institute granting me access to parts of their database as a starting point. I am exceptionally grateful for their trust in me to care for this data appropriately.[9] After being granted access to the Sovereign Bodies Institute database, I cross-checked the information in their database with other publicly available databases, media, police reports, and other sources in the public domain to create the dissertation's MMIWG2S+ database. Appendix C contains the full list of sources used to create this study's database.

As knowledge sharing and reciprocity are integral components of many Indigenous research methodologies and practices, I shared my final database and the newspaper articles I collected with the Sovereign Bodies Institute upon submission of my dissertation. I also shared parts of my database with the Native Women's Association of Canada's Safe Passage Project. The Safe Passage project utilizes media, police, and community reports to build upon the

[9]The Sovereign Bodies Institute database was shared with me for academic purposes. Appendix C contains the Terms and Conditions of my access to their database. They bear no responsibility for the interpretation of the data herein.

organization's initial Sisters in Spirit database to continue to track and monitor missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people and ongoing community safety concerns. I cross-checked the Native Women's Association of Canada's Safe Passage database with cases in the MMIWG2S+ database I created and only shared with them cases that could be verified by media or police reports or through other publicly available databases.

It is important to note upfront that there are limitations with exclusively using secondary sources, specifically news media and police reports, to create this study's database in terms of both the true reflection of the actual number of missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people in Canada and potentially the depth of this study's analysis. The Native Women's Association of Canada noted similar issues with the creation of their Sisters in Spirit database in 2005: there is an inherent tension between critiquing the lack of media coverage of missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people and simultaneously relying on the media to obtain information (King 2010). There are also substantial issues with using RCMP and other police reports to obtain information about missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people. Families of missing and murdered individuals often experience barriers and challenges when reporting their loved ones missing and there are significant issues with how police identify Indigenous homicide victims (Native Women's Association of Canada 2008; Reclaiming Power and Place 2019). Indeed, it was not until 2014 that the RCMP began efforts to explicitly include information about Indigenous identity in their homicide statistics (Government of Canada 2017). The issues with utilizing police reports are compounded by the fact that news media reports are often created by information from police (Gerrits 2019; King 2010).

Given the issues with secondary sources, it is impossible that this study's database truly encompasses all missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people in Canada. However, it would be both ineffective and unethical to obtain primary source information about missing and murdered individuals without building relationships with their families (King 2010); such an undertaking is outside the scope and feasibility of this project. Collecting ethical and accurate data about missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people remains a persistent and important issue for both grassroots organizations (Native Women's Association of Canada 2022) and various governmental recommendations and plans (Government of Canada National Action Plan 2020; Reclaiming Power and Place 2019). Despite the limitations with secondary sources and the challenges with obtaining primary sources, I was able to create the most comprehensive database of missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people in Canada to date that exists both outside and inside law enforcement.

It is also important to note that although I included an individual's gender in my database, there are considerable challenges in using gender as a unit of analysis to examine media coverage and framing of missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people. A significant issue I experienced when creating the MMIWG2S+ database was accurately identifying an individual's gender as I was unable to ascertain if a person was not cisgender unless they were explicitly identified as a transgender, gender-diverse, or a Two-Spirit person by police or news media. The assumption of cisgenderedness unless explicitly stated is, of course, inherently problematic. Many individuals who do not identify as cisgender may be perceived that way and consequently may be falsely identified as such by the media or police. Similarly, the media overwhelmingly misgenders transgender victims of violence (Karlynd 2017). Given these

challenges with accurately identifying each individual's gender, I opted to include gender identity where possible in my database but not analyze it in the context of media coverage and framing. However, I did make efforts to accurately identify a person's gender by cross-referencing social media platforms and other databases where possible.

Newspaper Article Data Collection

After creating the MMIWG2S+ database, I was then able to collect newspaper articles for the individuals included in the database. I used ProQuest, an online collection of newspaper databases, to search for newspaper articles about each individual missing and murdered Indigenous woman, girl, and Two-Spirit person included in the database. Appendix D highlights the newspapers included and the number of corresponding articles for each newspaper.[10] Each missing or murdered individual's full name was used as a primary search term in ProQuest. I subsequently filtered the search results for each individual starting with the year they went missing or were murdered. If this process yielded over 50 search results, I further applied "miss*" or "murder*" to the search term to narrow the results.

I opted to obtain all print and online news sources from all Canadian major and daily newspapers, including duplicates and op-eds, that my search results yielded. There was no theoretical basis to include or exclude certain newspapers, duplicates, and op-eds from my study as there is no existing large-scale quantitative content or framing analysis of newspaper coverage

[10] I did not include French newspapers in my analysis as I could not translate or validate the dictionary creation required to conduct the content analysis presented in the next chapter. Given that I used an inductive approach to build dictionaries, it would not be sufficient to translate the dictionaries in French; instead, I would need to follow the same steps in categorizing key terms and phrases that appear in French coverage to best adapt and validate the dictionary, which was not possible given the time constraints of the degree. I intend to include analyses of French-language newspapers from Quebec as well as explicit comparisons of framing narratives in Quebec and the rest of Canada in future work.

of missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people. Similarly, given the underrepresentation of this issue in newspapers, I included all search results available on ProQuest for an individual, rather than setting parameters around articles that are substantively about them, as there was no theoretical basis to limit or exclude articles that are might only be tangentially about an individual. Doing so provided a more robust understanding of the difference in both the quantity and framing of newspaper coverage of and among missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people. In total, I collected 50,154 newspaper articles for 978 individuals in the MMIWG2S+ database. Importantly, this means that 774 missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people - 44 percent of the total MMIWG2S+ database - received no media coverage at all. Although the MMIWG2S+ database I created includes missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people from 1900 to 2023, the newspaper data collection spans from 1950-2023. Individuals in the MMIWG2S+ database who went missing or murdered before the 1960s did not yield any search results.

Regression Analysis

Utilizing the MMIWG2S+ database and newspaper articles I collected, I then performed an Ordinary Least Squares regression analysis to explain how my independent variables of time, region, age, and crime type, and the differences within these categories, account for patterns in the quantity of newspaper coverage. I operationalize the quantity of newspaper coverage as the number of cases with coverage, the number of articles written about each case, and the length of each article, all of which are metrics of visibility of the issue. Careful consideration was given to the type of regression model I employed given the type of variables under study and the

distribution of my data. Appendix F contains a more detailed explanation of the choice of regression model I utilized.

It is important to note upfront that I have two different units of observation that correspond to my dependent variables - a single newspaper article and an individual missing or murdered Indigenous woman, girl, or Two-Spirit person. As such, I employed two different regression equations depending on the unit of observation. A missing or murdered Indigenous woman, girl, or Two-Spirit person was used as the unit of observation to determine the number of individuals with coverage and the number of articles written about each individual. A single newspaper article was used as the unit of observation to determine article length, as indicated by the total number of words per article. I utilize the same approach in Chapter 5, with each newspaper article used as the unit of observation to determine the frequency of frames in the coverage, as indicated by the presence of each frame in each article. Given the clustered nature of my data, I opted to adjust my standard errors for clustering at the individual level or for each newspaper article depending on the unit of observation in each regression equation. Appendix F contains a more detailed explanation of the clustering within my data.

Following the regression analysis, I conducted further testing to determine differences in the strength of effects of the categories within independent variables on my outcome variables. For example, if two different time periods had a significant positive effect on the probability of a missing or murdered individual receiving coverage, I needed to determine which time period had a greater effect. To do so, I conducted Pairwise Wald Tests between regression coefficients to determine if they were significantly different from each other, allowing me to infer what coefficient had a greater effect.

It is also important to note that I did not exclude outliers from my regression analysis as one of the dissertation's overarching objectives is to explain variations in the quantity of coverage amongst missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people to better understand why some receive more coverage than others. As such, the inclusion of outliers not only represent natural variations within the MMIWG2S+ database but are an important part of my analysis. However, as will be discussed in more detail throughout the remainder of this chapter, I make the case that in several instances much of the patterns in the quantity of coverage, and the frequency of framing as will be explained in Chapter 5, are driven by outliers. In other words, a few cases with high visibility explain some of the important patterns in the data. To support these inferences, I compare the average of each of my independent variables including outliers to the average of my independent variables with cases excluded that are two standard deviations above or below the mean. I consider cases that are two standard deviations above the mean as important outliers that drive patterns in the coverage. Throughout the body of the dissertation, I report the true mean with outliers included, the trimmed mean with outliers two standard deviations above or below the true mean, and the standard deviation for each dependent variable under study.

Results and Discussion

In the remainder of this chapter, I discuss the results of the regression analysis I conducted that reveal important insights into the quantity of coverage of and among missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people. The results are organized by each of the variables under study: time, age, crime type, and region. The regression equation outputs are not included within the body of the text in this section as the numerous regression outputs per independent variable would take up a considerable amount of space. In some instances when

discussing specific regression coefficients, I do include the regression coefficient and p-values in the body of the text to contextualize my findings. Appendix G contains the full results of each regression model.

When contextualizing my findings, I did not include the name of a missing or murdered person unless their families had talked about their case publicly. Careful consideration was given to this decision. On the one hand, not naming an individual in part contributes to the overwhelming silencing of the stories of missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people. However, given that there are a significant number of cases where the media has not contacted families for stories about their loved ones (Shah 2021), I did not want to discuss an individual's case if their families were never provided the opportunity to do so, or do not plan on ever doing so. Seeking permission from families who have not spoken about their loved one publicly would require considerable time to build relationships with each family whose loved one's case I wanted to discuss, an undertaking that is far beyond the feasibility and scope of this dissertation. Importantly, where possible, when discussing a specific missing or murdered individual, I also include a description of how their families and loved ones have spoken about them publicly.

Does the amount of newspaper coverage about missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people change over time?

Recall that the time period of 2000 onwards marks an important shift in the political response to and an increase in public opinion and awareness about missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people (Appendix A). The launch of the National Inquiry in 2015 is arguably the most significant political response to this issue and corresponds to a substantial increase in public awareness and opinion (Environics 2016; Nanos 2022). If the media are a

mirror that reflects the political and social environment it is situated in (Greer 2007), we would expect to see changes in the amount of newspaper coverage of missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people over time, particularly around the time of the National Inquiry. However, as will be discussed throughout this section, the results of my analysis broadly do not support this. The amount of newspaper coverage about the deaths and disappearances of Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people largely remained static over time.

Indeed, regardless of changes in the political and social environment regarding this issue, my regression analysis confirms that there are no significant differences in the probability of Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people receiving coverage based on when they went missing or were murdered (Appendix G). Put differently, Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people were not more likely to receive coverage over time. In fact, as shown in Figure 3.1, over time the number of Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people who received newspaper coverage became less proportional to the total number of cases. For example, the time period of 2010-2019 has the greatest number of cases compared to all other time periods (34 percent of total MMIWG2S+ database), yet Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people who went missing or were murdered between 2010-2019 were not significantly more likely to receive coverage compared to other time periods with fewer cases.

Figure 3.1: MMWG2S+ Cases by Time Period

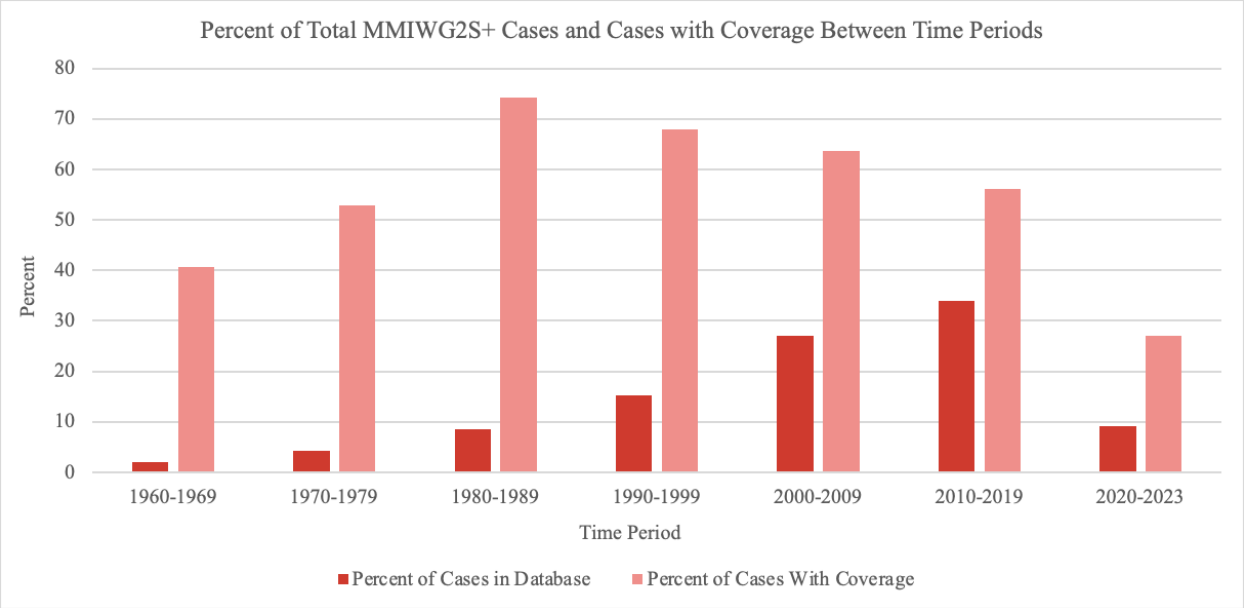

Figure caption: This figure compares the percent of total cases in the MMIWG2S+ database and the percent of cases that received newspaper coverage *within* each time period; it is not a representation of the cumulative number of cases and cases with coverage over time. For example, the time periods of 1980-1989 and 2020-2023 each represents 9 percent of total cases in the MMIWG2S+ database, yet 74 percent of cases in 1980-1989 received coverage compared to 27 percent of cases in 2020-2023

Although there are more cases in MMIWG2S+ database in 2010-2019 compared to other time periods, it is difficult to know if Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people were actually more likely to go missing or be murdered in 2010-2019 or if this trend is reflective of increased data collection efforts. The first attempt to collect both quantitative and qualitative data on missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people did not begin until 2005 with Native Women Association of Canada's Sisters in Spirit initiative. Similarly, the RCMP's 2014 report "Missing and Murdered Aboriginal Women: A National Operational Review," which identified a total of 1,181 missing and murdered Indigenous women and girls between 1980-2012, marked the first time that Canadian police attempted to track these cases. In addition to the increase in data collection efforts, as mentioned earlier, political activism and public awareness about Indigenous issues and the specifically MMIWG2S+ substantially increased during the early to mid-2000s. It is conceivable that the increase in data collection efforts and the

shifts in the political and social environment that occurred simultaneously in the early to mid-2000s resulted in more accurate data collection, explaining the increased number of cases in 2010-2019. It is also possible that more Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people were actually murdered or went missing during this time period. Enumerating the true number of missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people is beyond the scope of this dissertation, however, it is nevertheless important to contextualize the increased data collection efforts from both police and grassroots organizations during this period to help explain the patterns in the number of cases for the time period of 2010-2019.

Regardless of whether Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people were or were not more likely to go missing or be murdered between 2010-2019, if the media are a mirror that reflects cultural and spatial proximity (Greer 2007), then the number of cases with coverage should have also increased during this time period. Though, it is plausible that it is precisely because the number of missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit was the greatest in the time period 2010-2019 that they were less likely to receive. The rarity theory of crime newsworthiness discussed in Chapter 2 would suggest that as their deaths and disappearances became more "commonplace," they also became less newsworthy (Chermark 1995; Soothill et al. 2002). It is also plausible that the commencement of the National Inquiry drove the media to focus more on systemic issues connected to the MMIWG2S+ genocide or the Inquiry itself during this time period, rather than on individual cases. Although this is a hypothesis well beyond the scope of my dissertation, the analysis I conduct in Chapter 5 further supports this notion.

Additionally, there were also significantly fewer articles written about Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people who went missing or were murdered between 2010-2019

compared to 2000-2009 ($\beta = 41$, $p = 0.00$). Put differently, Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people were more likely to receive coverage in the decade prior to the height of the National Inquiry than the years in which the Inquiry was commenced and concluded. However, this finding needs to be contextualized as it is more reflective of outliers within the time period of 2000-2009, rather than it being indicative of the time period as a whole. Indeed, the two individuals who received the most coverage in the entire MMIWG2S+ database, not only for the time period of 2000-2009, are Sereena Abbotsway and Georgina Faith Papin, both of whom were amongst the women murdered by serial killer Robert Pickton. For context, there were a total of 3912 articles written about Sereena and 2479 written about Georgina, well above the average of 70 articles written about every other missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people in the MMIWG2S+ database (see Table 3.1). Sereena Abbotsway is remembered by her family as "a bubbly little girl who sang loudly and out-of-tune at church" (*Vancouver Sun* 2007). Similarly, Georgina Faith Papin's family and loved ones commemorated her in the Native Women's Association of Canada's Sisters in Spirit Storytelling Project as follows:

> Georgina Faith Papin is remembered by her friends and family as a caring mother, sister and friend. A talented artist and writer, Georgina was the mother of seven beautiful children. She is described as a warm and funny woman who could talk to anyone, the sort of person who made friends wherever she went. Georgina took deep pride in her identity as a Cree woman. Traditional dancing, songs, art and teachings had an important place in her life. Georgina will be forever missed and remembered by the many people who loved her.

As will be discussed in more detail later in this chapter, the intense coverage of Sereena Abbotsway and Georgina Faith Papin is largely a result of the type of crime committed against them, rather than their inherent newsworthiness as victims of crime. This notion is supported by the news values literature (Taras 1990). The severity of the crimes that Robert Pickton committed are extremely newsworthy.

Table 3.1: Number of Newspaper Articles by Time Period

Time Period	Total Number of Articles*	Mean Number of Articles per case	Trimmed Mean**	Standard Deviation of Number of Articles
1960-1969	180	14	12	18
1970-1979	3803	103	57	332
1980-1989	3040	29	24	49
1990-1999	9963	59	64	209
2000-2009	19600	70	86	259
2010-2019	12120	39	51	140
2020-2023	1384	35	36	124

*The total number of articles for the time periods under study does not equal the total number of articles collected as there are some cases where the year an individual went missing or murdered could not be ascertained.
**The trimmed mean excludes outliers that are +/- two standard deviations from the actual mean.

Unlike the number of cases with coverage and number of articles, the length of articles about the deaths and disappearances of Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people did become significantly longer over time (Appendix G) and as shown in Table 3.2, news articles in 2020-2023 were the longest. However, like the intense coverage of Sereena Abbotsway and Georgina Faith Papin explaining the significant number of articles for the time period of 2000-2010, the trend shown in Table 3.2 regarding the length of articles in 2020-2023 can largely be attributed to media coverage of Joyce Echaquan. In the coverage I examined, there were a total of 770 articles written about Joyce Echaquan, yet as Table 3.1 shows, the average number of articles written for missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people in 2020-2023 was only 35. Put differently, Joyce Echaquan received 22 times more coverage than other

individuals who went missing or were murdered during the same time period - well above the average.

Table 3.2: Length of Newspaper by Time Period

Time Period	Total Number of Words	Mean Number of Words per Article	Trimmed Mean	Standard Deviation of Article Length
1960-1969	1527	127	4	4
1970-1979	44664	328	3	726
1980-1989	533965	454	18	547
1990-1999	2052888	614	37	819
2000-2009	18232248	773	115	688
2010-2019	15105443	824	110	768
2020-2023	3290073	921	61	2696

Joyce, a 37-year-old Atikamekw woman who is remembered as a loving mother of seven, died due to medical racism on September 26th, 2020, when she was admitted to a Quebec hospital for severe stomach pain. Hospital workers assumed she was a drug addict experiencing withdrawal symptoms, telling her that she was "was stupid, only good for sex and better off dead," all of which she recorded and live streamed on Facebook (*National Post,* 2021). Due to her severe pain, Joyce was given morphine even though she informed hospital staff that she was allergic and feared an adverse reaction. Unfortunately, due to her morphine allergy, Joyce died from a pulmonary edema. Joyce's death served as the catalyst for Joyce's Principle, a call to Canadian health institutions to formally protect Indigenous rights in the healthcare system.

The way in which Joyce Echaquan died was shocking to non-Indigenous Canadians, though not surprising to many Indigenous Peoples who experience systemic racism in the

Canadian health care system. However, unlike others' experiences of racism in the healthcare system, Joyce livestreamed hers on social media, making these systemic issues difficult for the media to dismiss or ignore. This notion is supported by the literature on news values, particularly around spatial immediacy (Taras 1990). Finding that Joyce Echaquan received substantially more coverage than all other missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people between 2020-2023 is in some ways positive, though important questions remain unanswered as to if the amount and type of coverage she received is primarily because she documented it on social media - forcing the media's hand - or if the media are changing to focus on larger systemic issues like racism in healthcare. I return to this notion in Chapter 5 when discussing the results of my framing analysis.

The sustained intense coverage that Joyce Echaquan, Sereena Abbotsway, and Georgina Faith Papin received is characteristic of what Drache et. all characterized in their 2016 report as "searchlight phenomenon"; brief intensive coverage of Indigenous issues, including missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people. The "searchlight phenomenon" could also account for the finding I pointed to earlier in this section: unlike every other time period under study, Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people who went missing or were murdered between 2000-2009 had significantly more articles written about them. Several factors mentioned earlier in this section, including the launch and commencement of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, public calls for a National Inquiry, increased MMIWG2S+ data collection, and broadly more public awareness about the issue of MMIWG2S+, could have all individually or collectively resulted in more newspaper coverage of missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people during this time. In some ways, this finding demonstrates that the media are responsive to the political environment. This finding also both

supports and extends the application of Drache et al.'s searchlight theory. In addition to the coverage for the time period of 2014-2015 that Drache et al. analyzed, my analysis demonstrates that the oscillation of the media's intense focus to indifference towards missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people occurs over longer periods of time, further highlighting the contribution my dissertation makes in assessing the quantity of coverage across a large time frame.

Taken together, the results of my analysis indicate that, unlike what I anticipated, the amount of newspaper coverage of missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people largely remains static over time. Even though the number of missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people has steadily increased over time, the number of individuals who receive coverage is not. Further, although the number and length of articles about Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit did begin to increase over time, the time period of 2010-2019 marks a significant departure in this pattern. Despite public polling which suggests public awareness and opinion about the issue of MMIWG2S+ is increasing and becoming more positive (Environics 2016; Nanos 2023), news media coverage of missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people does not appear to be wholly responsive to the shifts in political and social environment.

Does crime type determine Indigenous Women, Girls, and Two-Spirit People's newsworthiness?

Chapter 2 outlined an abundance of research which shows that the newsworthiness of crime victims is largely a result of the type of crime committed against them, as indicated by both crime rarity and severity (Chermak 1995; Gekowski et al. 2012; Gruenewald et al. 2011; Jewkes 2004; Soothill et al. 2002). Crimes that occur less frequently and are particularly violent or

sexual in nature receive more coverage than those of a more "routine" nature, with serial killings being deemed the most newsworthy crime (Eliasson-Nannini and Sommerlad-Rogers 2014; Gekowski et al. 2012; Wong and Harraway 2020). Similarly, crimes that result in larger public commissions or inquiries also receive a considerable amount of news coverage (Greer 2007). As such, I anticipate that missing individuals will have less media coverage than those who are murdered. In particular, I anticipate that those who are murdered by a serial killer, will receive the most amount of coverage. Relatedly, I expect that individuals whose deaths and disappearances led to larger public commissions or inquiries will also receive a considerable amount of coverage. Broadly, the results from my analysis are consistent with these aspects of the literature; however, as will be demonstrated throughout this section, in some instances, individual cases account for patterns in the coverage among crime victims, rather than these findings being emblematic of crime types as a whole.

As shown in Table 3.3, Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people who were murdered by a serial killer, died as a result of medical racism, or died while in foster care had the most articles written about them compared to those who were missing or experienced other types of violence, with the results of my regression analysis confirming that this is significant (Appendix G). However, there were no significant differences between crime type and length of articles. It is of course unsurprising that victims of serial killers have a significant amount of media attention to their cases – as discussed in Chapter 2, serial killings are the most newsworthy type of homicide (Eliasson-Nannini and Sommerlad-Rogers 2014; Gekowski et al. 2012; Wong and Harraway 2020) and events that are particularly sensational and novel in nature are more likely to receive news coverage (Taras 1990). It is also unsurprising that individuals who died in foster care or because of medical racism received a significant amount of coverage as the majority of these cases have led to various commissions and inquiries into healthcare and the

Child Welfare System, important factors in determining victim newsworthiness (Greer 2007). On the surface, these results are encouraging because they suggest that at least some Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people are considered newsworthy victims of violence based on the type of crime committed against them. However, as will be discussed in Chapter 5, the results of my framing analysis suggest that Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people are not *themselves* newsworthy.

Table 3.3: Number of Newspaper Articles by Crime Type

Crime Type	Total Number of Articles*	Mean Number of Articles per case	Trimmed Mean	Standard Deviation of Articles
Missing	6750	33	31	84
Died in Foster Care	2402	240	153	339
Solved Homicide (intimate partner or family member)	3412	29	0.4	50
Solved and Unsolved Highway of Tears Victims	428	33	0.09	49
Solved Homicide (by acquaintance, friend, or stranger)	11290	53	0.9	152
Medical Racism	824	275	0.8	429
Died in Police Custody or Killed by Police	943	55	0.2	67
Victim of Serial Killer	14187	290	1.6	646
Suspicious Death	435	27	0.1	47
Unsolved Homicides	7928	36	0.7	157

*The total number of articles for all crime types does not equal the total number of articles collected as the exact cause of death individual could not be ascertained.

The rarity theory of crime newsworthiness - the idea that the less frequently a crime occurs, the more coverage it receives (Chermak 1995; Gekowski et al. 2012; Gruenewald et al. 2011; Jewkes 2004; Soothill et al. 2002) - also helps to account for why Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people who died as a result of medical racism, while in foster care, or were the victim of a serial killer received a significant amount of coverage as these crimes represent a relatively small percent of cases within the MMIWG2S+ database. However, as shown in Table 3.4, the crime rarity theory of newsworthiness does not apply to other infrequent types of crime. For example, Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people who were killed by police or died while in police custody, those who went missing or were murdered along the Highway of Tears, and those whose deaths were ruled suspicious also represent the some of the most infrequent types of crimes, but these individuals did not receive a significant amount of coverage.

It is possible that these crimes received little coverage because of their connection to police. As noted in the introductory chapter, there is well documented systemic racism in Canadian police institutions that has resulted in poor police responses to Indigenous victims along the Highway of Tears, inaccurately classifying homicides as a suspicious death, and police being a source of violence themselves (Human Rights Watch 2013; Reclaiming Power and Place 2019). It is therefore unsurprising that these types of crimes did not receive a significant amount of coverage given that police are the most common sources used in news media coverage of crime, and in particular gender-based violence (Chermak 1995; Ericson 1989; Gerrits 2019; Surette 2007). I am doubtful that the police would readily share information about these types of crimes with journalists. Importantly, what these findings demonstrate is that in the context of

newspaper coverage of missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people, the rarity theory of crime newsworthiness only applies to *some* types of crime.

Table 3.4: Percentage of Cases with Coverage by Crime Types[11]

Crime Type	Rare	Severity	Percent of Cases with Coverage
Missing	no	1	21
Died in Foster Care	yes	3	1
Solved Homicide (intimate partner or family member)	no	2	13
Solved and Unsolved Highway of Tears Victims	yes	2	2
Solved Homicide (by acquaintance, friend, or stranger)	no	2	23
Medical Racism	yes	2	0.3
Died in Police Custody or Killed by Police	yes	2	2
Confirmed or Suspected Victim of Serial Killer	yes	5	6
Suspicious Death	yes	1	2
All other Unsolved Homicides	no	2	33

[11] It is important to note that unlike the other variables under study in this chapter, I did not analyze the probability of an individual receiving coverage based on the type of crime committed against them because I was only able to accurately ascertain the exact type of crime committed against each individual *if* they received coverage by reading newspaper articles about them. As I did not have the true breakdown of crime type for individuals who did not receive coverage, I could not reliably make inferences about what crime type means in the context of newsworthiness as it pertains to cases with and without coverage. Relatedly, unlike the other tables in this chapter, the percent of cases *in coverage* was used for the breakdown of crime type instead of percent of cases in the total sample because information on the type of crime committed could only be obtained if the individual received coverage. As such, the total percent of cases with coverage does not equal 100.

However, it is important to note that while victims of serial killers, those who died as a result of medical racism, and those who died in Child and Family Services had significantly more articles written about their cases compared to other types of crime, there are marked differences among individuals within these categories. A few outlier cases with high visibility account for these findings. For example, the majority of Indigenous girls who died as a result of institutional negligence while in Child and Family Services had an average of 240 articles written about them (see Table 3.3), yet Sherry Charlie had 1101 written about her case. Sherry Charlie was a 19-month-old girl who was beaten to death by her great-uncle after being placed in his custody through Child and Family Services.

Although Sherry Charlie's murder garnered intense newspaper coverage, the coverage was not substantively about her. There were few personal details about Sherry in the coverage I examined. While the way in which Sherry Charlie was murdered is both rare and severe, the lack of personal details suggests that she herself was not deemed newsworthy, rather it was the way in which she died that was newsworthy. When examining news articles about Sherry, I was left wondering who this 19-month-old girl was. What were her favourite toys or games to play with? Was she an outgoing or shy child? What did her laugh sound like? Instead of focusing on personal details about Sherry, news articles focused on how her death sparked government reviews in British Columbia around the placement of Indigenous children in Child and Family Services, perhaps explaining these findings. Recall that existing research (Greer 2007) shows that deaths that lead to public inquiries and commissions receive a substantial amount of coverage. While I had difficulty finding personal details in the coverage to remember Sherry by, I was able to find photos of her online. These photos depict a little girl with big brown eyes and an infectious smile from ear to ear.

Adding to the discussion from the precious section about the number of articles in 2020-2023, the substantial amount of news media coverage Joyce Echaquan received accounts for the findings regarding number of articles written about individuals who died as a result of medical racism. There are two other individuals died because of medical racism in 2013 and 2016 in the MMIWG2S+ database, yet there were only a combined 54 articles written about these two women, compared to 770 articles written about Joyce Echaquan. I am again left wondering if the sustained amount of coverage that Joyce Echaquan received is because she documented it on social media or if newspaper coverage about missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people is changing to focus on larger systemic issues like racism in healthcare. It is also possible that Joyce received a substantial amount of coverage because her death resulted in a coroner's inquest and the call for Joyce's principal mentioned earlier (Greer 2007). It is also possible that the other two individuals who died of medical racism did not receive a sustained amount of coverage because they died during the height of the National Inquiry whereas Joyce Echaquan died after the National Inquiry concluded. It is plausible that media attention during this time was focused on National Inquiry, rather than individual cases of missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people. This notion is supported by and will be further elaborated on in the analysis I conduct in Chapter 5.

Regarding victims of serial killers, Sereena Abbotsway and Georgina Faith Papin mentioned earlier, had more articles written about them compared to other victims of serial killers. There was a total of 3912 articles written about Sereena and 2479 written about Georgina, well above the average of 290 articles written about every other individual in the MMIWG2S+ database (see Table 3.3). However, as will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 5, the focus of the coverage about Sereena and Georgina was not substantially about them, rather

it was about the perpetrator of violence, the gruesome way in which they died, and the high-profile murder trial.

It is also worth mentioning that in Canada almost three quarters (72 percent) of women murder victims are "killed by an intimate partner or a family member" (Statistics Canada 2023). Yet, for all solved homicide cases in my database (Table 3.4) only 13 percent were murdered by an intimate partner or family member. Although my database does not encompass all missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people in Canada and I was unable to ascertain the exact type of crime committed for every individual in my database, the discrepancy in these figures is staggering. The Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people in my database were actually less likely to be killed as a result of intimate partner or family violence compared to non-Indigenous individuals. Importantly, these findings help to discredit the troubling narrative that the issue of violence against Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people is a result of "Indigenous-on-Indigenous crime"- a notion that ignores the systemic causes of the MMIWG2S+ genocide and attributes it to crimes committed by Indigenous people.

Further, my analysis confirmed that missing individuals were significantly less likely to receive coverage compared to all other types of crime. The literature on news values helps to explain this finding, specifically temporal immediacy (Taras 1990). Temporal immediacy suggests that news is what is happening now; if there is no new evidence or information, the media stop covering a story (Taras 1990). Given the reliance on police as news sources in the coverage of crime (Gerrits 2019) and the inadequate amount of police resources to cases of missing Indigenous women and girls cases (Human Rights Watch 2013; Reclaiming Power and Place 2019), it is unsurprising that there is often few new leads, evidence, or development in these cases (Human Rights Watch 2013; Reclaiming Power and Place 2019), perhaps resulting in

less media coverage. However, as news media have a significant role in public identification of missing individuals and in shaping public and institutional responses to missing persons cases (Gilchrist 2019; Lam et al. 2013), the lack of sustained and intense coverage that missing Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people receive signals to the public that their disappearances are unimportant. As mentioned in Chapter 2, this in turn contributes to the overwhelming and disproportionate number of Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people who are human trafficked as they are specifically targeted by human-traffickers because of poor media, public, and institutional responses (Ma Mawi Wi Chi Itata 2013).

Taken together, the results of my analysis demonstrate that the type of crime committed against Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people is an important factor that determines how much coverage they receive. Broadly, my findings are consistent with existing research: there were significantly more articles written about Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people who were victims of serial killers, died in foster care, or because of medical racism. However, individual cases within largely account for these findings, rather than these findings being indicative of these types of crime as a whole. My findings also point to the fact that not all "rare" types of crime are considered newsworthy: crimes that are either directly caused by police or have poor police responses do not receive a significant amount of coverage.

Does age influence the newsworthiness of missing and murdered Indigenous Women, Girls, and Two-Spirit People?

As discussed thus far in the dissertation, existing research shows that that age is a significant factor in determining the amount of coverage victims of crime receive, with children and adults over the age of 60 receiving the most coverage because they are considered to be the most "ideal" crime victims (Christie 1986; Greer 2007; Jeanis and Powers 2017; Taylor et al. 2013).

As such, I expect that there will be significant differences in the amount of coverage among missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people based on their age. Specifically, I expect that younger individuals and adults over the age of 60 will receive more coverage because crimes committed against them are both rare and they embody the ideal victim (Christie 1986; Gekowski et al. 2012; Greer 2007). The results of my analysis are in part consistent with this: adults over the age of 60 receive the most coverage and Indigenous girls aged 0-9 and 10-19 have the most articles written about their deaths and disappearances. However, as will be discussed throughout this section, like the findings in the previous section, individual cases largely account for patterns in the amount of coverage among age groups, indicating that my findings are not entirely reflective of age groups as a whole.

Consistent with existing research, the results of my analysis confirm that Indigenous adults over the age 60 were significantly more likely to receive coverage compared to other age groups ($\beta = 0.97$ $p = <0.00$). Perhaps the reason that adults over the age of 60 were significantly more likely to receive coverage compared to other age groups is because of the relative infrequency of their deaths and disappearances. As shown in Figure 3.3, only two percent of individuals who went missing or were murdered were above the age of 60. The rarity theory of newsworthiness discussed in Chapter 2 supports this idea: because fewer adults over the age of 60 were murdered or missing compared to other age groups, they would be considered more newsworthy (Chermak 1995; Gekowski et al. 2012; Gruenewald et al. 2011; Soothill et al. 2002). However, although adults over the age of 60 were the most likely to receive coverage, there were significantly fewer articles written about them ($\beta = -52$, $p = 0.00$) and these articles were shorter ($\beta = -25$, $p = 0.47$) compared to other age groups. In other words, adults over the age of 60 did not receive sustained or intense coverage.

In contrast, although Indigenous girls under the age of 9 and those aged 10-19 were not more likely to receive coverage compared to other age groups, their deaths and disappearances received an intense amount of coverage as indicated by the number and length of articles written about them. Indeed, the results of my regression analysis confirm that there are significantly more and longer news articles written about individuals aged 0-9 and 10-19 (Appendix G). However, individual cases within these age groups help to contextualize these findings. For example, although the average number of articles written about Indigenous girls under the age of 9 is 85 (Table 3.5) and the average length of these articles is 710 (Table 3.6), some Indigenous girls under the age of 9 received substantially more coverage than others. These outlier cases are Indigenous girls who died while in foster care, consistent with the findings in the previous section. These findings suggest that not all Indigenous girls under the age of 9 are newsworthy victims of violence, rather it is the circumstances surrounding their deaths that are newsworthy. In the context of newspaper coverage of Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people, even the most "innocent" crime victims - children - are not viewed as inherently worthy of news coverage unless the crime committed against them is particularly rare.

Figure 3.2 MMIWG2S+ Cases by Age Group

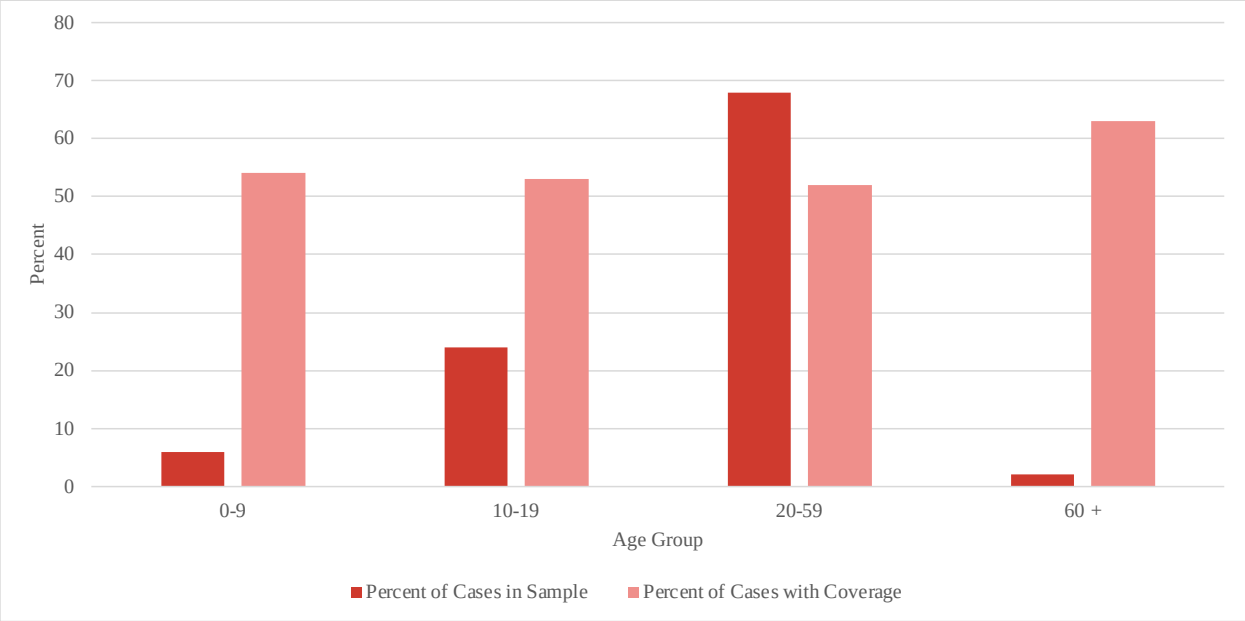

Figure Caption: This figure depicts the total percent of cases in the MMIWG2S+ database with the percent of cases that received newspaper coverage by age group. For example, individuals over the age of 60 represent two percent of the total MMIWG2S+ database. Of those two percent of cases, over 60 percent received coverage.

Table 3.5: Number of Newspaper Articles by Age Group

Age	Total Number of Articles*	Mean Number of Articles per case	Trimmed Mean	Standard Deviation of Articles
0-9	4412	85	83	182
10-19	13872	71	71	219
20-59	30956	48	55	200
60 +	20	16	11	20
*The total number of articles for all age groups does not equal the total number of articles collected as the age of some individuals could not be ascertained.				

Table 3.6 Length of Newspaper Articles by Age Group

Age	Total Number of Words	Mean Length per Article	Trimmed Mean	Standard Deviation of Article Length
0-9	2670460	710	44	597
10-19	10168106	790	89	835
20-59	25395491	786	150	1108
60 +	220303	684	11	578

Similarly, Tina Fontaine, who was also murdered while in foster care, largely accounts for the significant number of articles written about Indigenous girls aged 10-19. There were substantially more articles written about Tina Fontaine (2282) compared to the average number of articles (71) written about other missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people aged 10-19 (see Table 3.5). As noted by Drache et al., the murder of Tina Fontaine represents a breakthrough "watershed moment" that garnered sustained and intense media coverage (2016). However, the results of my analysis indicate that the murder of Tina Fontaine, though a watershed moment, was not a breakthrough that altered how much coverage other missing and murdered individuals receive. Put differently, the sustained intense coverage that Tina Fontaine received has not been afforded to other Indigenous girls aged 10-19 who were murdered during the same time period or after her. For example, like the discrepancy in the amount of news media coverage between Tina Fontaine and Darcie Muchikekwanape discussed in the introduction chapter, four years after Tina Fontaine was murdered, my ProQuest search results only yielded three articles about Jakira Mary Iris Eastman-Moore, a 14-year-old girl who was also murdered in Manitoba under the same circumstances.

In addition to examining which age groups receive the most amount of coverage, it is important to consider what this means for Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people who do not receive a significant amount of coverage and the consequences this might have in the context of public salience about the issue of MMIWG2S+. Indigenous women and Two-Spirit people aged 20-59 comprise the majority of missing and murdered individuals in the MMIWG2S+ database I created (68 percent), yet the results of my analysis indicated that they receive significantly less coverage than other age groups. Part of the reason may be that this age group encompasses a large age range and there could be differences in coverage between those aged 20-29 compared to 50–59-year-olds; the former are closer to being children whereas the latter likely share more in common with the elderly. The rarity theory of crime newsworthiness could also explain this finding (Chermark 1995; Soothill et al. 2002): the more common the deaths and disappearances of Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people are, the less newsworthy they are. In effect, because there are more missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people aged 20-59 compared to other age groups, they might be considered less newsworthy and thus receive less coverage. The overwhelming lack of coverage that Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people aged 20-59 receive - who experience the most amount of violence - makes it difficult for the public to understand the full scope of the MMWIG2S+ genocide.

To summarize, my results indicate that age is an important factor in predicting which Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people receive newspaper coverage. My analysis confirmed that although adults over the age of 60 are the most likely to receive news coverage, there were not more or longer articles written about their deaths and disappearances. In contrast, there were significantly more articles written about Indigenous girls aged 0-9 and 10-19

compared to other age groups; however, individual cases largely account for these findings, rather than these findings being indicative of these age groups as whole. Importantly, Indigenous adults aged 20-59, who comprise the majority of missing and murdered individuals in my study did not receive a significant amount of news coverage compared to other age groups. Although these findings are largely consistent with existing literature on the newsworthiness of victims of crime, they are not entirely reflective of the true nature and scope of the MMIWG2S+ genocide.

Is the amount of coverage for missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people affected by the region they are from?

As discussed in the previous chapter, if the media are a mirror, news stories should focus on issues that are reflective of its population (Peter 2022; Tolley 2016). Relatedly, news stories that get the most coverage are connected to both spatial and cultural proximity (Greer 2004). As such, we would expect to see regional variations in the amount of coverage that missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people receive based on the number of cases and public opinion/awareness. Specifically, I expect that there will be more media coverage of missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people in regions with a greater number of cases and/or positive public opinion and awareness of the issue. In particular, Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people who went missing or were murdered in British Columbia, which has both the greatest number of cases and positive public opinion and awareness of the issue, should receive the most amount of coverage compared to other provinces and territories. The results of my analysis suggest that while there are some significant regional differences in the quantity of coverage, these differences are more reflective of individual cases within regions, rather than regional cultural and spatial proximity to the issue.

In fact, unlike what I expected, Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people from British Columbia were not more likely to receive coverage compared to individuals from other provinces, both with similar and dissimilar public opinion and number of cases. For example, as shown in Figure 3.3, Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people from Alberta, a province with vastly different public opinion on the issue and fewer cases, were not significantly less likely to receive coverage compared to individuals from British Columbia ($\beta = 0.96$, $p = <0.00$. Similarly, there were no significant differences in the probability of missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people from Nova Scotia, a province with similar public opinion yet vastly fewer cases, receiving coverage to those from British Columbia ($\beta = 0.06$, $p = 0.04$; $\beta = 0.86$, $p = < 0.00$).

Although this is not what I had anticipated, perhaps it is precisely because British Columbia has the most cases that individuals from this province were not more likely to receive coverage compared to other regions. As discussed thus far, as something becomes more commonplace, it also becomes less newsworthy (Chermark 1995; Soothill et al. 2002). Put differently, because there are more missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people in British Columbia compared to other regions, they are less likely to receive coverage. These findings also bring into question the notion of the media as a mirror that reflects public opinion. Perhaps in the case of missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people, the media does not mirror reginal public opinion and awareness of the issue with an increased attention to the issue.

Figure 3.3 MMIWG2S+ Cases by Region

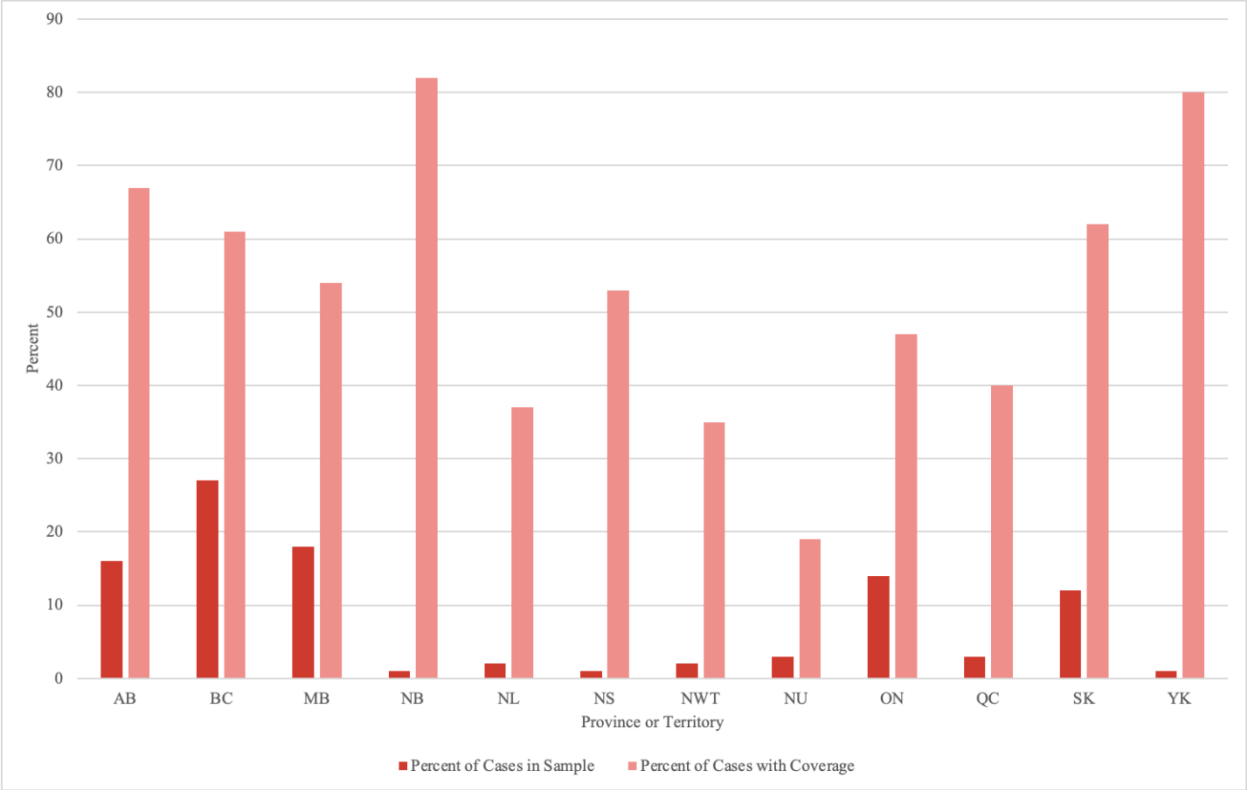

Figure Caption: This figure depicts the total percent of cases in the MMIWG2S+ database with the percent of cases that received newspaper coverage by region. For example, individuals in Alberta represent 16 percent of the total MMIWG2S+ database. Of those16 percent of cases, 67 percent received coverage.

The insignificant amount of coverage for missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls and Two-Spirit people in British Columbia is also consistent with Drache et al.'s 2016 study on news coverage of Indigenous issues which found that the issue of MMIWG2S+ was less prominent "in areas where conflicts over treaty rights and resource extraction were controversial enough to detract attention," including British Columbia (25). Indeed, these researchers found that only 14 percent of news stories in British Columbia were about the issue of MMIWG2S+, the lowest amongst the other provinces under study. Conversely, 33 percent of news stories in British Columbia were about rights and resource extraction and development, the greatest amongst the other provinces under study. It is possible that cultural and spatial proximity to resource rights

and resource extraction and development is more salient to the public in this region than the issue of MMIWG2S+, driving the coverage to focus on these stories.

Although they were not more likely to receive coverage, missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people from British Columbia did have significantly more articles written about them compared to most other provinces and territories (Appendix G). Put differently, missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people from British Columbia received a sustained amount of news coverage. There were no noteworthy significant regional variations in the length of articles. However, it is important to contextualize these findings. For example, as shown in Table 3.7 although there was an average of 74 articles written about individuals from British Columbia, as discussed earlier in this chapter, the two individuals who received the most coverage from British Columbia, in addition to the entire MMIWG2S+ database, are Sereena Abbotsway and Georgina Faith Papin, both of whom were amongst the women murdered by serial killer Robert Pickton. More broadly, British Columbia represents the province with the greatest number of serial killer victims, the most newsworthy type of crime (Eliasson-Nannini and Sommerlad-Rogers 2014; Gekowski et al. 2012; Wong and Harraway 2020). Paired with the fact that Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people from British Columbia were not more likely to receive coverage compared to those from other provinces, these findings suggest that they themselves are not inherently newsworthy, rather it is the type of crime committed against them that is newsworthy. Put differently, crime type might be more significant in determining the amount of news media coverage for Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people rather than region.

Table 3.7: Number of Newspaper Articles by Region

Province	Total Number of Articles*	Mean Number of Articles per case	Trimmed Mean	Standard Deviation of Articles
Alberta	6642	36	31	75
British Columbia	22337	74	98	294
Manitoba	8348	57	58	229
New Brunswick	428	54	36	106
Newfoundland	56	5	2	6
Nova Scotia	1515	33	29	31
Northwest Territories	68	6	4	6
Nunavut	118	11	10	14
Ontario	3334	28	25	54
Prince Edward Island	0	0	0	0
Quebec	1599	80	74	179
Saskatchewan	5508	42	34	83
Yukon	196	16	13	20

*The total number of articles for all regions does not equal the total number of articles collected as the exact region of some individuals could not be ascertained.

To summarize, although there are some regional differences in the quantity of coverage among Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people, the results of my analysis broadly do not support my hypothesis that there would be significantly more coverage of this issue in in British Columbia compared to provinces with fewer cases and lower public awareness and opinion. Missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people from British Columbia

might receive less coverage because of the greater number of cases. Further, although I found that Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people from British Columbia did receive a significant amount of news articles written about their deaths and disappearances compared to other provinces and territories, individual cases - and more importantly specific types of crimes – largely account for these findings.

Chapter Conclusion and Summary of Findings

This chapter sought to better understand variations in the quantity of newspaper coverage of and amongst missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people by examining the differences in number of cases with coverage and the number and length of news articles, accounting for newsworthiness factors such as age and crime type, time, and region. The analysis I conducted in this chapter presented compelling evidence that sheds light into existing newsworthiness theories and the notion of the media as a mirror.

Importantly, I found that time is not a significant factor in determining how much coverage Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people receive. The amount of news coverage of missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people largely remained static over time. Shifts in public opinion about the issue of MMIWG2S+ were not reflected in growth in coverage. Although Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people did have a greater number and longer articles written about them in the time periods before and after the National Inquiry was launched, individual cases account for these findings - it is not indicative of patterns in the coverage over time more broadly.

A similar pattern emerged for the amount of coverage that Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people receive based on where they were murdered or went missing. Unlike what I had initially anticipated, missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people

from regions with positive public opinion about the issue and a large number of cases were not more likely to receive coverage compared to other provinces and territories - both with similar and dissimilar public opinion and number of cases. These findings suggest that the deaths and disappearances of Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people in provinces with a high number of cases might not be considered newsworthy because of the relative frequency of their deaths and disappearances. It also suggests that individual cases within regions that embody more newsworthy factors like victim age and crime type might be more important in determining which Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people receive coverage rather than the region they went missing from or were murdered in.

Indeed, the results of my analysis confirmed that age and crime type significantly impact the amount of newspaper coverage that missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people receive. Indigenous girls, adults over the age of 60, those who died in foster care, because of institutional racism, or were victims of serial killers receive significantly more coverage than others. Although some Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people are deemed worthy of coverage - and this is largely predicted by age and crime type - newsworthiness is not consistent amongst all individuals of similar ages or type of crime committed against them. Individual cases account for trends in the coverage among newsworthiness factors.

Taken together, the findings demonstrate that which Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people receive coverage is not wholly reflective of the true nature of the MMIWG2S+ genocide. The media oscillates between intense coverage for some Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people and complete indifference for others. The overwhelming lack of media coverage on the majority of missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people, paired with the significant amount of coverage that a few individuals received, ignores

both the pervasive and routine nature of this violence. The amount of coverage that missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people receive - and specifically who receives coverage - in turn has potentially important consequences for how much importance the public gives this issue.

Chapter 4

THE BLAME GAME

The previous chapter sought to better understand variations in the quantity of coverage of and among missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people. However, the quantity of coverage is just part of the story: how missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people are framed in newspapers has important implications in both determining who is responsible for and solutions to the violence they experience. As such, the primary objective of this chapter is to identify what media frames exist in newspaper articles about missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people, both in terms of how their deaths and disappearances are framed and how individuals themselves are framed.

To do so, this chapter uses a semi-automated content analysis of 50,154 newspaper articles for 978 missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people. The news coverage I examined spans across all regions in Canada over a large period of time and is inclusive of a large and representative sample of missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people. The results of this quantitative content analysis produced a MMIWG2S+ media framing dictionary with seven distinct frames: legal, police, high-risk, perpetrator, systemic, violent victimization, and loved. Table 4.1 shown later in this chapter provides a comprehensive breakdown of each of these frames. A qualitative analysis was also employed to contextualize the content analysis findings to determine how Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people are regarded, discussed, and valued in the public discourse and provide insight into what the Canadian public is being told about who is responsible for causing and solving the violence they experience.

The results of the quantitative and qualitative analysis provide compelling evidence that missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people are not just misrepresented in how they are framed but are largely absent in news stories about their deaths and disappearances. Put differently, the focus of the majority of frames in newspapers is not substantively about Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people. News stories largely omit positive and personal details about Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people, and instead dehumanize them by reducing them to the gruesome details of the violence they experience. They are also implicitly and explicitly blamed for this violence as it is often discussed it in the context of disconnected crimes and individual choices, rather than larger systemic inequalities. Instead, news stories about the deaths and disappearances of Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people overwhelmingly focus on the personal details of the perpetrators of violence, murder trials, and police investigations.

Taken together, the central argument I advance using these data is twofold. First, the framing of missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people in news media are not conducive for the social and political change needed to redress this violence. Second, if the media are a mirror that either mirrors or molds public opinion and values, how missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people are framed reflects and reinforces the public's apathy towards this issue. In the next section of the chapter, I provide an overview of the creation of the MMIWG2S+ media framing dictionary. Following this, the remainder of the chapter presents and discusses each of the seven frames produced from the quantitative content analysis.

MMIWG2S+ Media Framing Dictionary and Semi-Automated Content Analysis

Utilizing the newspaper articles I collected in Chapter 3, I conducted a quantitative content analysis to identify what frames exist in news stories about missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people and built a MMIWG2S+ media framing dictionary. As a wide array of both quantitative and qualitative content analysis methods can be used to uncover patterns and themes within various texts to build dictionaries, this section outlines the specific methodological choices I used to design, build, and validate the MMIWG2S+ media framing dictionary.

Broadly, content analysis is understood as a research methodology for "making replicable and valid inferences from texts (Krippendorff 1980). Dictionaries that contain various categories and corresponding words and phrases are often the result of content analysis. To determine what frames are present in newspaper articles about missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people, I performed a semi-automated content analysis using the software WordStat developed by Provalis Research. The overarching objective of this study's content analysis was to identify the dominant media frames in newspaper articles about missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people. In the next chapter I assessed the difference in the frequency of these frames over time, across regions, and among missing Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people accounting for their age and type of crime committed against them.

Although existing studies have identified some frames in the context of missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people, these studies are all qualitative in nature and have not produced dictionaries that can be used or developed upon for future research. Even when dictionaries do exist, they are often context specific and require further development

when applied to future research (Deng et al. 2017; Krippendorff 1980; Soroka and Young 2012). The issue of dictionary context specificity is particularly significant given that existing studies on media framing of missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people are all confined to short time periods, limited regional coverage, and small samples. As such, it was necessary to build a MMIWG2S+ media framing dictionary for the purposes of this dissertation.

In essence, "to build a dictionary, one needs to manually or automatically identify the 'right' words and/or phrases in the corpus and assign them into different categories" (Deng et al. 2017, 122). Given that the newspaper article sample used in this study is extremely large, a purely manual content analysis would not be feasible, nor the most appropriate methodological choice as manual content analysis requires a researcher to build a coding scheme by carefully reading the content of the corpus (the documents that comprise the dictionary) to determine dictionary categories (Deng et al. 2017). In contrast, automated quantitative content analyses work best with large sample sizes because they use the assistance of computer software to derive distinct categories from the corpus using various algorithms that group words and phrases together (Deng et al. 2017). However, a strictly automated content analysis can "never replace careful and close reading of text" (Grimmer and Stewart 2013). A semi-automated content analysis utilizes both approaches: researchers build and validate their dictionaries by making "their own judgements with the assistance of text analysis software" (Deng et al. 2017, 126). Given that sexist and racist language can be both covertly and explicitly represented in news media - and in particular the case of missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people - a semi-automated approach that allowed for the flexibility to uncover latent language and meaning was most appropriate.

Dictionary Design: Data Collection and Document Preparation

The importance of the corpus cannot be understated as both the dictionary's quality and applicable scope depend on the documents it is derived from (Deng et al. 2017). Given that the objective of this study's content analysis is to identify news media frames, compare their frequency, and assess them over time, across regions, and among individuals, the documents that comprise this study's corpus are relevant, appropriate, and complete. The corpus of the MMIWG2S+ media framing dictionary I created consists of 50,154 newspaper articles for 978 missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people, inclusive of Indigenous and non-Indigenous newspapers from the 1960s to 2023. This is the largest database of both missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people and newspaper articles about them to date. After collecting the newspaper articles that comprised the corpus, I had to prepare the corpus to prepare it for the content analysis. Each document included in the corpus was a single newspaper article with a distinct ID number that corresponded to each missing or murdered individual. The preprocessing phase consisted of cleansing the data with WordStat's stop word function to remove any unnecessary words ("and," "or," "but," etc.).

Dictionary Building

After preparing the corpus, I was then able to begin building the MMIWG2S+ media framing dictionary. Although dictionary building is an iterative process with numerous methodological approaches, there are three central activities to building dictionaries: 1) developing categories; 2) identifying entries; 3) categorizing entries (Deng et al. 2017). First, to develop the categories in the MMIWG2S+ media framing dictionary, I opted to take an inductive approach, rather than a deductive approach. Inductive approaches are "bottom up," allowing a researcher to determine

what words and phrases organically appear together to constitute dictionary categories, rather than deductively applying an external dictionary with predetermined words and phrases (Wallace 2018). As mentioned earlier, although previous studies have identified the "high-risk" frame, these studies did not produce dictionaries that could be deductively applied to this study's corpus. Even if these studies did produce a "high-risk" dictionary, they would be limited in scope as they are regionally and temporally confined and arguably incomplete in that they do not comprehensively identify all the words and phrases that appear in those frames. An inductive coding built on 50,154 stories that includes all publicly discussed victims is both comprehensive and complete. More broadly, the objective of this content analysis is not to support or build upon an existing theory or model of media framing for missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people, rather it is to uncover patterns in framing over-time and across regions. This data-driven objective works best with inductive approaches (Deng et al. 2017).

To develop the categories for the MMIWG2S+ media framing dictionary, I first used WordStat's topic extraction feature to produce several distinct topics, each containing words and phrases that appear together within the corpus. I spent several months repeating the topic extraction, each time with slightly different parameters to refine and improve the categories included in the MMIWG2S+ media framing dictionary. Through this process, I ran the topic extraction by paragraph, sentence, and document. This phase produced seven categories with a preliminary set of words and phrases.

The next phase in building the MMIWG2S+ media framing dictionary was to "examine each entry in the list developed… and decide whether the entry should be retained and into which category the entry should be assigned" (Deng et al. 2017). In this phase, I identified and categorized words and phrases beyond the initial collection of words identified in the

category development phase. To do this, I used WordStat's dendrogram function. The dendrogram function uses a Jaccard's coefficient to determine what clusters and patterns of words connect to one another or are grouped together. I then assigned clusters and patterns of words that were significantly related to each other to the appropriate dictionary category. After this, I used WordStat to explore synonyms and antonyms for each category entry and used the key word in context function to determine if they should be included in the dictionary. It is important to note that I did not truncate or reduce words to their root form by stemming or lemmatization, as different tenses of words can have different meanings (Deng et al. 2017). For example, in the context of missing individuals, news stories could write that an individual is "missing" or is "missed," which have very different meanings, neither of which would be accurately captured if "missing" was reduced to "miss" or "mis*". Further, given that the MMIWG2S+ media framing dictionary I created is the first of its kind, I did not weigh the entries to emphasize rare terms or de-emphasize more common terms as there is no theoretical basis to do so (Debortoli et al. 2014).

Dictionary Validation

Although automated content analysis is a reliable tool for media analyses, a potential drawback is that it cannot replace a researcher's careful and precise reading as is the case with manual content analysis and can have issues with semantic validity (Grimmer and Stewart 2013). Researchers cannot assume that the frames established from an automated analysis are correct (Grimmer and Stewart 2013). To help mitigate these issues, I used Lawlor and Tolley's (2017) validation procedure. I used the keyword "in context" function to conduct a manual check on a random sample of five percent of the articles. I then made revisions until more than 80 percent of the frames from the random sample were consistent with the automated results from the analysis.

As a result of this dictionary building process, the MMIWG2S+ media framing dictionary produced seven distinct frames. Table 4.1 below provides a description of each of the frames in the MMIWG2S+ framing dictionary and the frequency of newspaper articles that contained each of the frames. As multiple frames can and often do exist within a single news article, the total percent of frame frequency is greater than 100. This table also outlines how each frame attributes causes and solutions to the issue of MMIWG2S+ and what effect it has on how Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people are regarded, discussed, and valued in the public discourse and the issue writ large. Appendix H contains the full MMIWG2S+ framing dictionary. Figure 4.1 shows the distribution of episodic and thematic frames in the MMIWG2S+ media framing dictionary.

Table 4.1: Frames Produced from Content Analysis

Legal Frame	
Proportion of Coverage	31%
Type	Episodic
Description	The legal frame focuses on procedural elements and the substance of murder trials, emphasizing details about perpetrators and their charges and sentencing. Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people themselves are primarily discussed in relation to their perpetrator or as evidence.
Attribution	Cause(s): individual perpetrators Solution(s): perpetrators are sentenced for their crimes through the justice system
Effect	This type of framing signals to the public that missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people receive justice.
Police Frame	
Proportion of Coverage	29%

Type	Episodic
Description	The police frame focuses on police investigations into cases of missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people, emphasizing police strategies, resources, and overall the role of police. There are few personal details about Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people themselves and they are often only discussed as their last known location or physical description.
Attribution	Cause(s): individual perpetrators Solution(s): police find missing people and solve murder cases through their investigations
Effect	This type of framing simultaneously glorifies police, suggests their investigations are adequate, and fails to draw attention to poor police responses to cases of missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people.
High-Risk Frame	
Proportion of Coverage	22%
Type	Episodic
Description	The high-risk frame emphasizes sex-work, drug and alcohol use and addiction, and homelessness to describe missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people.
Attribution	Cause(s): individual behaviour and their “high-risk” lifestyles Solution(s): individuals avoid high-risk behavior
Effect	Emphasizing Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people’s “high-risk” behaviour and blaming them for the violence they experience and signals to the public that they are undeserving of sympathy.
Perpetrator Frame	
Proportion of Coverage	15%
Type	Episodic
Description	The perpetrator frame emphasizes personal details about the perpetrators of violence. It often describes them as deviant “monsters” as a way to distance them from the violence they commit.
Attribution	Cause(s): individual perpetrators

	Solution(s): police charge serial killers through their investigations, and they are sentenced for their crimes through the justice system
Effect	Minimizes the violence that Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people experience.
Systemic Frame	
Proportion of Coverage	11%
Type	Thematic
Description	The systemic frame connects the issue of MMIWG2S+ to larger systemic issues like colonialism, racism, and sexism, though the violence that Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people experience is often used as a plot point to discuss systemic issues, resulting in few personal details about them. This frame also entails a sub-frame: the systemic counter narrative which challenges the connection between systemic issues and the issue of MMIWG2S+.
Attribution	Cause(s): systemic and institutional racism, sexism, and colonialism Solution(s): political and policy reform
Effect	Broadly, this type of framing shifts the blame for the issue of MMIWG2S+ from disconnected and individual crimes to larger systemic issues and has the potential to invoke large political and policy reforms.
Violent Victimization Frame	
Proportion of Coverage	10%
Type	Episodic
Description	The violent victimization frame emphasizes the gruesome details of the violence Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people experience, often by reducing them to their body parts in a sensational and dehumanizing way.
Attribution	Cause(s): individual perpetrators Solution(s): police charge perpetrators through their investigations and they are sentenced for their crimes through the justice system

Effect	Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people are dehumanized, making it difficult for the public to grieve their deaths and disappearances.
Loved Frame	
Proportion of Coverage	6%
Type	Episodic
Description	The loved frame centers the perspectives of families and friends to describe the personalities, dreams and ambitions, childhoods, and overall, how loved and valued Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit are. However, their inherent worthiness is often framed in relation to their roles and responsibilities to others.
Attribution	Cause(s): individual perpetrators; systemic issues and institutions Solution(s): justice system; police investigations; political and policy reform
Effect	This type of framing invokes sympathy. The public can grieve alongside the families of missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people because it enables them to see their loved ones in these stories.

Figure 4.1: Distribution of Episodic and Thematic Frames

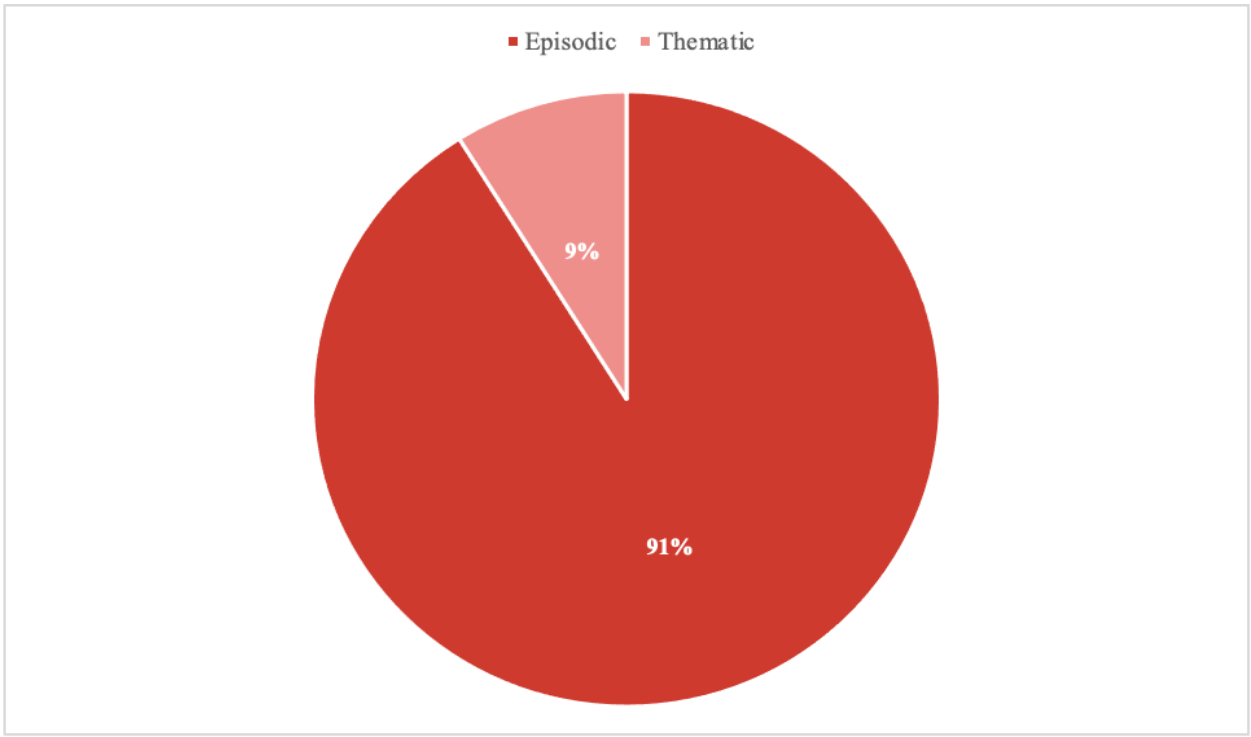

Figure Caption: This figure depicts the proportion of the episodic and thematic frames in the MMIWG2S+ media framing dictionary. It is not a representation of the frequency of episodic and thematic frames in the coverage.

Results and Discussion

In the following section, I discuss the results from the quantitative content analysis. This section is organized by each of the frames in the MMIWG2S+ media framing dictionary in order from highest to lowest frequency in the coverage. Figure 4.2 shows the relative frequency of each of the frames in the MMIWG2S+ media framing dictionary. Throughout the section, I supplement the quantitative content analysis with a qualitative analysis to provide a richer understanding of the substance of each frame. As with the previous chapter, I did not include an individual's name when discussing their coverage if their families have not spoken about their cases publicly. Additionally, I did not include an individual's name even if their family had spoken publicly about them if they were framed in a negative or dehumanizing way, which unfortunately was most often the case in the coverage I examined. As mentioned in the previous chapter, on the one hand, not naming an individual in part contributes to the overwhelming silencing of the stories of missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people. However, I did not want to contribute to the dehumanizing or negative framing the same way the media do or cause further harm or trauma to families, without being able to balance these stories with how their families and loved ones want them to be represented.

Figure 4.2: Distribution of Frames in MMIWG2S+ Media Framing Dictionary

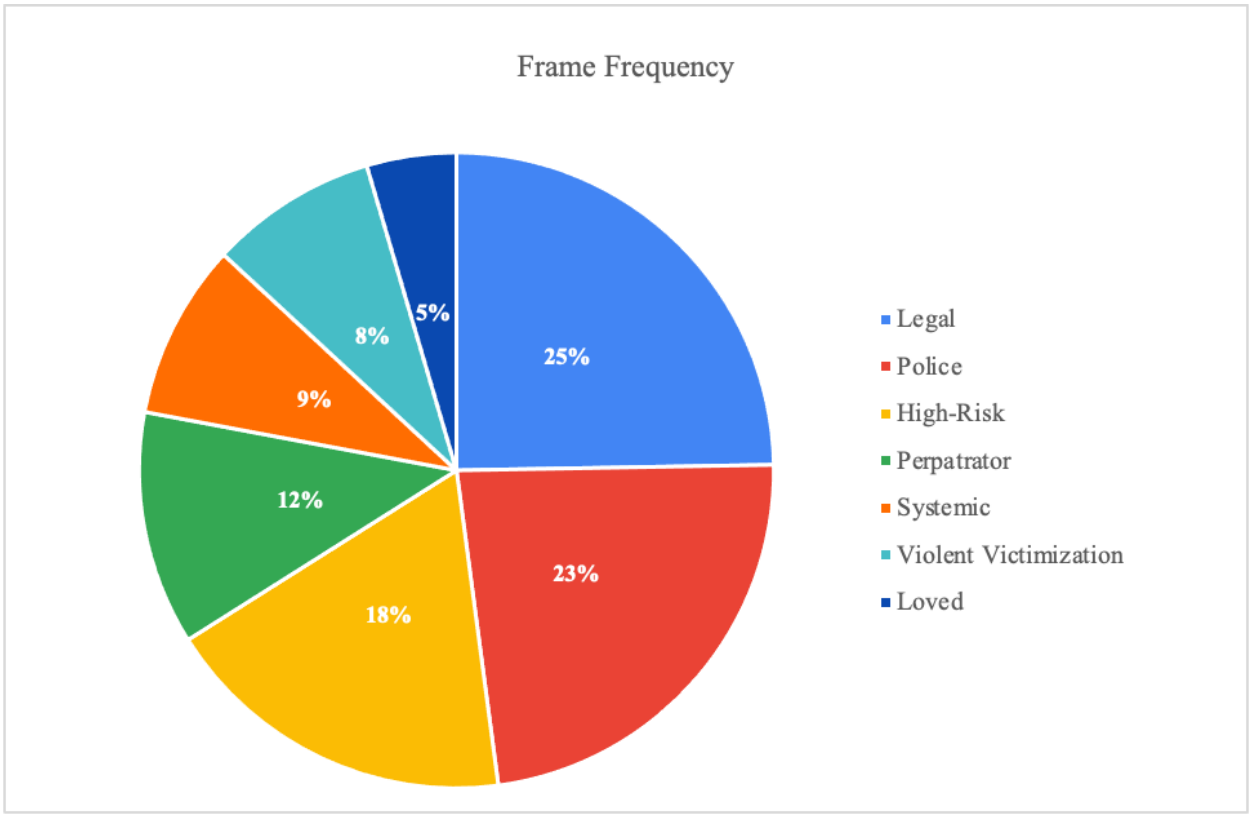

Figure Caption: This figure depicts the frequency of the frames in the MMIWG2S+ media framing dictionary *relative* to each other. It is not a representation of the actual frequency of the frames in the coverage.

Legal Frame

The legal frame was the most frequent way that news stories about missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people were framed, occurring in 31 percent of the coverage. Consistent with previous studies that have found that news media to overreport on murder trials (Surette 2002), the legal frame I uncovered is overwhelmingly episodic in nature (Iyengar 1990; Iyengar 1991), focusing on the individual murder trials of Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people. Broadly, the legal frame can be broken down into two main components: law-and-order process and law-and-order substance. In focusing on the procedural elements of murder trials, news media would highlight things like pre-trial hearings, opening and closing statements, legal arguments, charges and sentencing, and jury deliberation, whereas the

law-and-order substance aspect of the legal frame describes in detail the evidence presented in court, including expert testimony, witness statements, physical evidence, and DNA. Although the law-and-order process and law-and-order substance aspect of the legal frame are inextricably linked, I have separated them for the purposes of my analysis because the ways in which Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people are discussed in news media differs depending on what aspect of the frame is emphasized. Taken together, I argue that without connecting individual murder cases to the larger systemic issue of missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people, the legal frame implies that these cases receive justice.

When news stories emphasized procedural elements of murder trials, Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people were usually mentioned as a part of broader legal arguments. For example, a news article about Robert Pickton's trial stated: "the Crown will also argue that the judge erred by failing to instruct the jury that dismemberment and disposal of the victims' remains on the Pickton property was relevant to the issue of planning and deliberation, with regards to a first-degree murder charge" (*Trail Times,* March 2009). Here, the individuals who were murdered by Robert Pickton are not even named; they are referenced together as his victims, negating both their individual importance and agency. It is also noteworthy that Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people were themselves often framed as "high-risk" individuals in the context of broader legal arguments to discredit the violence they experience. For example, regarding testimony in the Robert Pickton trial, one news article noted that "the defense lawyer argued that [the witness's] story made no sense: street-wise sex workers, especially paranoid cocaine users, would never allow themselves to be handcuffed from behind without a struggle" (*Ottawa Sun,* November 2007).

Further, in emphasizing the procedural elements of murder trials, Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people were often framed alongside their perpetrators who were "charged with killing [them]" (*Toronto Star,* January 2013) or "sentenced to life in prison for [their] murder" (*The Times*, July 2010). On the surface, emphasizing the sentences of perpetrators can be viewed positively as this is a form of justice for many families and survivors. However, this type of framing is disconnected from the larger systemic issue of the discrepancy of murder charge sentences when the victim is Indigenous (Statistics Canada 2023). The most serious type of homicide conviction, first-degree murder, is significantly less likely to occur when the victim is an Indigenous woman or girl (Statistics Canada 2023), yet newspapers do not readily mention this. In overemphasizing Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people in connection to the charges against and sentencing of perpetrators of violence - in an episodic rather than thematic way - the legal frame allows the reader to infer that these cases receive justice in how often the perpetrators of violence are sentenced, without examining the type and frequency of sentences.

Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people themselves were also primarily discussed as evidence that was presented in court. It is important to note upfront that this type of framing is similar to the violent victimization frame that will be discussed later, which reduces Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people to their body parts and vividly recounts the violence they experience. However, I separated the violent victimization frame from this specific aspect of the legal frame because the way Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people are portrayed in these two frames are distinct. Similar to existing research, which has found that the media tends to over-report on the facts of murder trials (Surette 2002), when described as evidence within the context of the legal frame Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people

were often portrayed in a sterile and factual way. In contrast, the violent victimization frame is sensational and overtly graphic.

As evidence, Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people were mentioned in reference to expert testimonies about “marks on [their] wrists" (*Leader Post*, November 2016) or “marks on [their] body” (*Winnipeg Sun*, March 2012). News articles would recount how the “bones and teeth” *(Consort Enterprise*, June 2009), “head, hands, and feet” (*The Province*, April 2007), or just simply their “flesh” (*The Times*, October 2012) were part of evidence presented in court. For example, one murdered woman was only mentioned in reference to the video evidence jurors were shown, with the article narrating that “the video panned over [her] mutilated form… the camera paused over her body lying in the bush, her breasts and genitalia sliced off.” (*Calgary Herald*, February 2008). Reducing Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people to their body parts to discuss them as evidence is a dehumanizing synecdoche, in both the literal and moral sense. As body parts Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people are not full human beings - they are quite literally pieces of evidence to be discussed and displayed in court.

Nowhere is this clearer than the murder trial of Cindy Gladue, a mother of three, whose pelvis was removed and preserved to be presented in court as evidence, marking the first time that human remains were entered into a Canadian courtroom. Not only was Cindy’s family unaware or asked for their consent for her remains to be presented in court, but her remains have since been misplaced (Paradis 2023). When discussing Cindy’s remains as evidence, the media reinforced the defense lawyer’s argument that because she was as a sex-worker, she consented to the violence she experienced, noting that

> the defense's own expert forensic pathologist - summoned from Minnesota - contradicted his testimony, arguing the wound was a blunt tear with irregular edges and micro lacerations along the wound, consistent with inserting a hand into the victim's vagina,

> agreeing with [the accused's] lawyer that it could have been caused by vigorous but consensual manual stimulation (*Toronto Star*, April 2015).

To summarize, the legal frame is episodic in nature, focusing on the murder trials of Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people, and does not connect individual cases to the larger systemic causes of the MMIWG2S+ genocide. Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people themselves were not the focus in news stories that used the legal frame to discuss their deaths: they were most often only discussed in connection to their perpetrators or reduced to their body parts when presented as evidence. Importantly, in describing the process and substance of murder trials, the legal frame implies that these cases receive justice by overemphasizing how often the perpetrators of violence are sentenced, without examining the discrepancy in the type and frequency of sentences for cases of missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people (Statistics Canada 2023).

Police Frame

The police frame I uncovered was the second most common frame in news media stories about missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people, present in 29 percent of the articles I examined. Like the legal frame, the police frame is episodic, focusing on police investigations into individual cases of Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people and emphasizing police strategies, resources, and overall, the role of police work into their deaths and disappearances. In effect, this frame signals to the public that police are doing a "good job" in a way that often glorifies and idolizes police. Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people themselves were not the focus of news stories contained in the police frame; they were most often only mentioned as secondary details in news articles about their investigations. Most of the information included about Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people was their last

known location or their physical description, similar to the “just the facts” frame that Bullock and Cubert found in their 2002 analysis of newspaper coverage of gender-based violence.

News stories about the deaths and disappearances of Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit would frame police investigation strategies in a positive way by describing how police are “appealing to the public for help” (*Vancouver Sun*, November 2010), “canvassing homes for possible witnesses" (*Edmonton Journal*, October 2012), and “pursuing leads” (*Times Columnist*, November 2010). In highlighting police investigation strategies, news articles would often explicitly state that police are “working incredibly hard” (*Brantford Expositor*, July 2019), have “exhausted all leads” (*Sudbury Star*, April 2015), and that they “continue to work diligently” (*Winnipeg Free Press*, January 2012). For example, one news article quoted Edmonton Police Missing Persons’ Unit Sargent Neil Zurawell that “cases stay open for a long time…we don’t just forget about them, we don't just drop them, we still want to pursue them. We do revisit the files.” (*Edmonton Sun*, December 2015). Sometimes the police frame would highlight the relationship between families and police in their investigations. For example, some news articles would describe how families would “work with the investigative team” (*Vancouver Sun*, March 2011). Another news article about a missing individual noted that “police updated [her mother] last week about the investigation” (*Leader Post*, June 2019).

This type of framing implies that police adequately respond to and are doing a “good job” of solving the cases of missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people and is similar to the justice frame that McKenzie's 2008 thesis uncovered. In exploring newspaper coverage of Daleen Kay Bosse Muskego, McKenzie’s 2008 thesis found that her family's efforts to find her were often secondary, instead, news media would imply that the justice system as an institution is doing a good job of looking for missing women. While there

are some cases where police adequately respond to the deaths and disappearances of Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people and work with their families, many families have criticized police for not properly responding to their loved ones' cases or involving families in the process (Reclaiming Power and Place 2019; Those Who Take Us Away 2013).

In addition to focusing on police strategies, the police frame also emphasized the amount and type of police resources dedicated to the investigations of missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people. This too was often done in a positive way, implying that the amount and type of police resources dedicated to these cases is satisfactory. For example, a news article about a series of unsolved murders noted that "*more than* 200 officers [are] committed to the case" *(Alaska Highway News*, October 2011), inviting the reader to conclude that 200 is a large number of police officers. Similarly, another article noted that police had an "*excess* of 1,300 tips (*Vancouver Sun*, November 2010), suggesting the amount of police resources dedicated to this particular case has resulted in an unexpected and large number of tips. This type of framing also implies that the investigations into missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people is a police priority because they are dedicating "senior investigators" (*Vancouver Sun*, November 2010) to these cases.

The prevalence of the police frame I uncovered is unsurprising. As discussed thus far in the dissertation, an abundance of existing research has found that police are the most common sources used in news media coverage of crime and gender-based violence (Chermak 1995; Ericson 1989; Gerrits 2019; Surette 2007). In the case of news stories about gender-based violence against Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people, 61 percent cite police (Gerrits 2019). However, overemphasizing police strategies and resources suggests that police have dedicated enough - if not more than enough - time, resources, and personnel into the

investigations of missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people, even though well documented legal and testimonial evidence has found otherwise (Reclaiming Power and Place 2019; Those Who Take Us Away 2013).

Similarly, by overemphasizing the good job police are doing into the investigations into the deaths and disappearances of Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people, the police frame often glorifies and idolizes police. For example, a news article about a murdered woman stated that "when [she] was stabbed through the heart, homicide detectives had no witnesses and no suspect. *But they did have DNA, and that's how they made an arrest*." (*Hamilton Spectator*, July 2020), implying that against all odds, police were able to solve this case. In another news article about a Mr. Big sting operation that led to a successful conviction, a police officer was quoted as saying "we do everything in our power to get people to become truthful…You can lie to your wife, you can lie to your girlfriend, you can lie to your boss, *but you don't lie to us*" (*Chilliwack Times*, January 2015), suggesting that police have some type of larger than life presence. Similar to Gerrits' (2019) findings, this type of framing suggests that police are the solution to this violence and serves to discredit poor police responses to cases of missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people, despite the fact that police are also often the cause of violence (Those Who Take Us Away 2013; Reclaiming Power and Place 2019). For example, a 2013 Human Rights Watch Report exposed allegations of rape and sexual assault from RCMP officers against Indigenous women and girls in over ten cities in Northern British Columbia and the 2014 Qikiqtani Truth Commission documented cases of the RCMP sexually coercing Inuit women.

Similar to Jiwani and Young's 2006 framing analysis that found the media criticized the police investigation into Robert Pickton, in some of the coverage I examined the media were

critical of police investigations and practices; however, this criticism was often done episodically without examining the larger context as to *why* investigations into missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people often receive poor police responses. For example, a news article about serial killer Robert Pickton stated that "the police probe was heavily criticized - he was able to kill again and again even after he was identified as the prime suspect" (*Ottawa Citizen*, 2011). This article notes that the police probe was criticized, but does not offer explanations as to why - namely because the victims were Indigenous women from Vancouver's Downtown Eastside. Even when news articles did note that police were criticized by the families of Robert Pickton's victims for "failing to take seriously their concerns that women had gone missing from the Downtown Eastside" (*Toronto Star*, January 2012), larger discussions around why the concerns of families of Indigenous women leading "high-risk lifestyles" were ignored were not addressed in the coverage. Another news article that compared the investigations of Robert Pickton and Clifford Olson, both serial killers whose victims were primarily Indigenous women and girls, stated that Robert Pickton's "killing time was extended because of the same flaws in regional law enforcement that abetted Olson - uncoordinated and sloppy investigations." (*Vancouver Sun*, October 2011). This article notes that police investigations into the Pickton and Olson cases were "uncoordinated and sloppy" but does not discuss *why* specifically the investigations into the deaths and disappearances of Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people are often uncoordinated and sloppy.

Some of the coverage was more sympathetic to the police, providing justifications for why police investigations were poor. For example, an article explained how the evidence, leads, and tips into Robert Pickton stated that they:

> needed to be categorized, prioritized and investigated. [Police] work included searching for the missing women, pursuing suspects, obtaining the missing women's DNA and

> finding a lab to process it. All of that work overwhelmed the investigation's ability to methodically assess the information they had and rank their suspects based on criteria such as association to the Downtown Eastside and violent attacks on sex-trade workers (*Vancouver Sun,* November 2010).

Another article about the police investigation into Pickton noted that "the jury heard of troubles police had knowing in how to proceed with investigating the cases" (*Winnipeg Free Press*, January 2007). Even when police were not explicitly criticized for unsolved cases, the amount of police resources and dedication as contributing factors as to why cases remained unsolved was unquestioned by the media. For example, one news article stated that "*despite* a continued police investigation into [her] disappearance…she has still not been located" (*Leader Post*, June 2019). Another news article stated that "despite canvassing the neighborhood, interviews and following up on leads, there have been no charges in the case" (*Winnipeg Sun,* February 2011). By prefacing the fact that cases remain unsolved *despite* police efforts, the reader is primed to think that it is no fault of police or their level of commitment that an investigation remains unsolved.

When larger issues of systemic racism in police investigations were mentioned in news articles, the media often shifted the narrative to focus on police responses. For example, in an article about a family member's frustration that "there are absolutely no breakthroughs for the First Nations cases on the Highway of Tears," a police officer was quoted saying "all cases are treated equally…what I would hope is that the families know we are investigating each case to the best of our ability…we are looking for more information on all these investigations and we encourage the public to come forward with what information they have." (*Vancouver Sun,* October 2012). Another article about the same issue quoted a police officer who said he "could not comment on any of the unsolved cases - or concerns raised by families - except to say the investigations are still considered active and are routinely reviewed as new information or technological advances become available" (*Toronto Star,* April 2016).

In the above examples, the well-documented issue of systemic racism in police forces that contributed to the length of time it took police to investigate the epidemic of missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people along the Highway of Tears is not mentioned (Reclaiming Power and Place 2019; Those Who Take Us Away 2013). Further, by refocusing the narrative to police strategies and resources, it primes the reader to again believe that police are dedicated and committed to cases of missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people and potentially encourages the reader to ignore concerns raised by families. This is unsurprising as previous research shows that the police are portrayed as a solution to gender-based violence, including the violence that Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people experience (Gerrits 2019).

To summarize, news stories that contained the police frame focused on police investigations into individual cases of Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people, often without connecting these cases to the larger issue of MMIWG2S+. Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people themselves were most often only mentioned as secondary details in news stories about police investigations. By overemphasizing police strategies, resources, and the overall the role of police, this frame signals to the public that the police are doing a good job and often glorifies and idolizes police, ignoring the well-documented concerns of families interacting with police and the pervasive systemic racism in police institutions.

High-Risk Frame

The high-risk frame was the third most frequent frame in newspaper articles about missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people, occurring in 23 percent of the coverage. The high-risk frame is episodic, focusing on the characteristics and choices of individual missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit without connecting

their deaths and disappearances to racism, sexism, and colonialism, all of which shape and constrain individual behavior (García-Del Moral 2011; Jiwani and Young 2006; Strega et al. 2014). Consistent with previous studies (García-Del Moral 2011; Jiwani and Young 2006; Strega et al. 2014), this frame simultaneously describes Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people as leading "high-risk lifestyles" and utilizes this to attribute the causes and solutions to the larger issue of MMIWG2S+. In effect, I argue that this type of framing, which only partially presents the lives of Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people, does little to invoke public sympathy.

When used to discuss the individual characteristics of Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people, the high-risk frame describes them as "street prostitute[s]" (*Winnipeg Free Press*, April 2007) and "heavy drug user[s]" (*Beaumont News*, August 2015) who "turn tricks to support [their] addiction[s]" (*Edmonton Sun*, December 2007). Consistent with previous studies on victim blaming frames in news media coverage of gender-based violence (Gillespie et al. 2013; Bullock 2007; Bullock and Cubert 2002; Meyers 1997), sometimes news articles would imply rather than explicitly state that an individual was engaged in high-risk behavior, regardless of whether or not they actually were. For example, news articles would note that a missing or murdered individual "went missing after a party" (*The London Free Press*, September 2015), were "last seen leaving a bar" (*Windsor Star*, October 2015), "had a couple of drinks at a Downtown Eastside pub" (*Toronto Sun*, June 2007), or were "drunk when [they] left with two men" (*The Simcoe Reformer*, September 2015). The above examples are similar to McKenzie's 2008 case study on the framing of Daleen Kay Bosse which found that the media emphasized possible sightings of her late at night, allowing the public to infer that she had "chosen to go missing, that she is partying, and relatedly, irresponsible" (88).

Also consistent with existing research, the high-risk frame suggests that Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people are to blame for the violence they experience because choose to lead "high-risk lifestyles" (García-Del Moral 2011; Jiwani and Young 2006; Strega et al. 2014). As noted in one news article, individuals that "live and die the hard way" (*Chatham Daily News,* September 2013) must also accept the consequences of that lifestyle. When Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people are framed as "high-risk," the blame shifts from the perpetrators of violence to the individuals themselves because they are choosing to engage in behaviour that creates danger. Some news articles I examined not only implied that Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people are to blame vis à vis the "lifestyle" motif, but explicitly stated it. For example, in a news article about Project Kare, a RCMP task force that investigates murders of "high-risk" women, one officer was quoted as saying "they don't like to think about the fact that they could die as a result of what they're doing…part of denial in prostitution and addiction is you don't look at the consequences" (*The Calgary Herald,* June 2008). Whether blameworthiness was explicitly or implicitly stated, when Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people are framed as high-risk, they are often blamed for the violence they experience, not the perpetrators of violence or larger systemic and structural inequalities that contribute to their vulnerability and marginalization.

This blameworthiness can be attributed in part to the episodic nature of the high-risk frame that overemphasizes sex work, drug and alcohol abuse, and homelessness simply as individual choices, void of larger societal issues and context. Although some news articles that framed Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people as high risk would reference institutions that are connected to systemic inequalities, it tended to be done in an episodic way, similar to what Jiwani and Young found in their study. Leading a high-risk lifestyle is the "natural

progression of unfortunate childhood experiences, while simultaneously severing these experiences from structural inequalities of race, class, and gender" (Jiwani and Young 2006, 900). For example, one news article wrote:

> [She] was in and out of foster care during her short life. The system returned [her] to a family member's home less than three months before she died, despite allegations such a move would expose her to both drugs and prostitution. [She] struggled with drugs and the sex trade before her body was found in a field on the outskirts of Winnipeg (*Winnipeg Free Press*, December 2008).

Although the above example does reference how the foster care system sent the victim back to an environment where she would be exposed to both drugs and sex-work, it does so on a surface level. The foster care system is mentioned without discussing it in the larger context of the overrepresentation of Indigenous children in foster care, its connection to residential schools, and their intergenerational traumatic effects. It is also worth mentioning that this article is about the murder of a young teenager, yet the article describes like that of an adult who "struggled" with the sex-trade before her death. Children cannot consent to working in the sex-trade. This type of framing is similar to the testimony Anishinaabe journalist Jesse Wente gave for the National Inquiry. The media often frames Indigenous girls as being more mature or sexually available compared to their non-Indigenous counterparts (Reclaiming Power and Place 2019).

Similarly, the high-risk frame I uncovered is consistent with what Strega et al. found in their 2014 media framing analysis: the high-risk lifestyle is "characterized as fate rather than choice" in the context of individual family dysfunction (Strega et al. 2014, 18). For example, one article posited "who is lower on the social ladder in the eyes of the public than prostitutes - the broken women who, largely because of early neglect and drug abuse, bottom out by selling their flesh on grimy street corners?" (*Toronto Sun*, February 2008). Another article noted that "poverty, domestic abuse, drug addiction and alcoholism, broken families" are all connected to

the deaths and disappearances of Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people." (*Winnipeg Free Press*, October 2009). While these articles reference larger systemic issues, they fall short in fully explaining how and why these systemic issues are connected to the issue of MMIWG2S+ and in explicitly acknowledging colonialism and racism as core drivers. Instead, this type of framing attributes the issue of MMIWG2S+ to broken and dysfunctional families.

Relatedly, an important addition to the high-risk frame I discovered is that an individual's motherhood was often framed in conjunction with high-risk behavior. Indeed, the word "mother" occurred in 35 percent of all news articles that contained the high-risk frame. For example, Indigenous motherhood was referenced alongside drug addiction, with news articles noting how "a mother of two, struggl[ed] with drug addiction" (*London Free Press*, August 2015) or that "the mother of three…was known to use drugs" (*Ottawa Sun*, November 2016). Motherhood and sex-work were also framed in tandem, with one news article describing how a "mother of a five-month-old baby worked as a prostitute in the Main and Hastings area of Vancouver" (*Vancouver Sun*, November 2001). Perhaps motherhood was used in conjunction alongside "high-risk" behaviour to humanize Indigenous women, consistent with some research which shows that media coverage of minority homicides often references their motherhood as a way to humanize them (Slakoff and Fradella 2019). However, previous studies have also found that women who engage in sex-work are characterized as good mothers only when they distance themselves from their mothering roles (Strega et al. 2014). Sex-workers are applauded for performing motherhood "in absentia or at a distance" (Strega et al. 2014, 15). The results of my framing analysis are more consistent with this aspect of the literature. Indigenous women are framed as good mothers when their motherhood is performed at a distance from their "high-risk" behaviour, as noted in one news article that stated: "despite their challenges, many of the women shared a common

thread of dedication to their children…[they] kept in regular contact as relatives looked after their kids" (*Star-Phoenix*, January 2006). Here, the reader is invited to infer that *despite* their challenges, these women are good mothers because they are performing this role at a distance.

Referring to Indigenous motherhood within the confines of the high-risk frame also parallels the early colonial representations of Indigenous women as "sq*aw". Recall that portraying Indigenous women as "sq*aw" was a colonial tactic that presented them as unfit mothers to legitimize the forcible removal of Indigenous children through residential schools, birth alerts, the 60s scoop, and is a contributing factor of the current overrepresentation of Indigenous children in Child Welfare Services (Reclaiming Power and Place 2019). For example, in the coverage I examined one woman was described as "a drug addict whose nine children were *farmed* out to foster homes" [emphasis added] (*The Globe and Mail*, October 2002). The word "farmed" in this article is striking because it invokes mechanical (i.e. factory farming) and animal-like imagery. Indigenous children are portrayed as chattel - not even human - who are bred into a cyclical and inevitable process of being placed in foster care. Beyond overlooking Canada's past and current colonial policies and systemic factors that contribute to the overrepresentation of Indigenous children in the foster care system, referring to Indigenous children as being "farmed" conditions non-Indigenous Canadians to accept the overrepresentation of Indigenous children in the foster care system as the status quo. This type of animal-like imagery also allows the public to distance themselves from past and present forcible removal of Indigenous children because Indigenous children are not even framed as human.

Overall, the lives of Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people are only partially presented when they are framed as high-risk individuals. The high-risk frame reduces Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people to their sex work, drug and alcohol use, addiction, and

homelessness. A quote from one news article is emblematic of the high-risk frame: “we know the most important fact about this woman: She was a drug addict” (*Vancouver Sun,* 2001). The episodic nature of the high-risk frame blames Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people for the violence they experience, in turn deferring the solution to this violence to individuals themselves, rather than larger systemic issues. When Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people are framed as high-risk, “their deaths are also easier for mainstream society to ignore. We have a shorter memory for a dead sex-trade worker than we do for a dead college student. We can look at the number of dead, shake our heads and turn the page” (*Winnipeg Free Press,* July 2007). It is important to note critiquing the high-risk frame is not a criticism of sex-work, addiction, and homelessness, rather it is a criticism of how these issues are used to summarize the lives of Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people in a way that justifies violence against them. News media coverage of Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people can and should mention these issues, a discussion I return to in the conclusion.

Perpetrator Frame

The perpetrator frame was the fourth most common frame, occurring in 15 percent of the coverage. This episodic frame focuses on the details of individual perpetrators, ranging from their physical appearance to their demeanor, often at the expense and in contrast to how Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people themselves are framed. Consistent with previous research on media framing of gender-based violence more broadly (Bullock and Cubert 2002; Carlye et al. 2008; Jiwani and Young 2006), the perpetrator frame was also used to excuse or justify the violence they committed, most often by “othering” the perpetrators of violence to suggest only “monsters" are capable of committing such violence. In focusing on individual details about the perpetrator and excusing the violence they commit, this frame invites the public

to make several conceptual leaps: they are at odds with the crime the individual has committed and how they are framed. In turn, I argue that both the episodic nature of this frame, which omits the discussions about the larger systemic causes of violence, and the mundane and sometimes positive framing of perpetrators, undermines the severity of violence that Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people experience.

Although oftentimes the details used to frame perpetrators of violence are mundane, these details serve to humanize them. Unlike Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people who are often reduced to plot points in news stories about their deaths and disappearances, I found that perpetrators are active parts of the story. For example, one news article narrated "with a close-cropped haircut, Thomas Slveka was calm as he entered his plea, and drank water as the prosecution made its opening statement" (*Calgary Herald*, February 2008). Another perpetrator of violence was described as "mannerly and co-operative" during his arrest and trial (*Edmonton Journal*, September 2014). In some cases, perpetrators were actually described in positive ways. For example, one news article described a man convicted of killing three women as "calm and hard working" (*Hamilton Spectator*, February 2010). Another news article described serial killer Clifford Olson who was convicted of killing eleven children as "an affable guy, not the kind of man that you felt tainted being around, like some criminals - even the police admitted this" (*The Globe and Mail*, January 1982). In these examples, the violence against Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people is grossly overshadowed by details about the perpetrators of violence.

Further, the mundane and positive details that news stories recounted about the perpetrators were often at odds with how Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people themselves were framed. For example, serial killer Thomas Slveka was described as a "39-year-

old mechanic" (*Calgary Herald*, February 2008) whereas one of the women he murdered was framed as a high-risk "19-year old sex worker" (*Edmonton Journal*, October 2007). In this example, the juxtaposition "sex worker" and "mechanic" invites the reader to reflect on the perceived moral differences between these occupations and make inferences about the victim's deservingness of our sympathy. The high-risk frame was used to blame the serial killings of Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people on their drug use and sex-work. For example, one article purported that "the most dangerous serial killer on Edmonton's streets is drug addiction itself" noting that a woman murdered by a serial killer "had two killers" one being the serial killer and "the other was the drug addiction that stole her from her family and put her on the street in the first place, primed to be a perfect victim." (*Ottawa Citizen*, March 2008).

Perpetrators were also framed as deviant "monsters" to explain or mitigate the violence they committed. For example, a news article about the women Robert Pickton stated "there was a monster out there, an evil force sweeping up women" (*Times Columnist*, November 2011). The severity and depravity of the crimes Robert Pickton committed are undermined when this type of ominous "monster" motif is used. Some perpetrators of violence even used the monster motif to describe themselves. For example, one news article recounted a perpetrator's testimony that stated: "I left the door open for my addiction to take control. Under the influence of drugs and alcohol... I turn into a monster at times." (*Winnipeg Free Press*, 2013). This type of coverage, though typical, is problematic in the context of Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people because it reinforces the idea that only "monsters" are capable of committing such violence, allowing the reader to distance themselves from the perpetrators of violence and the broader systemic issues which lead to it (Jiwani and Young 2006). Interestingly, unlike how drugs and alcohol are used to frame Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people as high-risk, in the

above example addiction to drugs and alcohol is used to remove the blame from the perpetrator of violence - drugs and alcohol turned him into a “monster.”

Ultimately, when news stories about missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people focus on the perpetrators, it signals to the public that they themselves are not newsworthy: it is the perpetrators of violence who are. Consistent with previous studies, by juxtaposing the perpetrators' crimes with positive and personal details about them or by referring to them as deviant monsters, it is easier for the public to remove themselves from the more common and routine violence inflicted on Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people. Further, the episodic focus on individual perpetrators of violence omits meaningful conversations around the larger systemic causes of violence against Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people and suggests that the violence against Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people is a result of individual and disconnected crimes.

Systemic Frame

Unlike the frames discussed thus far in this section, which are all episodic in nature, the systemic frame I uncovered, which occurred in 11 percent of the coverage, is thematic. The thematic nature of the systemic frame attributes the causes and solutions of this violence to broader issues like, like colonialism, racism, and sexism. However, when the deaths and disappearances of Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people are framed thematically, oftentimes it is done so at the expense of news media providing an account of who Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people are beyond the violence they experience. Most often, by connecting the cause of violence that Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people experience with larger systems and institutions, the systemic frame also emphasizes how systems and institutions are necessary parts of the solution. Although broadly the systemic frame is an important part of shifting the

blame for the MMIWG2S+ genocide from the individual to the collective, a less frequent sub-frame of the systemic frame exists.[12] This sub-frame presents a counter-narrative that questions and challenges the relationship between MMIWG2S+ and larger systems and institutions. Throughout this section, I argue that although the systemic frame does shift the narrative around violence against Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people, the presence of the counter-narrative is more likely to resonate with non-Indigenous Canadians.

Most often, the systemic frame highlights how the MMIWG2S+ genocide is "a result of an unbroken history of violence, injustice and neglect going back to the earliest days of colonization" (*Toronto Star,* June 2019) and explains how "racism and sexism are embedded in institutions intended to protect women and girls" (*Star-Phoenix*, August 2016). As one news article noted: "It's not just about violence. It's health issues, housing issues, economic security, drug and alcohol abuse, mental health, racism, and all of those social factors that create a situation of being marginalized or vulnerable" (*Montreal Gazette,* October 2009). In centering the violence Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people experience in the context of larger social issues, this type of framing shifts the responsibility to redress this violence from the individual to the collective by inciting the idea that "it is up to all citizens to take responsibility and make our communities safe for everyone" (*Quesnel Cariboo Observer,* June 2010). For example, in the case of Tina Fontaine, one news article posited:

> What if she had seamless access to counselling services? What if there had been a stable child-welfare placement for her? What if police had taken her into their custody when they found her with an intoxicated man, instead of letting her go - despite her being the subject of an active missing-person" (*The Globe and Mail*, June 2019).

[12] Despite the clear differences between the systemic frame and the counter-narrative to this frame, they are presented captured in the same dictionary category in the MMIWG2S+ media framing dictionary. The language used in the counter-narrative was too subtle to accurately be able to capture as its own distinct dictionary category. It was not sufficient to use words like "not" in front of the words in the systemic category.

On its surface, the systemic frame is more positive than the frames previously discussed because it places the blame for the violence that Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people experience within the context of larger systems and institutions, rather than on the individual themself. However, like the frames discussed earlier, which deny Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people their humanity by either directly dehumanizing them or focuses on police, murder trials, and the perpetrators of violence, when the systemic frame was used in news stories about their deaths and disappearances, they were secondary details. In other words, Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people are simply plot points in news stories that framed their deaths and disappearances thematically - not the central focus of the story. For example, although news media would often mention that the murder of Tina Fontaine "is linked to the unrelenting, brutal violence faced by Indigenous women and children" (*The Medicine Hat News*, February 2018) it was done so to situate her case in the broader context of Winnipeg needing to "face its festering racism" (*Montreal Gazette*, January 2015), "funding cuts to agencies that offered youth drop-in centers" *(Winnipeg Free Press*, March 2018), and the "over-representation of Indigenous children in the foster-care system" (*Leader Post*, July 2018). Similarly, the "racism perpetrated by health care providers" against Joyce Echaquan was referenced in news articles as one of many examples to highlight that "learning about and understanding the legacy of racism in Canada and the world is critical to our collective future." (*Hamilton Spectator*, September 2022).

Similarly, although their deaths or disappearances were framed thematically, often Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people themselves were still reduced to the gruesome depictions of the violence they experienced. For example, one news article wrote the following about a murdered Indigenous woman:

> A young aboriginal woman lay dying in the mud near a garbage dump, three white men who had abandoned her there were on their way to a party with her underpants waving from their car aerial like a trophy. [Her] disturbing death occurred more than four decades ago in interior British Columbia - but it will be recalled in Regina this evening as internationally renowned legal scholar Constance Backhouse delivers the annual Law Foundation of Saskatchewan lecture…It will speak to an audience about the kinds of discrimination that existed then and now against Indigenous women and the ways that the justice system fails them (*Leader Post*, October 2009).

In the above example, the violence against Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people is connected to the justice system, however the individual whose murder is mentioned is reduced to the gruesome details of her murder.

Although in the majority of the coverage I examined the systemic frame was used as a way to reinforce the connection between larger systemic issues and the violence that Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people experience, as mentioned earlier, a counter-narrative was also present that challenged this connection. Sometimes this counter-narrative was subtle. For example, a news article about the launch of the National Inquiry noted that "there was no reference by any of the speakers at the launch event to the domestic violence problem in aboriginal communities," subsequently citing a Statistics Canada study that "10 percent of Indigenous women report domestic abuse, more than three times the number of non-Indigenous women" (*Star-Phoenix,* August 2016). However, this article does not mention that Indigenous women are also 10 times more likely to be killed by a stranger (Reclaiming Power and Place 2019) and that many Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people are "economically marginalized and [have] a limited ability to obtain the resources or skills to get out of a bad situation." (*Peace-River Record-Gazette,* October 2011).

Similarly, a news article about the connection between police racism and the low solve rates for cases of missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people quoted the RCMP that they provide "bias-free policing…regardless of sex, ethnicity, background or

lifestyle" (*Winnipeg Free Press*, April 2010). At face value, quoting the RCMP does not explicitly challenge the idea that police racism is connected to the MMIWG2S+ genocide. However, this example must be contextualized within the broader context of the police frame discussed earlier in this chapter. The police frame - which is present in significantly more of the coverage than the systemic frame emphasizes the good work police are doing to solve cases of missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people. Recall that a person's ability to be influenced by a frame can occur through mediation, moderation, or competition: a person must have some level of knowledge about a frame to be influenced by it, individuals with strong beliefs or values about an issue are less susceptible to framing effects that counter those value, and individuals will choose the frame that is consistent with their prior knowledge or values when presented with conflicting frames (Chong and Druckman 2007). When understood in this context, frames that are delivered by reliable sources and frames that reference longstanding cultural values are more successful at influencing public opinion (Chong and Druckman 2007). It is plausible that the public would give greater legitimacy and credibility to the police statement compared to the discrepancy in solved rates for crimes committed against Indigenous and non-Indigenous women.

In addition to subtly challenging the systemic narrative, some of the coverage I examined would explicitly object to the connection between systemic issues and the violence of the MMIWG2S+ genocide. For example, one article challenged the idea that racism is a significant factor in the violence that Indigenous women, girls, and Two-spirit people experience, stating "it serves no one to turn this tragedy into an issue centered on archaic notions of race" (*Winnipeg Free Press*, September 2007). Similarly, an article that questioned the National Inquiry's final report posited:

> Blaming pressing problems in the here and now on sweeping systemic matters that can only be reformed by a long-term total societal overhaul is to basically say nothing. If everything and everyone is the problem, then how do you even begin to pinpoint solutions? (*Ottawa Sun*, June 2019).

The above examples highlight how this counter-narrative not only opposes the idea that larger systems and structures are a contributing factor to the MMIWG2S+ genocide, but it also questions the solutions for redressing this violence. Indeed, in some cases, the counter-narrative was used to explicitly shift the blame for the violence Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people experience to Indigenous Peoples themselves, as demonstrated in an article that stated:

> There is only one solution - only one. First Nations people themselves have to accept full responsibility for what is happening to far too many of them. And instead of blaming somebody else for their troubles, they have to do something themselves. Nobody else can do it for them. It's their problem. It has to be their solution. And it has to come soon, before it is too late (*Leader Post*, May 2008).

Importantly, the media framing effects literature would suggest the public would be highly influenced by the systemic counter-narrative. As mentioned in Chapter 2, although public polling shows that non-Indigenous Canadians have some knowledge about the MMIWG2S+, they do not understand the fundamental structural and systemic causes of the issue (Environics 2016). Similarly, 46 percent of non-Indigenous Canadians demonstrate a strong apathy towards Indigenous Peoples and issues (Angus Reid Institute 2018). Effectively, public polling data would indicate that non-Indigenous Canadians' *perceived* level of knowledge about MMIWG2S+ would make them susceptible to mediational effects and their strong beliefs about Indigenous Peoples indicates that they are susceptible to both moderating and competition effects in the case of the systemic counter-narrative. It is likely that non-Indigenous Canadians would be influenced by the counter-narrative when it resonates with their values (Chong and Druckman 2007). As noted earlier, because frames often entail the assignment of responsibility the counter-narrative is exceptionally problematic in the context of the MMIWG2S+ genocide.

Overall, the systemic frame, which is the only thematic frame I uncovered through the content analysis, connects broader issues like racism, sexism, and colonialism to the violence Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people experience. Although broadly the systemic frame shifts the blame for the MMIWG2S+ genocide from the individual to the collective, the counter-narrative that exists within the systemic frame that questions the relationship between MMIWG2S+ and larger systems and institutions is particularly troubling when understood alongside the media framing effects literature and public polling data. If the public is susceptible to believing that the violence Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people experience is not connected to systemic issues and institutions, it is unlikely that the necessary policy, legislative, institutional, and societal responses will be actualized.

Violent Victimization Frame

The violent victimization frame was present in 10 percent of the coverage I examined. This frame is episodic and emphasizes the gruesome details of the violence Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people experience, often by describing them as their body parts in a sensational and dehumanizing way. When news stories frame the deaths and disappearances of Indigenous women, girls and Two-Spirit people this way, they are often reduced only to the physical and sexual violence they experience, rather than this violence being used as a central part of telling a more holistic story or balancing this violence with more fulsome accounts of their lives. In this section, I argue that by dehumanizing Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people, it is easier for the public to distance themselves from the MMIWG2S+ genocide because they do not see Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people as full human beings.

At its core, the violent victimization frame recounts in detail the violence that Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people experience. For example, one woman's "numerous injuries

to her face, head, buttocks and vagina, along with lacerations to her anus”" were recounted in a November 2013 *Star Phoenix* article. Another woman was simply described as “the body of a butchered woman hanging from a meat hook” (*Toronto Sun,* November 2007). Oftentimes, this violence was recounted in a particularly gruesome and sensational way. For example, one news article described a “bloody scene that included severed heads inside two large freezers" (*Consort Enterprise,* June 2009). Another news article quoted the testimony of a witness who said Robert Pickton would “gut the women in his barn - you would not believe how much they bleed - and then feed the body parts to his pigs” (*Toronto Star,* November 2007). Existing research shows that this sensationalized coverage is typical of violent crimes - particularly serial killings (Wong and Harraway 2020; Eliasson-Nannini and Sommerlad-Rogers 2014; Gekowski et. al 2012) - and is consistent with what Jiwani and Young’s 2006 found in their media framing analysis of the women murdered by Robert Pickton.

The violent victimization frame I uncovered is also similar to what García-Del Moral found in her 2011 study of the Indigenous women who were murdered by Robert Pickton that were “literally represented as waste- their mutilated bodies were found *in* the garbage, disposed of *as* garbage” (47). For example, news articles would recount how Indigenous women, girls, and Two-spirit people “[were] beaten, strangled and sexually assaulted before being dumped” (*Vancouver Sun,* April 1990). One news article detailed that a woman was found “strangled with the belt of her coat and her hands bound...she was tortured, sexually assaulted and her partly clad body dumped in an industrial area (*Vancouver Sun,* September 1995). Another article noted that a woman’s “bisected skull was discovered in a garbage pail" (*Winnipeg Free Press,* October 2007).

This type of framing enables the reader to separate themselves from the MMIWG2S+ genocide because the sensational aspect of it allows them to focus on the shocking details of the violence, rather than on Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people themselves. More broadly, in sensationalizing the serial killings of Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people, there is little emphasis on why they are often purposely targeted by serial killers (Jiwani and Young 2006). By framing the violence that Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people experience in such a shocking and sensational way, the violent victimization frame is also akin to "trauma porn": mass media that shows in excess a marginalized group's pain and trauma, "not for the sake of the marginalized group, but instead to console or entertain the non-marginalized group" (Johnson 2023). The violent victimization frame is also characteristic of what Judith Butler calls "un-grieveable" lives: "one that cannot be mourned because it has never lived, that is, it has never counted as a life at all" (2015). Put differently, as Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people are dehumanized in the literal and moral sense through the reduction of them as their body parts, it is easier for the public to distance themselves from the MMIWG2S+ genocide - and the collective responsibility that that several of the National Inquiry's Calls for Justice demand - because they are not even framed as full human beings.

To summarize, the violent victimization frame sensationalizes the violence that Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people experience, often by reducing them to just their body parts in a dehumanizing way. This type of framing makes it easier for non-Indigenous public to distance themselves from the MMIWG2S+ genocide because Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people are not portrayed as full human-beings. Their lives are not fulsomely commemorated in news media when they are diminished to only the violence they experience. If we accept that the media are mirror (Tolley 2016), this type of framing tells us about non-

Indigenous Canadians attitudes and beliefs of Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people. As a public, Canadians are comfortable with dehumanizing Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people.

Loved Frame

The loved frame was the most personal way Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people were framed; however, it was the least frequently used frame compared with all the other frames I uncovered, present in only six percent of the coverage I examined. This frame is often told from a missing or murdered person's family, friends, and community perspective to describe their personality, dreams and ambitions, childhood, and overall, how loved and valued they are, highlighting existing research on the importance of centering the perspectives of families of missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit in news media stories about their loved ones (Shah 2021). Although the loved frame is the most personal frame in the coverage I examined, as it invokes sympathy and it is the way families have expressed that they want the media to discuss their loved ones (Reclaiming Power and Place 2019), I argue that often the loved frame implies that the inherent worthiness of Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people is based on their roles and responsibilities in relation to others. It is only when Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people are framed as "someone's mother, sister, or daughter" that they are deserving of our sympathy (Strega et al. 2014, 14).

As mentioned, the loved frame often emphasizes how a missing or murdered Indigenous woman, girl, or Two-Spirit person is remembered by their friends and family. For example, in a news article about Sonya Cywink, her sister described her as a "fun loving sibling who loved to laugh, learned the polka as a child, and dreamed of being a writer and sometimes flight attendant" (*The London Free Press*, August 2015). Other individuals were "remembered as a

caring and loving person who had ambitions of becoming a nurse or social worker" (*The Winnipeg Sun,* February 2020), "a mother of three with a dazzling smile" *(Winnipeg Free Press,* October 2009), and an "outgoing and friendly person… [with a] a roaring laugh and a warm smile" (*The Winnipeg Sun*, December 2007). The loved frame is a stark contrast to the other frames I uncovered that either dehumanize Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people and/or only partially present their lives. This frame invokes public sympathy: we understand who these individuals are and gain an appreciation for the impact their death or disappearance has on their family, friends, and community. It enables the public to grieve alongside the families of missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people because it invites them to imagine their own loved ones being missing or murdered.

At face value, the loved frame is more positive than the other frames I uncovered; however, the way the loved frame is used to invoke sympathy is concerning because it is their connection to others or responsibility for others that allow Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people to be loved or missed, not their inherent human worth and dignity, as highlighted in one article that wrote:

> She was fun, a great friend, an exceptional mom and a devoted daughter. The kind of person who'd visit her 89-year-old mother's nursing home almost daily with a muffin and coffee, who did everything she could to give her two beloved daughters every opportunity (*Toronto Star*, December 2019).

Another individual was described as "a loving sister and cousin who liked nothing more than to cook for her entire family." (*Winnipeg Free Press*, October 2009). In these examples, the individuals - though fondly remembered - are memorialized only in relation to their mostly gendered roles and responsibilities.

As multiple frames can and do exist in news coverage, the discourse of "someone's mother, sister, or daughter" was also often used alongside the high-risk frame. For example, one

article stated that a woman “must be remembered as something other than a murdered sex-trade worker…she was a wife, a mother, a daughter, and a friend” (*Winnipeg Free Press*, July 2007). Here, the phrase “remembered as something other than" devalues the individual as whole: it is only her gendered roles and responsibilities that are deemed worthy of being remembered and of our sympathy. This framing is akin to what Strega et al. found in their analysis of news media coverage of sex-workers: the media often performs a “discursive-trick” of coupling sex-workers with their roles as “someone’s mother, sister, or daughter” (2014). Perhaps this type of framing is more emblematic of sex-work, as emphasized in Strega et al.’s study, rather than Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people more broadly - a hypothesis beyond the scope of this dissertation.

Beyond their roles and responsibilities, Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people’s dreams and ambitions were also juxtaposed alongside their high-risk behaviour. Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit were described as "loving, caring, beautiful, irreplaceable soul[s]…[whose] drug addiction drew [them] into the life of the street, then drew [them] to [their] death.” (*Fort Saskatchewan Record*, March 2008). For example, one news article stated that an individual “dreamed of becoming a veterinarian, but instead became a drug addict and prostitute” (*The London Free Press,* December 2007). This type of framing is similar to what Jiwani and Young (2006) found in their media analysis of the women Robert Pickton murdered: individuals leading a high-risk lifestyle are only deserving of our sympathy when the “good” can be separated from the “bad”. When Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people “struggle with drug addictions” they are deemed worthy victims because “it's not who [they] [are]” (*Edmonton Journal,* December 2015). Again, perhaps this finding is more telling of news media coverage of sex-work (Strega et al. 2014) or gender-based violence more broadly.

Nevertheless, it is troubling when understood in broader context of the frequency of these two frames as the framing effects literature demonstrates that recent or excessive exposure to a frame makes it more likely a person will subconsciously access that frame and thus be influenced by it (Chong and Druckman 2007). It is likely that the public would be more susceptible to the high-risk than the loved frame when the two are paired together because of the pervasiveness of the high-risk frame in the coverage.

Given that the loved frame necessarily entails the perspectives of missing or murdered Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people's families, friends, and communities, it is plausible that one of the reasons the loved frame is used the least compared to all the other frames could be because the majority of families are not contacted by news media to comment on stories about their loved ones (Shah 2021). The lack of family perspectives in news stories about missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people, and as a consequence the loved frame, could also be a result of news media reliance on police sources in coverage of gender-based violence (Chermak 1995; Ericson 1989; Fishman 1981; Gerrits 2019; Surette 2007). There is a logical connection between the interdependency of news media and police who cannot "write a press release about a case they did not investigate" (Gerrits 2019, 1) and the well-documented systemic racism in police towards missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people that prevents families from speaking to police and police accurately investigating their cases (Reclaiming Power and Place 2019; Those Who Take Us Away 2013).

As demonstrated throughout this section, although the loved frame is the most positive way that Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people are framed in news media can invoke our sympathy, it is often done so in a way that places their inherent worthiness in their roles and

responsibilities for others. Similarly, as the loved frame often co-occurs with the high-risk frame, the framing effects literature would suggest that the public would be more susceptible to being influenced by the high-risk frame when they are juxtaposed against each other because it occurs more frequently. Overall, the loved frame highlights the importance of centering the perspectives of families in news media stories about missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people.

Chapter Conclusion and Summary of Findings

This chapter was principally concerned with understanding what frames exist in news stories about the deaths and disappearances of Indigenous women, girls, and two-Spirit people and how they *themselves* are framed within these stories. To do this, I conducted a semi-automated quantitative content analysis of 50,154 newspaper articles for 978 missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people. The results from this content analysis uncovered a MMIWG2S+ media framing dictionary that contained the following seven frames: legal, police, high-risk, serial killer, thematic, violent victimization, and loved. As discussed, most of these frames are episodic in nature and share some similar aspects to previous studies specifically on this topic (García-Del Moral 2014; Gilchrist 2010; Jiwani and Young 2009; McKenzie 2008; Strega et al. 2014), on gender-based violence (Bullock and Cubert 2002; Fairbairn and Dawson 2013; Gerrits 2019; Gillespie et al. 2013; Taylor 2009), and on crime more broadly (Eliasson-Nannini and Sommerlad-Rogers 2014; Gekowski et al. 2012; Greer 2007; Gruenewald et al. 2011; Marsh 1991; Reiner 2007; Wong and Harraway 2020).

Broadly, my analysis found that most often news media framing reduces Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people to the violence they experienced through the depiction of them as evidence, the gruesome details of their deaths, or their “high-risk behaviour”. News

stories overemphasized details about murder trials, perpetrators of violence, and police investigations. Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people were not the focal points in news stories about their deaths and disappearances, but were instead auxiliary details. These findings demonstrate that Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people are not only absent in the amount of coverage they receive but are also largely absent in the primary way news stories frame their deaths and disappearances.

In addition, the robust quantitative and qualitative analysis I conducted in this chapter also identified new patterns in some of the previously identified frames from existing research and provides a more fulsome understanding of media framing of missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people. For example, I found that Indigenous motherhood was an important part of the high-risk frame. Although previous studies have found that motherhood is used as a way to either humanize minority victims of crime (Slakoff and Fradella 2019) or as a way to characterized them as good mothers only when they distance themselves from their mothering roles (Strega et al. 2014), my analysis demonstrates that Indigenous women are framed as leading high-risk lifestyles are also framed as "bad mothers," mirroring early colonial media representations of them. Similarly, although existing research shows that news coverage of gender-based violence is framed through a perspective that privileges voices of authority (Bullock and Cubert 2002; Gerrits 2019; Fairbairn and Dawson 2013), the results of my analysis indicated that in the context of missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people, this was also done in a way that often glorifies police. Further the systemic frame I identified is consistent with existing research on this topic (Drache et al. 2016) and what some research has found on gender-based violence more broadly (Fairbairn and Dawson 2013). However, through my analysis, I also uncovered that in the

context of missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people there is a prominent counter-systemic narrative that continues to dominate the narrative that the issue of MMIWG2S+ is a result of individuals choices and individual disconnected crimes.

Overall, although the frames I identified differ in their content, when taken together they all partially present the lives of Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people, with the exception of the loved frame, though this frame was far less frequently used than all other frames. The infrequency of the loved frame in the coverage points to the larger issue of the absence of families as expert sources (Shah 2021), who have for decades fought for their loved ones' cases to be acknowledged in media (Reclaiming Power and Place 2019).

If we accept that the media are a mirror or shaper of public opinion, then the frames I identified in this chapter are both a reflection and reinforcement of how the Canadian public views Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people. The Canadian public cannot grieve alongside the families of missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people - and want to redress the violence they experience - if they do not see Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people as full humans whose lives and deaths matter. The sensational and gruesome way that the violence that Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people experience does not enable the public to want meaningful change.

Chapter 5

THE TIMES THEY AREN'T A-CHANGIN'

In Chapter 3, I argued that the overwhelming lack of media coverage for most Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people, paired with the significant amount of coverage that a few individuals receive, ignores both the pervasive and routine nature of this violence, creating a distorted picture of the scope and nature of this tragedy. Building on this, Chapter 4 sought to broaden our understanding of how missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people are framed when a large and representative sample of newspaper articles that spans across both time and space and includes individuals with different victimologies is utilized. The results of the content analysis produced a MMIWG2S+ media framing dictionary that contains seven distinct frames: legal, police, high-risk, systemic, perpetrator, violent victimization, and loved.

Although Chapter 4 provided insights into what frames exist in newspaper coverage, important questions remain: why are some Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people framed differently than others? What these explains variations in framing? This chapter is principally concerned with explaining patterns and variations in newspaper framing among missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people across space and time, accounting for newsworthiness factors such as age and crime type. The purpose of this analysis is to better understand media responsiveness to the political and social environment in which it is situated in and to shed light into which victims of violence are deemed deserving of public sympathy and why.

The analysis I conduct in this chapter both confirms and challenges the notion that the media are a mirror that reflects the public. Over time, as public opinion and awareness of the

issue increased, Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people were framed more positively. However, at the same time they were framed more positively, the frequency of negative frames I uncovered in Chapter 4 did not significantly decrease. Although determining the specific framing effects of the MMIWG2S+ dictionary is beyond the scope of my dissertation, using this data and the media framing effects literature, I argue that the positive changes in framing over time likely do not have a strong ability to influence what the public thinks about the issue or counteract negative framing. Conversely, I found that although there are some regional variations in how missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people are framed, these differences are largely a result of individual cases within each region and are not reflective of regional public opinion or number of cases. In this sense, the media does not seem to mirror regional variations in both the cultural and spatial proximity to the issue. Similarly, while my analysis confirms that there are some significant variations how missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people are framed based on their age and type of crime committed against them, individual cases largely account for these discrepancies. Using this evidence, I argue the variations in framing among Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people signals to the Canadian public that only a handful of their deaths and disappearances are deserving of sympathy.

Results and Discussion

To examine variations in newspaper framing of missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people, I utilized the 50,154 newspaper articles I collected for my analysis in Chapter 3 and the MMIWG2S+ media framing dictionary I created in Chapter 4. I then performed a regression analysis, using the same methodology as Chapter 3, to assess variations in framing over time, across regions, and amongst missing and murdered Indigenous women,

girls, and Two-Spirit people accounting for their age and type of crime committed against them. For a discussion of the specific methodological techniques I employed for the analysis in this chapter, please see the methodology sections of Chapter 3 and Chapter 4. The remainder of this chapter is organized by each of the variables under study: time, age, crime type, and region. As discussed earlier in the dissertation, when contextualizing my findings, I did not include the name of a missing or murdered person unless their families had talked about their case publicly. Where possible, I also included a description of how families and friends described their missing and murdered loved ones.

Does news media framing of missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people change over time?

As frames should be politically and socially situated (McCombs 2005), I expect that how missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people are framed in newspapers will change alongside shifts in both the political and social environment regarding this issue. Specifically, I anticipate that between 2010-2019 the volume of the systemic and loved frames will increase and the volume negative and dehumanizing frames, namely the high-risk and violent victimization frames, will decrease. This time period corresponds to the commencement and conclusion of the National Inquiry, arguably the biggest shift in both the political response to and an increase in public awareness and opinion of this issue. The results of my analysis in part support this: over time, the frequency of the loved frame did significantly increase, but so too did the violent victimization frame. Further, the frequency of the high-risk frame did not significantly decrease over time, nor did the frequency of the systemic frame significantly increase. Taken together, I argue that while these findings suggest that the media

are in part responsive to the political and social environment regarding the issue of MMIWG2S+, when understood in the context of the media framing effects literature, the changes in framing over time might not have a strong ability to resonate with the public and counteract negative frames.

Recall that the systemic frame connects issues like colonialism, racism, and sexism to the MMIWG2S+ genocide, the same issues that are at the heart of the National Inquiry's mandate. However, my analysis reveals that there were no significant differences in the probability of news stories containing the systemic frame between time periods (Appendix G). The frequency of the systemic frame occurred at a similar rate between time periods in relation to the frequency of other frames in the coverage. For example, as shown in Figure 5.1, in 2010-2019, 21 percent of news stories contained the systemic frame and 23 percent of news stories contained the systemic frame in 2020-2023. Though, it is important to note that while there were no significant differences in the volume of the systemic frame between time periods, there were important differences in how the systemic frame was used to discuss the issue of MMIWG2S+ between time periods. For example, between 2010-2019 the systemic frame was used most often in relation to the National Inquiry, whereas coverage prior to 2010 tended to reference systemic issues as a result of individual choice, consistent with previous studies on this topic (Jiwani and Young 2006). In some ways, the media emphasis on the National Inquiry between 2010-2019 is positive as it signals that the media are responsive to changes in the political environment. This type of coverage is also a significant improvement to the way systemic issues were discussed as isolated events in prior decades (Jiwani and Young 2006).

Figure 5.1: Volume of Frames in Newspaper Coverage by Time Period

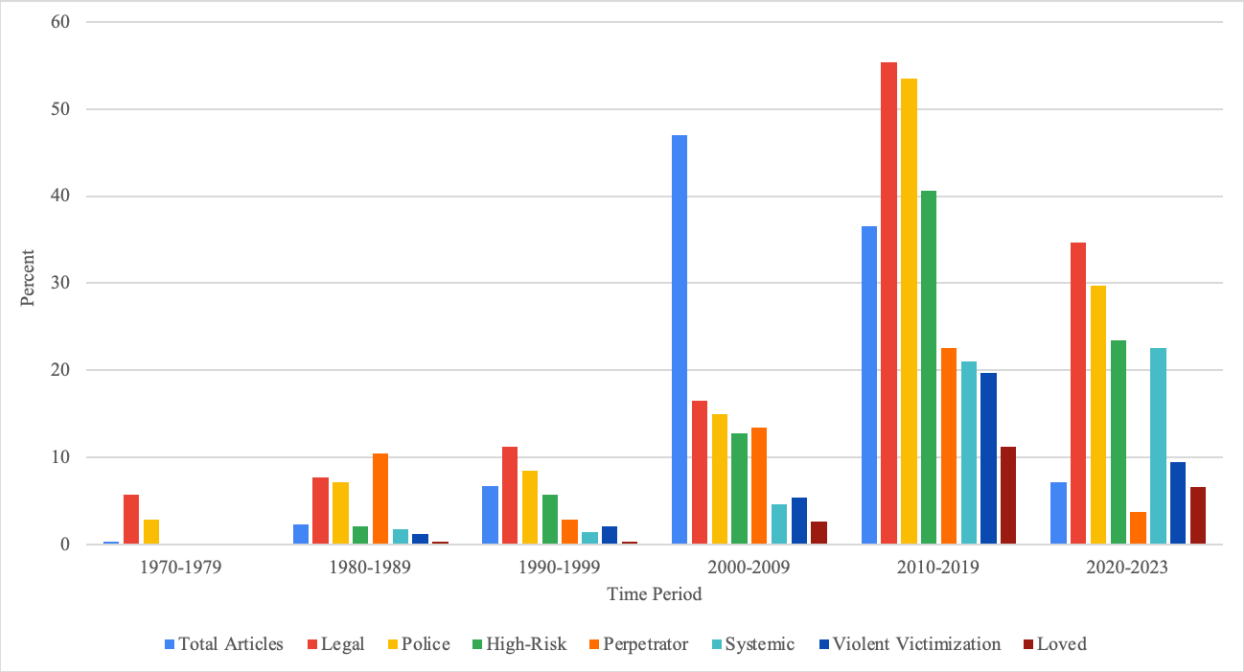

Figure Caption: This figure shows the volume of media frames *within* each time period relative to the total number of articles in each time period; it is not a representation of the cumulation of frames over time. For example, approximately 45 percent of all articles I collected were for the time period of 2010-2019. Of these articles, 50 percent of them contained the legal frame. The total percent of frames for each time period can exceed 100, as multiple frames coexist within news stories.

Although the media's coverage of the National Inquiry for the time period of 2010-2019 is in some ways positive, it was not simultaneously matched with personal details about the lives of missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people. When the deaths and disappearances of Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people were framed systemically between 2010-2019, they were largely discussed within the context of the National Inquiry. The focus on the systemic frame in 2010-2019 was on the Inquiry's process and substance and the varying political responses - not on the individuals themselves. For example, the murder of Tina Fontaine was briefly mentioned in a news article about "a pair of Winnipeg mayoral candidates [who] joined the chorus calling for an inquiry into missing and murdered aboriginal women" (*Winnipeg Sun,* September 2014). Another article named several murdered individuals in reference to "political leaders pledg[ing] to act for the families of the country's missing and

murdered Indigenous women" (*Winnipeg Free Press*, February 2016). Although both these articles note the important systemic issues that are connected to the MMIWG2S+ genocide, there were no details about who these individuals were. This finding is also supported by Drache et al.'s 2016 report on media coverage of Indigenous issues between 2014-2015 which found that the majority coverage on missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people during this time period focused on the National Inquiry.

Importantly though, over time there was a significant increase in the frequency of the loved frame. From 2000 onwards, newspaper articles were significantly more likely to contain the loved frame compared to earlier time periods (Appendix G). Over time, news stories about missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people were more likely to discuss personal details about who they were and what they meant to their families and communities. In some ways, this finding suggests that the media are responsive to the social environment in which it is situated. As public awareness and opinion about missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people increased, they were more likely to be framed as loved individuals. However, unlike what I anticipated, as the frequency of the loved frame significantly increased in the coverage, so too did the violent victimization frame. While Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people were more likely to be framed as loved individuals over time, they were just as likely to be reduced to the gruesome details of the violence they experienced. Similarly, there was not a significant decrease in the frequency of the high-risk frame over time (Appendix G).

These findings have a number of important consequences in the context of the media effects literature. Recall that when social issues are reframed, negative frames have stronger framing effects than positive ones (Boydstun et al. 2019; Ledgerwood and Boydstun 2014; Wang

et al. 2022). Although over time the narrative around the issue of MMIWG2S+ began to shift to focus on systemic issues as contributing factors of violence, the framing effects literature would suggest that the public would have been more susceptible to the high-risk frame which attributes the responsibility of this violence to individual choices. Further, in the case of the increased frequency of both the loved and violent victimization frame, it is likely that the public would be more susceptible to the violent victimization frame as they tend to resonate more with negative than positive framing (Soroka et al. 2019; Soroka and Adams 2015).

Taken together, in some ways, the results of my analysis demonstrate that the media are responsive to the political and social environment it is situated in, as demonstrated by the focus on the National Inquiry during the time period of 2010-2019 and the significant increase in the loved frame from 2000 onwards. However, the focus on the National Inquiry came at the expense of news stories focusing on missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people themselves. Similarly, the increased frequency of the loved frame was not matched by a decrease in the high-risk frame or the violent victimization frame. When understood in the context of the media framing effects literature, the shift in how Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people were framed vis à vis the systemic frame and the increased frequency of the loved frame might not have a strong ability to influence what the public thinks about this issue.

Does Age Influence How Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women, Girls, and Two-Spirit People are Framed?

As discussed in Chapter 2, existing research shows that age plays a significant role in how victims of crime are framed. Children and adults over the age of 60, who embody the most "ideal" victims of crime, are often framed in a more humanizing way compared to other age groups (Greer 2007; Taylor and Sorenson 2008). In contrast, news stories about adult victims of

gender-based violence tend to blame them for this violence (Bullock 2007; Bullock and Cubert 2002; Gillespie et al. 2013; Meyers 1997). Given this, I anticipate that compared to Indigenous adults, Indigenous girls and those over the age of 60 will be framed more positively. Specifically, I expect that the loved frame will occur more frequently in news stories about the deaths and disappearances of Indigenous girls and adults over the age of 60. However, the results of my analysis are not consistent with previous research. Although there are some significant variations in how Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people are framed based on their age, Indigenous girls under the age of 9 and adults over the age of 60 were not framed more positively than other age groups.

Indeed, unlike what I had anticipated, news stories about Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people between the ages of 10-19 ($\beta = 0.03$, $p = <0.00$) and 20-59 ($\beta = 0.01$, $p = <0.00$) were significantly more likely to contain the loved frame than Indigenous girls under the age of 9 and those over the age of 60. Put differently, there are fewer personal and positive details in news stories about the deaths and disappearances of Indigenous girls and those above the age of 60 compared to other ages. Although this is not what I had initially anticipated, nor is it consistent with existing research, in some ways it is encouraging because it demonstrates that at least *some I*ndigenous women have personal and positive details about them in newspapers.

However, as multiple frames can and do exist within a single news article, oftentimes the loved frame was used alongside the high-risk frame in newspaper coverage of individuals aged 10-19 ($\beta = 0.06$, $p = <0.00$) and 20-59 ($\beta = 0.02$, $p = <0.00$). For example, a news article about 17-year-old Shannon Alexander and 16-year-old Maisy Odjick from Kitigan Zibi Anishinabeg Nation noted:

> On the night the girls disappeared, one acquaintance reported that the pair claimed they had been smoking crack. None of this is meant to imply that the lives and well-being of

> Maisy and Shannon are worth less than that of any two girls living elsewhere in Canada. There are people who love Maisy and Shannon, and who want them back. (*Ottawa Citizen*, September 2009).

In the above article, Shannon and Maisy are jointly framed as loved and "high-risk" individuals. Whether or not Shannon and Maisy were "smoking crack" on the night they went missing is an irrelevant detail about their disappearance, though it could have significant consequences in the context of the framing effects literature. Recall that the public resonates more with negative news than positive news (Boydstun et al. 2019; Ledgerwood and Boydstun 2014; Wang et al. 2022; Soroka and McAdams 2015; Soroka et al. 2019) and that frequent exposure to a frame increases its framing effects. As discussed in the previous section, at the time of Shannon and Maisy's disappearance in 2008, the public was exposed to the high-risk frame more than the loved frame (see Figure 5.1). When understood in the context of the media framing effects literature, it is likely that the public would have resonated more with the negative and frequent use of the high-risk frame than the positive and infrequent use of the loved frame. Given that the media have a significant role in shaping public and institutional responses to missing persons cases (Gilchrist 2019; Lam and Kop 2020), it is plausible that framing Maisy and Shannon as engaging in high-risk behaviour alongside the loved frame has had consequences regarding the public desire to locate Shannon and Maisy, who to this day have not been located. Shannon Alexander is remembered as "a very outgoing person who loved to stay physically fit and was looking forward to nursing school" and Maisy Odjick's mother noted how she was as an average teenage girl who "gossiped about boys and socialized at the popular local hangouts" (*Canadian Broadcasting Corporation*, 2016)

Further, although Indigenous girls under the age of 9 were not framed more positively than other age groups, they do account for much of the other variations in framing amongst age

groups. For example, as Figure 5.2 demonstrates, the volume of the systemic frame in news stories about the deaths and disappearances of Indigenous girls under the age of 9 is the greatest, with the results of my regression analysis confirming this is significant (Appendix G). Most often, the systemic frame was used in news stories about Indigenous girls under the age of 9, though their deaths were used as an example in the coverage of systemic issues around Child Welfare Services, rather than the coverage being substantively about them. News articles would explain how Indigenous girls are "victim[s] of a broken system" (*Edmonton Sun*, November 2016) that "doesn't support the foster parents…doesn't support the families…[and] doesn't support the social workers" (*Vancouver Sun*, October 2005).

Figure 5.2: Volume of Frames in Newspaper Coverage by Age Groups

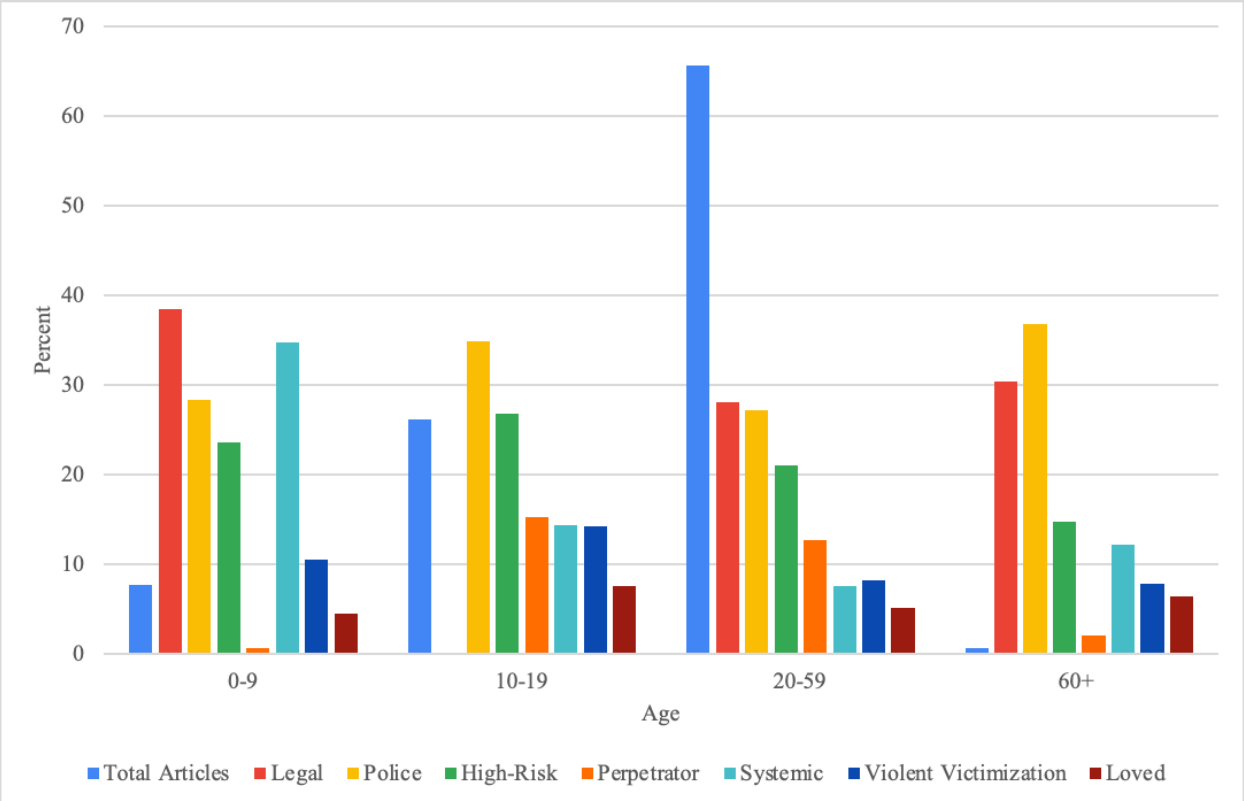

Figure Caption: This figure shows the volume of frames in news coverage of MMIWG2S+ between age groups, relative to the total number of news articles within each age category. For example, approximately 25 percent of all news stories I collected were written about those aged 10-19. Of those articles, 35 percent contained the legal frame. The total percent of frames for each age group can exceed 100, as multiple frames can exist within a single news article.

The most noteworthy pattern in the coverage - though arguably the most troubling - is that a significant amount of news stories about Indigenous girls under the age of 9 contained the violent victimizations frame ($\beta = 0.043$ $p = <0.00$). Newspapers are more likely to recount the violence that Indigenous girls experience in a dehumanizing and sensational way compared to other age groups, as outlined in one news article that described the "numerous injuries on [an] undersized, 27-pound child - including a fractured skull, lacerated liver, bruised ribs and 13 fresh deep bite marks all over [her] body" (*Winnipeg Free Press,* July 2009). Similarly, the coverage of one four-year-old girl focused on how her "body was covered in deep, deep bruises, including in her anal and genital areas" (*Edmonton Journal*, March 2017), and the coverage of a three-year-old's injuries were described detail noting that she had a "fractured skull, lacerated liver, broken ribs, a spinal injury, numerous bruises throughout her body and several human bite marks" (*Winnipeg Free Press*, February 2012). The death and murder of children is inherently senseless and shocking, and by extension newsworthy. Perhaps the overwhelming focus on the details of this senselessness accounts for this pattern in the coverage. However, when this is understood in the context of the findings mentioned earlier, that there is not a significant number of personal details in news stories about Indigenous girls under the age of 9, the results of my analysis suggest that Indigenous girls themselves are not intrinsically newsworthy, it is the violence they experience that is newsworthy.

These findings are reminiscent of the testimony that Anishinaabe journalist Jesse Wente gave for the National Inquiry, recounting the violent - and often sexualized - ways in which Indigenous girls are murdered implies that they are more mature or sexually available compared to their non-Indigenous counterparts (Reclaiming Power and Place 2019). For example, in the coverage I examined, one news article noted that a four-year old girl's "hymen was gone"

(*Winnipeg Sun*, November 2016). Another described the "injuries to [her] anus and genitals" (*Calgary Herald,* November 2016). A three-year old's "skin-breaking bite just above her vagina" was detailed in another news article (*Winnipeg Free Press*, February 2012). This type of framing is also consistent with what Greer (2007) found in their analysis of news media framing of crime victims: sexual violence against children is considered more newsworthy than other types of crimes. Similarly, as mentioned in the previous chapter, the violent victimization frame is akin to "trauma porn": the media excessively showing a marginalized group's pain and trauma. In effect, news media coverage of Indigenous girls uses the sexual violence they experience as a plot point, rather than as a part of telling a more holistic story (Reclaiming Power and Place 2019). More broadly, this type of framing is indicative of the Canadian's state's apathy towards Indigenous children, as demonstrated in its past and current policies, such as residential schools, the 60s scoop, birth alerts, and the current overrepresentation of Indigenous children in Child Welfare Services. Indigenous girls are not afforded innocence in life or in the newspaper coverage of their deaths.

Taken together, the results of my analysis demonstrate that Indigenous girls under the age of 9 account for much of the variations in framing between age groups. However, unlike what I had anticipated, Indigenous girls and adults over the age of 60 were not framed more positively when compared to other age groups. In fact, Indigenous girls under the age of 9 were the most likely to have the violence they experience framed in a gruesome and sensationalized way or used as a plot point in news stories about systemic issues in Child Welfare Services. In effect, Indigenous girls under the age of 9 were not themselves newsworthy. These findings are further discouraging for Indigenous adults affected by the MMIWG2S+ genocide. Even the most "innocent" victims in this tragedy are not deemed newsworthy.

How are Indigenous Women, Girls, and Two-Spirit People Framed Based on the Type of Crime Committed Against Them?

Previous research shows that there are substantial differences in the amount of coverage that victims of gender-based violence receive based on the type of crime committed against them, with more "routine" offences like domestic violence being "less likely to be opinion dominated, be emotional, and begin with a 'hook'" (Taylor and Sorenson 2008, 121) and more severe or rare offences like serial killings framed more sensationally (Eliasson-Nannini and Sommerlad-Rogers 2014; Gekowski et al. 2012; Wong and Harraway 2020). Broadly, the results of my analysis are not consistent with the literature. Further, although my analysis shows that there are some significant differences in framing, there is also a large degree of consistency in how Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people are framed regardless of the type of crime committed against them.

For example, regardless of the type of crime committed against Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people, I found that the violent victimization frame was present in a significant amount of news stories about their deaths and disappearances, except for those who died of suspicious circumstances, those who were murdered by police or while in police custody, unsolved cases, and missing individuals (Appendix G). Recall that the violent victimization frame emphasizes the gruesome details of the violence that Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people experience. It is therefore unsurprising that news stories about the types of crime listed above - which are either unsolved or are not particularly gruesome in nature - would not contain the violent victimization frame. Likewise, individuals who died in foster care, suspiciously, or because of medical racism were significantly less likely than others to be covered using the police frame (Appendix G). It makes sense that the police frame - which

overemphasizes police investigations and practices - would not be used significantly in news stories about these deaths. It is nevertheless interesting that news stories for every other type of victim significantly included a frame that often glorifies and idolizes police, making it seem like they are doing a good job investigating their deaths and disappearances.

Similarly, all missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people, except for children who died in foster care, unsolved cases, and individuals who died because of medical racism, were covered with the high-risk frame (see Appendix G). What is particularly troubling about this finding is that individuals who died as a result of intimate partner violence or by a family member were not less likely to be framed as high-risk individuals compared to other victims of crime. Unlike some existing research which has found that domestic violence narratives in news media are becoming more thematic in nature (Gillespie et al. 2013; Ryan et al. 2006) my analysis suggests Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people are both implicitly or explicitly blamed for the intimate partner or family violence they experience. For example, a news article about a domestic violence murder trial referred to the victim as "a sex-trade worker" and noted that her boyfriend "wanted her to stop using drugs and escorting" and that "something happened to create this very violent outburst" because there "was no evidence he'd been violent to [her] before her death" (*Chatham Daily News*, September 2013). In this article, the victim is not only blamed for the violence they experienced but is also framed as less deserving of sympathy because she was a sex worker.

One notable difference in how missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people were framed based on the type of crime committed against them is that news stories about missing individuals were more likely to contain the loved frame compared to all other victims of violence (Appendix G). There are more positive and personal details in news coverage

about missing individuals than those who were murdered. However, like the discussion earlier around the coverage of Shannon Alexander and Maisy Odjick jointly framing them as loved and high-risk individuals, the frequency of the high-risk frame in coverage about missing was also significant ($\beta = 0.04$, $p = 0.00$). For example, one news article quoted a missing individual's mother that "I believe that her spirit is still alive although physically I don't know where she is" while subsequently noting that "she was so drunk she was falling all over" the night she disappeared (*Leader Post*, January 2006). Framing missing individuals as high-risk, regardless of whether or not they are also framed as loved individuals, signals to the public that Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people "choose" to go missing because they were partying, engaging in "high risk" behaviour, or are runaways (McKenzie 2008). As discussed earlier, because the public is more susceptible to negative frames **(**Boydstun et al. 2019; Ledgerwood and Boydstun 2014; Wang et al. 2022), it is likely that the Canadian public would be more susceptible to the high-risk frame compared to the loved framed when the two simultaneously exist in news stories about missing individuals.

Further, Indigenous girls who died while in foster care and those who died because of medical racism were the only individuals to have a significant negative effect on the probability of the loved frame occurring in the coverage when compared to other murder victims ($\beta = -0.02$ $p = 0.01$; $\beta = -0.08$; $p = < 0.00$). These results provide further context to the discussion earlier in this chapter about the death of Joyce Echaquan. As noted earlier, news coverage surrounding Joyce Echaquan's death focused on larger systemic issues in Canada's health system, but there were very few positive or personal details in news media about her case beyond the fact that she was a mother of seven, her age, and the community she is from. In the coverage I examined, news stories about Joyce Echaquan fall short in telling the public who she was and how her

friends and family will remember her. These findings are also consistent with the results discussed earlier in this chapter which found that Indigenous girls aged 0-9 have a negative probability on the loved frame occurring. Like all Indigenous girls aged 0-9, Indigenous girls who die in foster have few positive or personal details about them.

Similar to the coverage of Indigenous girls aged 0-9 mentioned earlier in this chapter, girls who died in foster care were the only group to have a significant positive effect on the systemic frame occurring in the coverage compared to all other types of crime ($\beta = 0.02$, $p = > 0.00$). In some of the coverage I examined, the systemic frame was used to contextualize these cases within the larger overrepresentation of Indigenous children in foster care. However, most often these cases were used as a way to advance political debates around this overrepresentation. For example, one news article wrote "the ministry is only now recovering from the B.C. Liberal government's initial two years in office, when they cut services by 11 percent and eliminated the independent children's commission" (*100 Mile House Free Press,* April 2008). Another article said:

> While in Opposition, the Liberals were loudly critical of the NDP's performance on child protection. They denounced a series of ministers on an almost casual basis, calling for resignations at the slightest suggestion of any missteps by social workers. Children were either being forced into care needlessly, or weren't being taken into care fast enough - the Liberals argued both sides of the fence on any given day (*Coquitlam Now*, September 2005).

It is in some ways encouraging that the media are responsive to the overrepresentation of Indigenous children in the foster care system by framing these stories systemically, though it is equally as disheartening that it takes the death of a child for news media to focus on this important issue, particularly when it comes at the expense of the inherent newsworthiness of Indigenous children themselves.

Taken together my analysis shows that there are some significant differences in how Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people are framed in news media depending on the type of crime committed against them, most notably for individuals who are murdered by a serial killer, missing individuals, and children who died in the foster care system. Beyond this, I found that there is a large degree of consistency in how Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people are framed for other types of crime and in some cases for all crime types.

Does region affect how missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people are framed?

Research on gender-based violence and Indigenous issues more broadly have found that there are important regional differences in how victims of crime are framed (Drache et al. 2016; Slakoff and Fradella 2019; Wallace 2019). More broadly, frames are tied to both spatial and cultural proximity (Greer 2004). As such, we would expect to see variations in the frequency of framing based on the number of cases and public opinion/awareness in each region. I anticipate that the frequency of positive framing, namely the loved and systemic frames, will be highest in regions with a greater number of cases and/or positive public opinion of the issue. In particular, Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people who went missing or were murdered in British Columbia, which has both the greatest number of cases and positive public opinion and awareness of the issue, should be framed the most positively. Conversely, I anticipate that there will be less positive framing of missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people in regions with lower public opinion and regions with fewer cases. However, the results of my analysis indicate that although there are some regional differences in framing, these differences are more significant *within* regions rather than *between* them. Put differently, regional differences in how missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit

people are framed is not entirely reflective of public opinion and the number of cases within each region.

Before discussing some of the differences in how Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people were framed based on their location, it is important to note that there is a marked degree of consistency in the frequency of negative frames among all regions, regardless of the number of cases and public opinion. For example, there were no significant differences in the likelihood that news stories about missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people would contain the high-risk frame across regions (Appendix G). Missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people were equally as likely to be framed as "high-risk individuals" regardless of their location. Despite public opinion polling which suggests attitudes about missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people are more positive in some provinces and territories than others (Environics 2016; Nanos 2023), this finding suggests that newspaper coverage of the issue might not mirror regional public opinion. In addition to the high-risk frame, there were no significant differences among regions regarding the frequency of the violent victimization and perpetrator frames, with the exception of news stories in Alberta ($\beta = 0.06$, $p = < 0.00$; $\beta = 0.04$, $p = 0.00$).

It is unsurprising that news stories in Alberta were significantly likely to contain the violent victimization and perpetrators frames when compared to provinces with higher public opinion and awareness of the issue; however, this finding raises important questions. Why were news stories in Alberta more likely to contain these negative frames compared to provinces with similar negative public opinion and low awareness of the issue? It is plausible that news stories in Alberta were more likely to contain the perpetrator and violent victimization frames compared to other regions with similar public opinion because of the number of serial killer victims from

Alberta (see Table 5.1). Recall that the perpetrator frame overemphasizes details about the perpetrators of violence and the violent victimization frame reduces Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people to the violence they experience. Given the gruesome and shocking nature of serial killings, it is of course unsurprising that news media in Alberta would focus on these issues. However, when understood in the context of my findings in Chapter 3 - that Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people themselves were not more likely to receive coverage from Alberta - it appears that they themselves are not newsworthy, rather it is the shocking and gruesome nature of their deaths by serial killers that are.

Table 5.1: Serial Killer Victims in Regions with Negative Public Opinion

Province	Number of Serial Killer Victims
Alberta	10
Manitoba	7
Saskatchewan	3
Quebec	0

In addition, news stories about missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people from Quebec, another province with negative public opinion of the issue, were also significantly more likely to contain the police, legal, and systemic frames occurring compared to other regions with similar and dissimilar public opinion and cases, with the exception of New Brunswick while will be discussed later in this section(Appendix G). When examining news coverage in Quebec, two cases help to contextualize these findings: the cases of Shannon Alexander and Maisy Odjick and the death of Joyce Echaquan, both discussed earlier in this chapter. Given the nature of Joyce Echaquan’s death and the subsequent coroner's inquiry into her murder, it is unsurprising that the frequency of the systemic and legal frames was significant

in Quebec. Likewise, newspaper coverage of the disappearance of Shannon Alexander and Maisy Odjick which overwhelmingly focused on their families' criticism of the initial police response to classify them as runaways, helps to explain the frequency of the police and loved frames. For example, one news article quoted Maisy Odjick's mother who "was never interviewed by police…never asked to take a lie-detector test. Nothing happened. Nothing was done right for [her] daughter." (*Toronto Star,* January 2012). Another news article quoted Shannon Alexander's father: "why has it taken so long to get any attention regarding Canada's missing women?" (*The Hamilton Spectator,* January 2012).

There were also some notable differences in how individuals were framed amongst the Eastern provinces, Ontario and British Columbia, all of which have positive public opinion of the issue, though as shown in Table 5.2, a vastly different number of cases. For example, news stories about missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people in New Brunswick were significantly more likely to contain the police, legal, and systemic frames compared to provinces with comparable public opinion (Appendix G) For example, as Figure 5.3 indicates, 69 percent of news coverage in New Brunswick contained the police frame compared to 20 percent in British Columbia and 38 percent in Ontario.

Table 5.2 Number of MMIWG2+ Cases in Regions with Positive Public Opinion

Province or Territory	Number of Cases
British Columbia	465
New Brunswick	11
Newfoundland	32
Nova Scotia	17
Northwest Territories	31
Nunavut	59
Ontario	253
Prince Edward Island	2
Yukon	15

Figure 5.3: Volume of Frames in Coverage in Regions with Positive Public Opinion

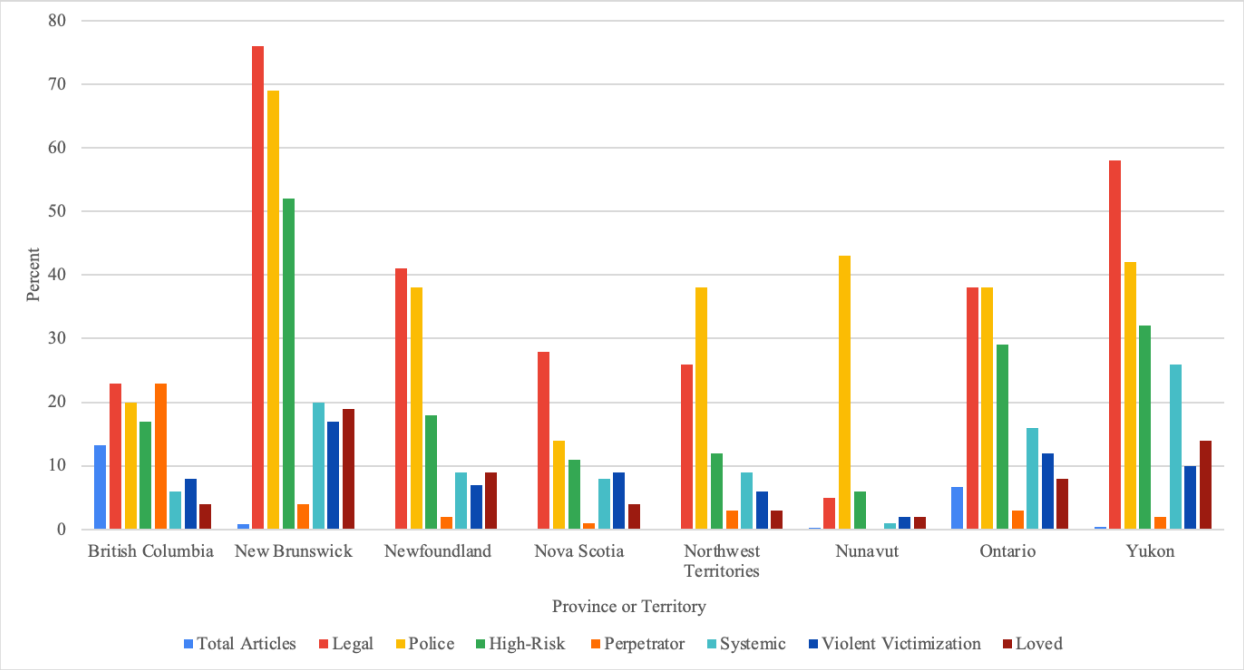

Figure Caption: This figure shows the volume of frames in news coverage of MMIWG2S+ between provinces with positive perceptions and/or awareness about MMIWG2S+, relative to the total number of articles within each province. For example, 76 percent of news stories about missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people in New Brunswick contained the legal frame. The total percent of frames for each province can exceed 100, as multiple frames can exist within a single news article.

News coverage about the death of Chantel Moore helps to explain some of the patterns in the coverage in New Brunswick. Chantel Moore, a mother from Tla-o-qui-aht First Nation, moved to New Brunswick to be closer to her six-year-old daughter when she was killed during a wellness check by Constable Jeremy Sun of the Edmundston Police. Chantal's mother remembers that "she made friends everywhere she went. She was very loving and would go the extra mile for friends and family" (*Aboriginal Peoples Television Network*, May 2022). Her death sparked a national outrage and conversation about the larger systemic issue of "the use of deadly force by Canadian police forces against Indigenous Peoples" (*Toronto Star*, March 2021). In some ways, the thematic framing of Chantel Moore's death is positive because it shifts the blame of the MMIWG2S+ genocide from the individual to larger systemic issues. It is also noteworthy even though Chantel Moore died as a result of excessive use of police force, her death received a

significant amount coverage and was framed thematically. As discussed in Chapter 3, the results of my analysis confirmed that individuals who died as a result of police or while in police custody were significantly less likely to receive coverage compared to other types of crimes. Recall that I argued that this finding could be in part due to the media's reliance on police as news sources in the coverage of victims of crime (Chermak 1995; Ericson 1989; Gerrits 2019; Surette 2007). Contrary to this, the framing of Chantal Moore's death suggests that in some cases, the media does discuss the death of Indigenous women who died as a result police in both a thematic and sustained way. These findings are encouraging when paired with the finding discussed earlier in this chapter, that the way the systemic frame was used during the time period that Chantal Moore died changed to focus more on how systemic issues are a direct cause of violence.

It is important to highlight that there the frequency of the loved frame was also significant in Quebec and New Brunswick ($\beta = 0.03$, $p = <0.00$; $\beta = 0.08$, $p = < 0.00$). In the cases of Chantal Moore, Shannon Alexander and Maisy Odjick, their families were often quoted in news articles about the disappearance and murder of their loved ones or were directly interviewed as a part of a news story. As discussed in the previous chapter, it is self-evident that the loved frame - which necessarily entails the perspectives of families, communities and friends - would be present in more of the coverage when families speak to media or are quoted in media, highlighting the importance of Shah's 2021 thesis regarding families as expert media sources.

More broadly, the discussion around the news coverage of missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people in New Brunswick and Quebec point to an overall pattern: the differences in the quantity of coverage and framing are indicative of individual provinces - and notably individual cases within those provinces - rather than

characteristic of regions as a whole or public opinion. Taken together, the results of my analysis indicate that although there are some differences in how Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people are framed, these differences are more significant *within* regions rather than *between* them. Regional differences in newspaper framing do not appear to mirror regional variations in spatial and cultural proximity to this issue.

Chapter Conclusion and Summary of Findings

Building on the MMIWG2S+ media framing dictionary in Chapter 4, I sought to better understand the patterns and variations in newspaper framing of missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people. To so, I assessed the frequency of the frames in the MMIWG2S+ media framing dictionary across time and space and among Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people, accounting for their age and type of crime committed against them. The analysis I conducted in this chapter presented compelling evidence that sheds light into the notion of the media as a mirror and the newsworthiness of missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people.

In some ways, the results of my analysis suggest that the media are responsive to the political and social environment regarding missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people, as demonstrated by the focus on the National Inquiry in 2010-2019 and the increased frequency of the loved frame from 2000 onwards. Although the media's coverage of the National Inquiry is in some ways positive, it was not matched with personal and positive details of missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people and even though the frequency loved frame increased over time, so too did the violent victimization frame. Notably, the frequency of the high-risk frame did not significantly decrease over time, despite

public polling which suggests that opinions and awareness of the MMIWG2S+ genocide are increasing. My analysis also confirmed that although there are some regional differences in both the quantity of coverage and framing, these differences are more significant *within* regions rather than *between* them and are largely a result of individual cases within regions. In this regard, the media does not seem to mirror regional public opinion of the issue.

Further, unlike existing research about non-Indigenous victims of crime, I found that Indigenous girls aged 0-9 and those over the age of 60 actually have the fewest positive and personal details in news stories about their deaths and disappearances. Moreover, Indigenous girls under the age of 9 are the most likely to have the violence they experience framed in a gruesome and sensationalized way, suggesting that Indigenous girls aged 0-9 are not themselves newsworthy, it is the violence they experience that is. In addition, the results of my analysis confirm some crime types, namely serial killings, medical racism, and institutional neglect in Child and Family Services, have a significant effect on how victims are framed. Beyond these types of crimes, my analysis points to a large degree of consistency in how Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people are framed based on crime type.

Taken together, these findings demonstrate that although there are some differences in how Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people are framed in news stories about their deaths and disappearances, these differences do little to invoke public sympathy. Regardless of age, crime type, region, or time, Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people are not framed in a sustained or meaningful way that fosters the public's desire to enact meaningful change. What is particularly troubling about these findings is that it suggests that *all* Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people are undeserving of coverage - regardless of personal characteristics that make non-Indigenous women and girls valued by the public and in news media. Put

differently, it is their Indigeneity that enables public, institutional, and media apathy, illustrating the deep and violent colonial foundations of Canada, and *this* is largely what is reflected in our news media.

Chapter 6

CONCLUSION

News media play an important role in telling the public what and how to think about the issue of MMIWG2S+; how much coverage missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people receive and how they are framed has important consequences in attributing the causes and solutions to this violence. As such, this dissertation set out to answer two key questions about newspaper coverage of this issue:

1) How much coverage do missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people receive in newspapers? How are news stories about missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people framed, both in terms of their deaths and disappearances and as individuals themselves?
2) What explains patterns and variations in both the quantity of coverage and framing of missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people in newspapers?

To answer these questions, I performed a quantitative and qualitative analysis of newspaper coverage of 978 missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls, examining a total of 50,154 news articles in a range of 310 English local, regional, and national newspapers from 1960 onwards across all regions in Canada. Using this data I assessed patterns in the quantity of coverage and created a MMIWG2S+ media framing dictionary with seven distinct frames: legal, police, high-risk, perpetrator, systemic, violent victimization, and loved. The answers to these research questions are multifaceted and complex, but returning to one of the dissertation's central motivating probes helps make sense of them: news coverage of Tina Fontaine and Darcie Muchikekwanape – two remarkably similar cases received vastly different amounts of coverage

and were framed differently. Why did Tina Fontaine receive a significant amount of coverage and the violence she experienced was primarily framed in the context of larger structural and systemic inequalities yet Darcie Muchikekwanape received almost no coverage at all and was framed as leading a high-risk lifestyle?

As discussed throughout the dissertation, existing research points to region and time-period as important factors in predicting the amount of coverage crime victims receive and how they are framed (Fairbairn and Dawson 2013; Slakoff and Fradella 2019). Regional and temporal patters in the quantity of coverage and framing are tied to cultural and spatial proximity (Greer 2007). However, the results of my analysis demonstrate that there are few differences in the quantity of coverage between regions and time periods. Indeed, during the height of the National Inquiry, arguably the largest increase in both the political response to and public opinion of this issue, missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people were not more likely to receive coverage or have more articles written about them compared to earlier time periods. Similarly, regions with positive public opinion of the issue and a large number of a cases were overall not more likely to cover this issue. In this sense, the media does not seem to be responsive to public opinion, despite large and regional shifts in the political response to this issue and some public polling which suggests that awareness of and perceptions about MMIWG2S+ are increasing.

With these findings in mind, the amount of coverage that Tina Fontaine received is even more perplexing because both girls were murdered only a few years a part in the same province. Perhaps the reason why Tina Fontaine received more coverage than Darcie Muchikekwanape is because she was murdered the year before the National Inquiry commenced whereas Darcie was murdered in 2018, three years into the Inquiry's process. As the issue of MMIWG2S+ was

relatively new to the public when Tina Fontaine was murdered, it is possible that Darcie Muchikekwanape received less coverage because as the public became more aware about the issue of MMIWG2S+, the deaths and disappearances of Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people became more "commonplace" and thus less newsworthy.

Unlike the amount of coverage, over time, Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people were more likely to be framed positively. From 2000 onwards, there was a significant increase in the volume of the loved frame, which portrays Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people as loved and valued individuals. In this sense, the media does appear to mirror increased public opinion of the issue. Though, at the same time, I found that the increase in positive framing was not matched with a decrease in negative framing. The volume of the high-risk frame, which blames Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people did not significantly decrease over time. Similarly, the volume of the systemic frame, which connects the violence Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people experience to larger issues like colonialism and racism, did not significantly increase.

However, as discussed in Chapter 5, the ways in which the systemic frame was used did change during the time period of 2010-2019 as indicated by more of the coverage focusing specifically on the National Inquiry. Perhaps the violence that Darcie Muchikekwanape experienced was not framed systemically because she was murdered after the National Inquiry had already launched whereas Tina Fontaine's murder and subsequent trial occurred as the Inquiry was being launched. This notion is supported by my analysis which found that although Tina Fontaine's murder was framed systemically, she herself was a plot point in discussions about the National Inquiry more broadly.

Beyond region and time period, existing research has found that age and crime type are significant factors in determining the amount of coverage and framing of victims of crime (Chermak 1995; Christie 1986; Gekowski et al. 2012; Gruenewald et al. 2011; Jeanis and Power 2017; Soothill et al. 2002). Consistent with this research, this project demonstrates that there are significant differences in the amount of coverage between age groups and for different types of crimes. Indigenous girls aged 0-9 and adults over the age of 60 were the most likely to receive coverage, and Indigenous girls aged 0-9 and those aged 10-19 had the most and longest news articles written about their cases. Indigenous girls of all ages who died while in the care of Child and Family Services were also significantly more likely to receive coverage than every other missing or murdered Indigenous woman, girl, and Two-Spirit person. Victims of serial killers and those who died as a result of medical racism also received a significant amount of coverage.

As both girls were aged 15 when they were murdered while in the care of Child and Family Services, the results of my analysis and previous studies on this topic would suggest that both Tina Fontaine and Darcie Muchikekwanape should be considered "newsworthy" victims of violence, so the question remains: what explanations variations in the amount of coverage and framing between them? The framing analysis I conducted in Chapter 4 helps account for this. The two most commonly occurring frames I uncovered, the legal frame which emphasizes details about murder trials and the perpetrators of violence, and the police frame which focuses on police investigations, help to explain the quantity of coverage that Tina Fontaine received. Unlike Darcie Muchikekwanape, Tina Fontaine's case went to trial where the accused was acquitted for her murder. The police also employed a lengthy "Mr. Big" sting operation to obtain a confession from the perpetrator accused of murdering Tina Fontaine, whereas the accused in the Darcie Muchikekwanape murder were quickly arrested without a drawn-out police

investigation. These findings suggest that Tina Fontaine herself was not necessarily considered more newsworthy than Darcie Muchikekwanape, rather the way in which she died and the circumstances surrounding her murder were considered newsworthy. Indeed, Tina Fontaine herself was largely absent in news media coverage. There were few positive and personal details about her. Instead, details about Tina herself were most often in relation to her body that was found in the Red River, highlighting the violent victimization frame I uncovered. This type of framing also highlights one of the central findings of the content analysis: how Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people are framed in news media suggests that they themselves that are newsworthy, rather it is the gruesome details of the violence they experience that is.

Taken together, although Tina Fontaine received more coverage than Darcie Muchikekwanape, news stories about her murder were not substantially about her. Tina Fontaine's great-aunt noted that she does not have any "favourite memories" of Tina because "they're all favourite of mine, everything about her" (Canadian Broadcasting Corporation 2015) - yet these memories that her great-aunt remembers so fondly are not portrayed in news media coverage. Instead, Tina Fontaine herself was a detail in broader news stories about the police investigation and trial into her murder, the National Inquiry, or was reduced to the violence she experienced. None of this is to say that Tina Fontaine did not deserve sustained coverage - she did - but so do the 774 individuals in this study's MMIWG2S+ database that received no coverage at all. Further, Tina Fontaine, like all missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people, also deserved better coverage that tells a more fulsome account of their lives. Tina Fontaine and Darcy Lynelle Hayden Muchikekwanape lives mattered. Just like Tina Fontaine, Darcy Muchikekwanape is remembered by her father as a "very smart, beautiful, and witty young woman, who cared very much for her family" (Petz 2015).

The juxtaposition in the amount of coverage that Tina Fontaine and Darcie Muchikekwanape received and how they were framed suggests that the news media does not view either of them as inherently newsworthy and helps to contextualize the dissertation's key findings: Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people either receive minimal or no news coverage and when they do receive coverage, they are not active agents in news stories about their own deaths and disappearances. News coverage about missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people is not substantively about the victims of violence.

Implications of Research

The implications of my dissertation are clear: the absence of sustained news media coverage and positive framing of missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people is not conducive for the necessary social and political change needed to redress the violence that they experience. The overwhelming focus on murder trials and police investigations in newspaper coverage of missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people not only ignores well-documented issues of police racism (Palmater 2016; Reclaiming Power and Place 2019) and the unequal sentencing of perpetrators of violence when the victim is Indigenous (Palmater 2016; Statistics Canada 2013), but it enables the public to remove themselves as a part of the solution to the issue of MMIWG2S+. The public do not see themselves as having a role to play when they are made to believe that the police and justice system are adequately addressing the issue.

Similarly, the overwhelming lack of media coverage that most Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people receive, alongside the media's intense focus on specific cases like serial killings and Indigenous girls who die in Child Welfare Services, ignores both the routine nature of violence against Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people, and the continued

pervasiveness of the MMIWG2S+ genocide. This is not to say that victims of serial killers and those who died in Child and Family Services should not receive sustained coverage - they absolutely should and probably will continue to. Serial killings and the death of any child are of course shocking and newsworthy events that the media will cover, but substantially reporting on these types of cases without sustained coverage of others paints a picture that the deaths and disappearances of Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people are few and far between. The public cannot see reality of the MMIWG2S+ genocide when only a few missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people garner sustained media coverage.

This is made worse by the gruesome ways Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people themselves are discussed in news media coverage. Reducing Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people to their body parts and the violence they experience quite literally dehumanizes them. Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people are not portrayed as full human beings in newspapers. If the public do not see Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people as full human beings whose lives and deaths matter, is difficult for non-Indigenous Canadians to grieve alongside the families of missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people and be compelled to advocate for social and political change. Further, blaming Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people for the violence they experience vis-à-vis the high-risk frame, without connecting it to its systemic and structural causes, continues to purport the narrative that these are individual crimes as a result of individual lifestyle choices. Even when the issue of MMIWG2S+ is framed systematically in news media, it is done so at the expense of telling a more fulsome account of the lives of Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people.

If the media are a mirror that reflects public opinion and values (Tolley 2016), media coverage and framing of missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people is both a reflection of and reinforces the public's apathy towards missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people. The limited attention to missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people and how they are discussed in news media tells us something about ourselves as a collective society: it is a reflection of how we view them and demonstrates our unwillingness to meaningfully address the MMIWG2S+ genocide. In effect, news media coverage of this issue is more representative of the Canadian public than it is of Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people.

More broadly, the frames I uncovered in this dissertation raise an important question: what should the media's role be in reporting on missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people? How should the media frame this issue? Indeed, my criticism of the high-risk frame throughout the dissertation is not a criticism of sex-work or addiction, rather it is a criticism of how these issues only partially present the lives of Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people and blame them for the violence they experience. News media coverage of missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people can and should mention these issues, but important questions remain as to how: how can we discuss these complex issues in the public domain in a way that does not fail to report substantively the lived experiences of Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people but also does not partially present them? Put differently, "is it better to report on [Indigenous] women's experiences without providing the historical context of colonization than to not report at all? And if we ignore their experiences, how can we expect to create change?" (King 2010). Further, how can we discuss larger systemic issues, like colonialism and racism, without overshadowing the lives of those who are affected

by the MMIWG2S+ genocide? Perhaps what these questions reveal is that the current way news is reported in mainstream newspapers, and more importantly who and what is considered newsworthy based on news values, is not an adequate medium for this issue. Can and should mainstream news media actually fulfill the role of telling the stories and lives of missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people?

Areas for Future Research

This dissertation principally sought to identify and explain patterns in the quantity and framing of news media coverage of missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people, yet, upon its conclusion, like most research projects, I am left with more questions than answers that point to several areas of future research.

Applications of the MMIWG2S+ Media Framing Dictionary

The MMIWG2S+ media framing dictionary I created in this study can facilitate a number of different areas for research on media representation of missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people. For example, the MMIWG2S+ media framing dictionary could be used to better understand how and why different frames in news media coverage about missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people resonate with non-Indigenous Canadians. This is a worthwhile area of research because how non-Indigenous Canadians' form their opinions about MMIWG2S+, and consequently the level of pressure they put on the government to redress this violence, is in large part due to mainstream media (Stolen Sisters 2004). Non-Indigenous Canadians need to be able to identify and resonate with frames about missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people that facilitate social and political change. Future studies on media representation of missing and murdered Indigenous

women, girls, and Two-Spirit people could also build upon the MMIWG2S+ media framing dictionary over time. As mentioned throughout the dissertation, because frames are politically and socially situated, the frames I uncovered through the content analysis may not encompass the future media landscape. We might expect to see different frames emerge if public opinion and awareness of the issue substantially increases or decreases.

Understanding Who Counts as Expert Media Sources

As indicated throughout the dissertation, family and community perspectives matter in news media representation of missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people. Indeed, it was only through their perspectives that the positive and personal details of Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people were included in news stories about their deaths and disappearances. Yet, previous research has indicated that news media coverage of gender-based violence tends to favour police as expert sources (Gerrits 2019), and specifically in the case of news stories about missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people news media does not view family members as expert sources (Shah 2021). However, questions persist if families of missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people are not routinely used as expert sources because journalists perceived them as uncredible or because they were not available for immediate comment. Future research on this topic should seek to better ascertain why and how journalists determine who is an "expert" source in news media coverage of missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people and what hinders them from viewing families as expert sources. This research should also seek to explore what role the news media can play in mitigating the well-documented barriers that families have had in connecting with media about their loved ones' cases (Reclaiming Power and Place 2019).

Comparison of Mainstream and Indigenous News Sources

Another area of future research on this topic is to compare mainstream and Indigenous news sources to broaden our understanding if media ownership and journalistic constraints influence both the quantity of coverage and framing of missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people. Our current understanding of the quantity and framing of missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people is mostly limited to *mainstream* news media, that is largely owned and comprised of white, cisgender, heteronormative, men. Strega et al.'s 2014 discourse analysis of sex-workers and Drache et al.'s 2016 content analysis of news coverage of Indigenous issues are the only media analysis to include Indigenous news sources in its dataset. Given that how much attention an issue receives and how it frames is largely shaped by internal factors, such as journalistic constraints and media ownership (Harcup 2004; Lau 2004; Tolley 2016), it is conceivable that the quantity and framing of missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people would be significantly different in Indigenous media compared to mainstream media. A more robust understanding of the differences between mainstream and Indigenous news media could provide insight into how mainstream media should report on this issue in a way that better centers Indigenous voices and the perspectives of families.

Moving Beyond Colonial News Values to Explain Newsworthiness

This dissertation largely drew upon bodies of literature that are grounded in Eurocentric and heteronormative understandings of news values and newsworthiness to explain the amount of coverage and framing of missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people. Its findings, though important to understanding what the public is being told about this issue, are

thus limited to Eurocentric and heteronormative concepts of newsworthiness and are not indicative of the inherent newsworthiness and value of Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people themselves. Future research would benefit from an anti-colonial approach to understanding news values and newsworthiness that is based in Indigenous ways of understanding and storytelling. As discussed in Chapter 2, some scholars have utilized the concept of presencing (de Finney 2014; Savarese 2017; Simpson 2011) to commemorate and understand the lives and stories of missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people. Additional research on this topic could integrate notions of presencing when conceptualizing news values and newsworthiness in this context.

Concluding Thoughts

As demonstrated throughout the dissertation, news media representation of Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people matters for redressing the violence they experience. However, I want to emphasize that this representation also matters in how they are remembered and honoured. Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people are more than the violence they experience - they are loved, they are missed, and they are sacred - but current news media representations fail in commemorating them as such. It was upsetting, and at times incredibly difficult, for me to read some of the news coverage I collected throughout the dissertation. However my feelings of discomfort served as a profound reminder of the pain families experience when they see how their loved ones are portrayed in media. The underrepresentation and misrepresentation of missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people in media are certainly harmful to their loved ones (Reclaiming Power and Place 2019), but it also does a disservice to the Canadian public at large who are only being told part of the story.

Although the gap between the news coverage I examined for this dissertation and the honest and full stories of the lives - and not just the deaths - of missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls and Two-Spirit people is wide, I am hopeful that it is narrowing. Indeed, despite some of the findings in the dissertation, I think that media narratives about missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people can and will change because I believe that the Canadian public's beliefs and attitudes can change and are changing - albeit slowly. If the media are a mirror, then the way the media are currently portraying Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people is a reflection of the Canadian public. I hope that as their beliefs and attitudes change Canadians will no longer be comfortable and accept the reflection they see of themselves in news media coverage of missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people. Perhaps one day the way the media portrays the deaths and disappearances of Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people will not only be a more truthful representation of them, but also of the Canadian public.

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Appendix A: Timeline of MMIWG2S+ Political Environment

Event	Date
REDress Project	2000- present
Native Women’s Association, Amnesty International Canada, KAIROS, Elizabeth Fry Society, the United Church and the Anglican Church form “National Coalition for our Stolen Sisters”	2002
Amnesty International releases “No More Stolen Sisters” Report	2004
Native Women’s Association (NWAC) begins Sisters in Spirit initiative. This initiative is funded by Status of Women Canada (SWC) to conduct research into violence against Aboriginal women.	2005
Highway of Tears Symposium is held in Prince George, B.C. to raise public awareness and create a call for action regarding the missing and murdered women on the stretch of Highway 16 in B.C. now known as the Highway of Tears (Highway of Tears Symposium Recommendations Report (2006). Highway of Tears Initiative launched as a result of the Symposium.	March 2006
Sisters in Spirit Vigils	Every October 4 from 2006-present
The Ontario Native Women’s Association (NWAC) & the Ontario Federation of Indian Friendship Centers releases “A Strategic Framework to End Violence Against Aboriginal Women”	September 2007
Truth and Reconciliation Commission founding	June 2008
Stephen Harper makes formal apology for Residential Schools in the House of Commons	June 11, 2008
Native Women’s Association of Canada (NWAC) produces “Voices of Our Sisters in Spirit: A Report to Families and Communities” 2nd edition (March 2009) that proves there are over 582 missing and murdered Indigenous women in Canada	2009

At a Press Conference where it was announced that Canada would host the 2010 G20 Summit, Prime Minister Stephen Harper states that Canada has no history of colonialism: "We also have no history of colonialism"	2009
British Columbia Missing Women Commission	September 2010
Native Women's Association of Canada (NWAC) Sisters in Spirit initiative defunded	2010
A joint statement signed by 14 groups is released in support of the Sisters in Spirit Vigils. "A Joint Statement to be read nationwide on October 4th, 2011 as part of Sisters in Spirit Vigils—A Movement for Social Change".	October 4 2011
Assemblies of First Nations releases "Coordinated and Urgent Action to End Violence Against Indigenous Women & Girls – Towards a National Action Plan"	November 1, 2012
Walking with Our Sisters	2012- present
#AmINext?	2014- present
Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP)'s "Missing and Murdered Aboriginal Women: A National Operational Review" identifies a total of 1,181 missing and murdered Indigenous women.	2014
United Nations releases the report: "The Situation of Indigenous Peoples in Canada – Report of the Special Rapporteur on the rights of indigenous peoples, James Anaya, UN Special Envoy"	2014
Legal Strategy Coalition on Violence Against Indigenous Women (LSC) releases "Violence Against Indigenous Women and Girls: A Consolidated Literature Review". It reviews fifty reports containing over 700 recommendations on violence against Indigenous women and girls and reveals that only a few recommendations have been acted on.	2014
In an interview with Peter Mansbridge, then Prime Minister Stephen Harper states that MMIWG are not a government priority: "it isn't really high on our radar, to be honest"	December 17, 2014
Faceless Dolls Project	2012- present
Truth and Reconciliation Commission Call to Action #41 calls for the federal government to launch an inquiry into missing and murdered Indigenous women.	June 2, 2015
Amnesty International publishes a critical summary of the National Roundtable. It puts out a call to the national government to stop the violence against Indigenous women.	March 1, 2015
People's First Gathering on Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women.	February 26-27, 2015

Truth and Reconciliation Commission Report released	December 2015
National Inquiry into MMIWG launched	December 8, 2015
An open letter calls on the federal government for a national and comprehensive inquiry into missing and murdered Indigenous Women and Girls. The letter is **s**igned by: Native Women's Association of Canada (NWAC)**,** Canadian Feminist Alliance for, International Action (FAFIA)**,** Amnesty International**,** Women's Legal Education and Action Fund**,** Kairos	January 15, 2016
The National Roundtable brings together family members of missing and murdered Indigenous women and girls, National Aboriginal Organizations (NAOs) and representatives from the federal, provincial and territorial governments.	February 26, 2016
KAIROS joins other organizations in expressing concern that the draft Terms of Reference (TOR) for the National Inquiry into Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls in Canada fall short.	July 20, 2016
Indigenous Affairs Minister Caroline Bennett releases the names of the Commissioners who will lead the national inquiry into missing and murdered Indigenous women.	August 3 2016
Pauktuutit, the national Inuit women's association release a statement expressing their disappointment in the lack of an Inuit Commissioner on the National Inquiry.	August 3 2016
Native Women's Association of Canada (NWAC) release a press release stating they are disappointed with lack of progress In National Inquiry into MMIWG	October 5 2016
Out of Site, Out of Mind report is released by Amnesty International. It details the myriad effects of large-scale energy projects in northeastern B.C.'s Peace River region, including the influx of temporary workers – a "shadow population" of mostly young men whose presence contributes to the vulnerability of indigenous women and strains social services.	November 3 2016
NWAC Releases Report Card on the National Inquiry into MMIWG	January 5 2016
NWAC releases second Report Card on the National Inquiry into MMIWG.	May 12, 2016
The first departure from the national inquiry is reported when director of communications Michael Hutchinson is terminated.	February 4, 2017
Métis artist Christi Belcourt posts an open letter signed by dozens of advocates and Indigenous people suggesting the national inquiry is in "serious trouble" and expressing concern about the "continued lack of communication that is causing anxiety, frustration, confusion, and disappointment in this long-awaited process.	May 15, 2017

Sudbury police launches its formal public strategy document that responds to its year-long project "*Looking ahead to build the spirit of our women: Learning to live free from violence".*	May 16, 2017
Inquiry community hearing in Whitehorse, Yukon.	May 25, 2017
National Inquiry into the Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls community hearings, Truth Gathering Process begins May 30, 31 and June 1, 2017 at the Kwanlin Dun Cultural Centre in Whitehorse, Yukon Territory	May 30-31 and June 1, 2017
National Inquiry has series of resignations, including that of executive director Michèle Moreau, Buller	July 6, 2017
Commissioner Marilyn Poitras resigns from the commission, saying she was concerned about the direction of the inquiry	July 11, 2017
The four remaining commissioners appear before the House of Commons Aboriginal affairs committee and speak about the logistical challenges they've faced getting the inquiry off the ground, including delays in getting staff hired and offices and equipment up and running	September 21 2017
Inquiry community hearing in Edmonton, Alberta	October 6, 2017
The inquiry announces that lead legal counsel Susan Vella has left "effective immediately," one of a series of resignations and firings throughout the summer and fall	October 7, 2017
National Inquiry Interim Report is released	November 1, 2017
Open letter from families, Survivors and supporters of MMIWG2S+ calling for immediate action to reset the National Inquiry	November 29, 2017
Inquiry community hearing in Thunder Bay, Ontario	December 4, 2017
Chiefs at the Assembly of First Nations pass a resolution calling for an extension to the inquiry and for Buller to resign. Buller maintains she has no plans to step aside.	December 7, 2017
The inquiry confirms that its new executive director, Debbie Reid, has left. The number of people who have left or been fired is now well above 20	January 11 2018
Inquiry community hearing in Yellowknife, Northwest Territories	January 23-25 2018
Inquiry community hearing in Prince George, British Columbia	February 5-7 2018
The inquiry says it has been unable to begin its forensic review of police files due to technological challenges, while several police agencies	February 13, 2018

across the country say they have not been contacted by the inquiry to provide records	
Inquiry community hearing in Moncton, New Brunswick	February 13-14 2018
Inquiry community hearing in Lower Post, British Columbia	February 28-March 2 2018
Inquiry community hearing in Rankin Inlet, Nunavut	February 20-22 2018
The inquiry formally requests a two-year extension	March 6 2018
Inquiry community hearing in Happy Valley-Goose Bay, Newfoundland.	March 7-8 2018
Inquiry community hearing in Montreal, Quebec	March 12-16 2018
Inquiry community hearing in Thompson, Manitoba	March 20-21 2018
Inquiry community hearing in Richmond, British Columbia	April 4-8 2018
NWAC releases their third report card on the National Inquiry into MMIWG	May 7, 2018
Inquiry expert hearing on human rights framework in Quebec City, Quebec	May 14-17, 21, 2018
Inquiry institutional hearing on government services	May 28-June 1 2018
Inquiry expert hearing on racism in Toronto, Ontario.	June 12-14 2018
Inquiry institutional hearing on police policies and practices in Regina, Saskatchewan	June 25-29, 2018
National Inquiry Final Report is released	June 3, 2019
First Anniversary of National Inquiry Final Report	June 3, 2020
Second Anniversary of National Inquiry Final Report	June 3, 2021
The Government of Canada releases its National Action Plan and corresponding Federal Pathway to address the Calls for Justice	June 3, 2021
Third Anniversary of National Inquiry Final Report	June 3, 2022
Fourth Anniversary of the National Inquiry Final Report	June 3, 2023

Appendix B: Public Polling Data Consulted

1. Angus Reid Institute. 2015. Truth and Reconciliation: Canadians see value in process, skeptical about government action.
2. Angus Reid Institute. 2018. Truths of reconciliation: Canadians are deeply divided on how best to address Indigenous issues.
3. Angus Reid Institute. 2023. Canada and the Culture Wars: Majority say legacy of colonialism still a problem, two-in-five disagree.
4. Environics Institute. 2016. Canadian Public Opinion on Aboriginal Peoples: Final Report.
5. Enivrons Institute. 2021. Canadian Public Opinion About Indigenous Peoples and Reconciliation.
6. Innovative Research Group. 2023. Tracking Canadians' Attitudes on Indigenous Issues.
7. Leger. 2019. Online Panel for the Association of Canadian Studies.
8. Nanos. 2023. National Survey for the Native Women's Association of Canada.
9. Nanos. 2020. Views of Canadians on Indigenous Issues. Conducted by Nanos for the Assembly of First Nations.

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Appendix D: Sources Used to Create MMIWG2S+ Database

1. Sovereign Bodies Institute - MMIP Database
2. Canadian Broadcasting Corporation - Missing & Murdered: The Unsolved Cases of Indigenous Women and Girls
3. Aboriginal Peoples Television Network - Taken the Series
4. Aboriginal Alert - Canada's Indigenous Awareness Network
5. Bear Clan Patrol - Facebook Group
6. RCMP - Canada's Missing
7. Maryam Pearce - List of Canada's Missing and Murdered
8. Angela Sterritt - The Legacy of Violence Against Indigenous Women in Canada

Appendix E: Article Count by Newspaper

Publication Title	Number of Articles
100 Mile House Free Press	25
Abbotsford Times	31
Airdrie Echo	7
Akwesasne Notes	23
Alaska Highway News	282
Alberni Valley Times	223
Alberta Sweetgrass	58

Ancaster News	3
Arrow Lakes News	1
Barrie - Advance	15
Beaumont News	26
Bow Valley Crag & Canyon	11
Briarpatch	1
Burnaby Now	8
Calgary Herald	2157
Cambridge Reporter	10
Campbell River Mirror	54
Central Plains Herald-Leader	17
Chatham Daily News	81
Chilliwack Times	47
Chronicle - Herald	134
Cobourg Daily Star	1
Cochrane Times	12
Colborne Chronicle	2
Cold Lake Sun	30
Consort Enterprise	4
Coquitlam Now	267
Country Road Chronicles	6
Courier - Islander	59
Cowichan News Leader	68
Crowsnest Pass Herald	1

CTV National News	205
Daily Bulletin	208
Daily Gleaner	207
Daily Mercury	11
Daily Miner and News	76
Daily News	592
Daily Press	191
Daily Townsman	227
Delta Optimist	3
Devon Dispatch News	25
Drayton Valley Western Review	4
Dundas Star News	1
Eagle Valley News	8
Edmonton Examiner	18
Edmonton Journal	2780
Edson Leader	1
Etobicoke Guardian	1
Evening Guide	2
Examiner	42
Expositor	263
Fairview Post	10
Farm 'n' Friends	8
Fever	33
Financial Post	1

Flamborough Review	1
Fort Erie Post	1
Fort McMurray Today	186
Fort Saskatchewan Record	53
Fox Creek Times	2
Free Press	5
Global News	38
Goderich Signal Star	3
Goldstream Gazette	9
Grand Bend Lakeshore Advance	1
Gravenhurst Banner	2
Grimsby Lincoln News	2
Guardian	2
Hamilton News	27
Hanna Herald	1
Hanover Post	3
Harbour City Star	46
Herald	1
Houston Today	28
Kamloops Daily News	648
Kawartha Lakes This Week	2
Kelowna Capital News	118
Kenora Daily Miner and News	22
Kings County Record	3

Kingston Whig	288
Kitchener - Waterloo Record	44
Lake Cowichan Gazette	4
Lake of the Woods Enterprise	18
Lakes District News	99
Langley Advance	24
Langley Times	14
Leader Post	1513
Lindsay Daily Post	11
Lindsay This Week	1
Lloydminster Meridian Booster	37
Lucknow Sentinel	2
Maple Creek & Southwest Advance Times	2
Maple Ridge, Pitt Meadows Times	34
Melfort Journal	2
Miramichi Leader	126
Mission City Record	45
Mississauga News	9
Montreal Gazette	928
Moose Jaw Times Herald	334
Nanaimo Daily News	433
Nanaimo News Bulletin	41
National Post	1062
Nelson Daily News	67

New Brunswick Telegraph Journal	66
New Hamburg Independent	1
Niagara Falls Review	148
Niagara This Week	24
Nipawin Journal	6
North Bay Nugget	323
North Island Gazette	24
North Island Weekender	1
North Shore News	38
North Thompson Journal	5
Northeast Sun	8
Northern Daily News	4
Northern Journal	23
Northern News	41
Northumberland News	4
Now; Surrey	85
Oak Bay News	5
Omineca Express	85
Orillia Today	2
Packet and Times	73
Parksville - Qualicum News	9
Pembroke Observer	80
Peninsula News Review	4
Penticton Western News	40

Peterborough Examiner	118
Peterborough This Week	11
Petrolia Topic	1
Pincher Creek Echo	10
Ponoka News; Ponoka	3
Prairie Post East	1
Prairie Post West	4
Prince Albert Daily Herald	432
Prince George Citizen	1369
Quesnel Cariboo Observer	45
Raven's Eye	4
Record	16
Record-Gazette	42
Red Deer Express	8
Red River Valley Echo; Altona	1
Regina Sun	152
Revelstoke Times Review	1
Richmond News	22
Rimbey Review	1
Rocky Mountain Outlook	15
Saanich News	7
Saint City News	7
Salmon Arm Observer.	190
Sarnia Observer	211

Saskatchewan Sage	53
Saskatoon Star Phoenix	119
Saskatoon Sun	10
Sault Star	192
Scope Newspaper	5
Seaforth Huron Expositor	2
Selkirk Journal	12
Sherwood Park News	34
Shoreline Beacon	20
Similkameen Spotlight	1
Slave River Journal	2
Smoky Lake Signal	3
Smoky River Express	4
Spruce Grove Examiner	20
St. Thomas Times-Journal	109
Standard - Freeholder	164
Standard; Vermilion	7
Star Phoenix	2631
Stonewall Argus and Teulon Times	3
Strathroy Age Dispatch	5
Sudbury Star	221
Summerland Review	1
Sun Times	72
Sunday Phoenix; Saskatoon, Sask.	21

Sunday Post	22
Telegraph-Journal	219
Terrace Standard	128
The 40 - Mile County Commentator	1
The Agassiz - Harrison Observer	2
The Aldergrove Star	5
The Almaguin News	1
The Bassano Times	4
The Beacon Herald	98
The Brampton Guardian	12
The Brandon Sun	443
The Brighton Independent	3
The Bugle-Observer	1
The Caledonia Courier	65
The Calgary Sun	313
The Camrose Canadian	3
The Canadian Press; Toronto	91
The Chatham Daily News	50
The Chilliwack Progress	77
The City Centre Mirror	10
The Community Press	5
The Courier Press	5
The Courtenay Comox Valley Record	20
The Daily Graphic	92

The Daily Herald-Tribune	127
The Daily Press	15
The Daily Sent inel Review	92
The East York Mirror	1
The Edmonton Sun	881
The Enterprise-Bulletin	2
The Examiner	24
The Fitzhugh	1
The Forester	1
The Free Press	12
The Gananoque Reporter	3
The Globe and Mail	2802
The Golden Star	3
The Guelph Mercury	229
The Hamilton Spectator	502
The Hanover Post	2
The High River Times	1
The High River Times; High River	4
The Hinton Parklander	2
The Independent &Free Press	1
The Ingersoll Times	2
The Intelligencer	71
The Interior News	93
The Interlake Spectator	11

The Journal	3
The Kincardine News	2
The Kootenay Advertiser	1
The Lacombe Globe	5
The Lakeside Leader	18
The Lamont Leader	4
The Leader	152
The Leader Post	844
The Leduc Representative	45
The Lethbridge Herald	61
The Liberal	1
The London Free Press	458
The Macleod Gazette	3
The Mayerthorpe Freelancer	7
The Medicine Hat News	69
The Mid-North Monitor	12
The Midland	1
The Mitchell Advocate	1
The Morning Star	196
The Mountaineer	7
The Nanton News	4
The Napanee Guide	2
The News	327
The North York Mirror	1

The Northern Light	5
The Northern Sentinel	2
The Northern Times	1
The Ottawa Citizen	1197
The Ottawa Sun	235
The Paris Star	8
The Peace Arch News	31
The Peace Country Sun	2
The Pipestone Flyer	7
The Province	2183
The Provost News	4
The Record	422
The Recorder and Times	73
The Renfrew Mercury	1
The Review	15
The Sachem / Glanbrook Gazette	3
The Sault Star	4
The Scarborough Mirror	1
The Simcoe Reformer	81
The South Peace News	61
The Standard	150
The Stony Plain Reporter	14
The Strathmore Standard	1
The Sun Times	3

The Taber Times	1
The Times	359
The Timmins Times	10
The Tofield Mercury	2
The Toronto Sun	648
The Tri - Cities Now	12
The Tribune	46
The Valleyview Valley Views	5
The Vancouver Sun	3645
The Victoria Daily Times	1
The Victoria Star	8
The Westlock News	3
The Windsor Star	475
The Winnipeg Sun	1074
The York Guardian	1
This Week	5
Thunder Bay Chronicle Journal	133
Tillsonburg News	6
Times	3
Times - Colonist	1481
Toronto Star	1649
Trail Times	213
Trenton Trentonian	2
Tribune	52

Vancouver Courier	56
Victoria News	23
Victoria Times	7
Victoria Weekend	2
Vulcan Advocate	2
Waterloo Region Record	146
Weekend Regional	1
West Elgin Chronicle	5
Western Star	1
Wetaskiwin Times Advertiser	12
Whitecourt Star	4
Whitehorse Star	599
Windsor Star	281
Windspeaker	141
Winnipeg Free Press	2961

Appendix F: Regression Explanation

As all my independent variables are categorical and my dependent variables are discrete numeric counts, one option for my analysis would be to conduct a Poisson regression where each observation would contain a count of each response variable. For example, frame frequency would be measured as a count of the number of words that occurred for each frame, as identified from the MMIWG2S+ media framing dictionary. However, because there are significant differences in the number of words contained in the MMIWG2S+ media framing dictionary

between frame categories, a Poisson regression would not be the best fit because of the incomparability of counts across frames. Similarly, because each individual observation (a single newspaper article) suffers from non-independence, a Poisson regression would not be appropriate to assess the effect of frames because one of its central assumptions is that observations are not independent or clustered. Clustered data has a nested structure, with each observation nested within the cluster. In my case, each newspaper article is clustered around a specific missing or murder person. The clustering of observations around a specific person poses a number of issues for Poisson regression analysis because the response variables for each observation are not new or independent information and are not identically distributed, resulting in my biased standard errors. To mitigate these issues, I opted to perform an Ordinary Least Squares regression with dichotomous discrete numeric response variables where each response variable, with the exception of the number and length of articles, was measured as either a "0" or "1". For example, if a frame was present in a newspaper article it was given a value of "1". If a frame was not present in an article, it was given a value of "0". Similarly, an individual missing or murdered person was given a "0" if they received no coverage and a "1" if they did receive coverage. I also performed an Ordinary Least Squares regression to assess the effect that my independent variables have on the number of articles each individual person received and the length of each newspaper article but did not transpose the data in any way: each of these outcome variables remained as discrete numeric count. For a robustness check, I conducted both a Poisson and Ordinary Least Squares regression for each regression equation. There were very few differences in the significance levels between models, none of which had implications on the clinical significance of my findings.

Appendix G: Regression Outputs

Time ~ Cases with Coverage	
Poisson Regression	Estimate Std. Error z value Pr(>|z|) (Intercept) -0.1572373 0.1535699 -1.0239 0.305892 TIME1970-1979 0.1637183 0.1585636 1.0325 0.301834 TIME1980-1989 0.1318610 0.1529002 0.8624 0.388468 TIME1990-1999 0.1725463 0.1514388 1.1394 0.254545 TIME2000-2009 0.1254015 0.1506745 0.8323 0.405258 TIME2010-2019 0.0778941 0.1516315 0.5137 0.607457 TIME2020-2023 -0.0106693 0.1722859 -0.0619 0.950620
Ordinary Least Square Regression	Estimate Std. Error t value Pr(>|t|) (Intercept) 0.86486967 0.12283659 7.0408 4.908e-12 *** TIME1970-1979 0.14270254 0.12849802 1.1105 0.2671790 TIME1980-1989 0.11449530 0.12243931 0.9351 0.3500770 TIME1990-1999 0.15446159 0.12080577 1.2786 0.2014998 TIME2000-2009 0.10907376 0.12011204 0.9081 0.3641645 TIME2010-2019 0.06621645 0.12087456 0.5478 0.5840110 TIME2020-2023 -0.01248264 0.13859794 -0.0901 0.9282646
Time ~ Number of Articles	
Poisson Regression	Estimate Std. Error z value Pr(>|z|) (Intercept) 4.181252 0.639388 6.5395 6.174e-11 *** TIME1970-1979 1.541511 0.808847 1.9058 0.0566747 . TIME1980-1989 -0.295534 0.488521 -0.6050 0.5452073 TIME1990-1999 0.732380 0.480919 1.5229 0.1277897 TIME2000-2009 1.141742 0.382266 2.9868 0.0028194 ** TIME2010-2019 0.576666 0.453599 1.2713 0.2036175 TIME2020-2023 0.252426 0.588962 0.4286 0.6682182
Ordinary Least Square Regression	Estimate Std. Error t value Pr(>|t|) (Intercept) 193.3402 102.1872 1.8920 0.05894 . TIME1970-1979 108.0562 96.9741 1.1143 0.26557 TIME1980-1989 -32.7511 25.9137 -1.2639 0.20674 TIME1990-1999 14.3032 27.3501 0.5230 0.60118 TIME2000-2009 41.3723 15.9554 2.5930 0.00973 ** TIME2010-2019 12.5337 18.0056 0.6961 0.48662 TIME2020-2023 -8.6403 46.0906 -0.1875 0.85136
Time ~ Length of Articles	
Poisson Regression	Estimate Std. Error z value Pr(>|z|) (Intercept) 4.619210 0.130677 35.3484 < 2.2e-16 *** TIME1970-1979 0.969377 0.230093 4.2130 2.520e-05 *** TIME1980-1989 1.363073 0.131219 10.3877 < 2.2e-16 *** TIME1990-1999 1.682678 0.128100 13.1357 < 2.2e-16 ***

	TIME2000-2009 1.875897 0.126097 14.8766 < 2.2e-16 *** TIME2010-2019 1.970090 0.126366 15.5903 < 2.2e-16 *** TIME2020-2023 2.124704 0.140335 15.1403 < 2.2e-16 ***
Ordinary Least Square Regression	Estimate Std. Error t value Pr(>|t|) (Intercept) 78.3144 33.3075 2.3513 0.0187141 * TIME1970-1979 86.8371 70.8912 1.2249 0.2206059 TIME1980-1989 278.2700 28.5464 9.7480 < 2.2e-16 *** TIME1990-1999 448.2961 26.0131 17.2335 < 2.2e-16 *** TIME2000-2009 577.6344 22.5861 25.5748 < 2.2e-16 *** TIME2010-2019 650.4993 23.9177 27.1974 < 2.2e-16 *** TIME2020-2023 781.9097 64.3942 12.1425 < 2.2e-16 ***
Time ~ Legal Frame	
Poisson Regression	Estimate Std. Error z value Pr(>|z|) (Intercept) -12.8846309 0.2859134 -45.0648 < 2.2e-16 *** TIME1970-1979 9.9586989 0.4452490 22.3666 < 2.2e-16 *** TIME1980-1989 10.2097598 0.3028702 33.7100 < 2.2e-16 *** TIME1990-1999 10.5576299 0.2879609 36.6634 < 2.2e-16 *** TIME2000-2009 11.0589949 0.2842159 38.9105 < 2.2e-16 *** TIME2010-2019 12.2099123 0.2837715 43.0273 < 2.2e-16 *** TIME2020-2023 11.7790023 0.2849092 41.3430 < 2.2e-16 ***
Ordinary Least Square Regression	Estimate Std. Error t value Pr(>|t|) (Intercept) -0.1527192 0.0167312 -9.1278 < 2.2e-16 *** TIME1970-1979 0.1502723 0.0270947 5.5462 2.935e-08 *** TIME1980-1989 0.2075845 0.0177567 11.6905 < 2.2e-16 *** TIME1990-1999 0.2212395 0.0164667 13.4356 < 2.2e-16 *** TIME2000-2009 0.2948619 0.0157237 18.7527 < 2.2e-16 *** TIME2010-2019 0.6697891 0.0157960 42.4025 < 2.2e-16 *** TIME2020-2023 0.4629852 0.0175365 26.4013 < 2.2e-16 ***
Time ~Police	
Poisson Regression	Estimate Std. Error z value Pr(>|z|) (Intercept) -12.863792 0.156093 -82.4110 < 2.2e-16 *** TIME1970-1979 9.382550 0.516960 18.1495 < 2.2e-16 *** TIME1980-1989 9.757820 0.184456 52.9005 < 2.2e-16 *** TIME1990-1999 9.938652 0.160859 61.7850 < 2.2e-16 *** TIME2000-2009 10.757135 0.150716 71.3738 < 2.2e-16 *** TIME2010-2019 11.904880 0.149822 79.4601 < 2.2e-16 *** TIME2020-2023 11.361748 0.152175 74.6626 < 2.2e-16 ***
Ordinary Least Square Regression	Estimate Std. Error t value Pr(>|t|) (Intercept) -0.0175371 0.0116550 -1.5047 0.13241 TIME1970-1979 0.1121283 0.0198029 5.6622 1.503e-08 *** TIME1980-1989 0.0774549 0.0126435 6.1261 9.076e-10 *** TIME1990-1999 0.0830383 0.0104882 7.9173 2.478e-15 *** TIME2000-2009 0.1944294 0.0098519 19.7353 < 2.2e-16 *** TIME2010-2019 0.5534334 0.0100639 54.9921 < 2.2e-16 ***

	TIME2020-2023 0.3020396 0.0124740 24.2136 < 2.2e-16 ***
Time ~ High-Risk	
Poisson Regression	
Ordinary Least Square Regression	Estimate Std. Error z value Pr(>|z|) (Intercept) -15.427031 5.524884 -2.7923 0.005234 ** TIME1970-1979 0.435425 5.523936 0.0788 0.937172 TIME1980-1989 11.430470 5.527475 2.0679 0.038646 * TIME1990-1999 12.480520 5.523679 2.2595 0.023855 * TIME2000-2009 13.414680 5.525071 2.4280 0.015184 * TIME2010-2019 14.470013 5.524586 2.6192 0.008814 ** TIME2020-2023 13.893931 5.524028 2.5152 0.011897 *
Time ~ Systemic Frame	
Poisson Regression	Estimate Std. Error t value Pr(>|t|) (Intercept) -14.728282 1.953088 -7.5410 4.663e-14 *** TIME1970-1979 11.172731 2.192448 5.0960 3.469e-07 * TIME1980-1989 11.895030 1.968618 6.0423 1.519e-09 *** TIME1990-1999 11.887027 1.957078 6.0739 1.249e-09 *** TIME2000-2009 13.077144 1.954799 6.6898 2.235e-11 * TIME2010-2019 14.403847 1.953421 7.3737 1.660e-13 *** TIME2020-2023 14.232714 1.954553 7.2818 3.293e-13 ***
Ordinary Least Square Regression	Estimate Std. Error t value Pr(>|t|) (Intercept) -0.02613541 0.02517361 -1.0382 0.2991790 TIME1970-1979 0.21250579 0.02705392 7.8549 4.082e-15 *** TIME1980-1989 0.19980937 0.02577283 7.7527 9.168e-15 *** TIME1990-1999 0.21475042 0.02536097 8.4678 < 2.2e-16 *** TIME2000-2009 0.26632352 0.02533448 10.5123 < 2.2e-16 *** TIME2010-2019 0.40560971 0.02541682 15.9583 < 2.2e-16 *** TIME2020-2023 0.37902943 0.02614505 14.4972 < 2.2e-16 ***
Ordinary Least Square Regression	Estimate Std. Error t value Pr(>|t|) (Intercept) -0.02237455 0.00961445 -2.3272 0.019960 * TIME1970-1979 0.00193633 0.00885757 0.2186 0.826957 TIME1980-1989 0.00525219 0.00830090 0.6327 0.526916 TIME1990-1999 0.00548951 0.00761083 0.7213 0.470743 TIME2000-2009 0.03819035 0.00791781 4.8233 1.416e-06 *** TIME2010-2019 0.11860316 0.00809613 14.6494 < 2.2e-16 *** TIME2020-2023 0.08813589 0.00945313 9.3235 < 2.2e-16 ***
Time ~ Perpetrator Frame	
Poisson Regression	Estimate Std. Error z value Pr(>|z|) (Intercept) -17.193222 4.659578 -3.6899 0.0002244 ***

	TIME1970-1979 -1.896902 4.655378 -0.4075 0.6836667 TIME1980-1989 10.781175 4.657975 2.3146 0.0206369 * TIME1990-1999 9.719772 4.663477 2.0842 0.0371390 * TIME2000-2009 10.965504 4.659927 2.3531 0.0186152 * TIME2010-2019 11.866759 4.651070 2.5514 0.0107290 * TIME2020-2023 10.245080 4.654899 2.2009 0.0277414 *
Ordinary Least Square Regression	Estimate Std. Error t value Pr(>|t|) (Intercept) -0.0300239 0.0149481 -2.0085 0.044590 * TIME1970-1979 -0.1599944 0.0170003 -9.4113 < 2.2e-16 *** TIME1980-1989 -0.1165879 0.0160845 -7.2485 4.277e-13 *** TIME1990-1999 -0.1672526 0.0142104 -11.7697 < 2.2e-16 *** TIME2000-2009 -0.1178163 0.0137033 -8.5977 < 2.2e-16 *** TIME2010-2019 0.0440996 0.0138521 3.1836 0.001455 ** TIME2020-2023 -0.1240248 0.0142509 -8.7030 < 2.2e-16 ***
Time ~ Violent Victimization	
Poisson Regression	Estimate Std. Error z value Pr(>|z|) (Intercept) -17.193222 4.659578 -3.6899 0.0002244 *** TIME1970-1979 -1.896902 4.655378 -0.4075 0.6836667 TIME1980-1989 10.781175 4.657975 2.3146 0.0206369 * TIME1990-1999 9.719772 4.663477 2.0842 0.0371390 * TIME2000-2009 10.965504 4.659927 2.3531 0.0186152 * TIME2010-2019 11.866759 4.651070 2.5514 0.0107290 * TIME2020-2023 10.245080 4.654899 2.2009 0.0277414 *
Ordinary Least Square Regression	Estimate Std. Error t value Pr(>|t|) (Intercept) 0.0395452 0.0072166 5.4797 4.281e-08 *** TIME1970-1979 -0.0444266 0.0078043 -5.6925 1.259e-08 *** TIME1980-1989 -0.0260588 0.0067847 -3.8408 0.0001228 *** TIME1990-1999 -0.0241966 0.0059145 -4.0910 4.301e-05 *** TIME2000-2009 0.0252855 0.0052106 4.8527 1.222e-06 *** TIME2010-2019 0.1647918 0.0059089 27.8887 < 2.2e-16 *** TIME2020-2023 0.0809100 0.0074619 10.8430 < 2.2e-16 ***
Age ~ Cases With Coverage	
Poisson Regression	Estimate Std. Error z value Pr(>|z|) (Intercept) -0.1521478 0.1550303 -0.9814 0.326392 AGE10-Oct 0.2020357 0.0756751 2.6698 0.007590 ** AGE20-59 0.2150992 0.0740999 2.9028 0.003698 ** AGE60 0.1222451 0.1111713 1.0996 0.271502
Ordinary Least Square Regression	Estimate Std. Error t value Pr(>|t|) (Intercept) 0.9713479 0.1551234 6.2618 6.918e-10 *** AGE0-9 -0.1013559 0.0909792 -1.1141 0.265667

	AGE10-19 0.0724573 0.0775559 0.9343 0.350517 AGE20-59 0.0854314 0.0724892 1.1785 0.239013
Age ~ Number of Articles	
Poisson Regression	Estimate Std. Error z value Pr(>|z|) (Intercept) 4.081906 0.640438 6.3736 1.846e-10 *** AGE10-Oct 0.054414 0.364681 0.1492 0.8813885 AGE20-59 -0.382075 0.306161 -1.2480 0.2120473 AGE60 -1.417244 0.417283 -3.3964 0.0006829 ***
Ordinary Least Square Regression	Estimate Std. Error t value Pr(>|t|) (Intercept) 135.1548 102.1244 1.3234 0.186157 AGE0-9 52.2501 19.3647 2.6982 0.007152 ** AGE10-19 53.0960 24.0172 2.2108 0.027400 * AGE20-59 33.3787 13.3544 2.4995 0.012684 *
Age ~ Length of Articles	
Poisson Regression	Estimate Std. Error z value Pr(>|z|) (Intercept) 4.6870253 0.1283850 36.5076 < 2.2e-16 *** AGE10-19 0.1361049 0.0180700 7.5321 4.993e-14 *** AGE20-59 0.0806072 0.0165638 4.8665 1.136e-06 *** AGE60 -0.0375309 0.0517685 -0.7250 0.4684662
Ordinary Least Square Regression	Estimate Std. Error t value Pr(>|t|) (Intercept) 102.6238 35.6638 2.8775 0.004010 ** AGE19-Oct 104.1045 13.5436 7.6866 1.539e-14 *** AGE20-59 59.3724 11.9235 4.9794 6.398e-07 *** AGE60 -25.5142 35.7386 -0.7139 0.475285
Age ~ Legal Frame	
Poisson Regression	Estimate Std. Error z value Pr(>|z|) (Intercept) -12.821075 0.354057 -36.2119 < 2.2e-16 *** AGE19-Oct 0.066220 0.024769 2.6736 0.0075052 ** AGE20-59 -0.077215 0.022810 -3.3852 0.0007113 *** AGE60 -0.099161 0.074562 -1.3299 0.1835442
Ordinary Least Square Regression	Estimate Std. Error t value Pr(>|t|) (Intercept) -0.1527192 0.0167312 -9.1278 < 2.2e-16 *** AGE10-19 0.0220781 0.0084277 2.6197 0.0088035 ** AGE20-59 -0.0277151 0.0075387 -3.6764 0.0002368 *** AGE60 -0.0300123 0.0269199 -1.1149 0.2649110
Age ~ Police Frame	
Poisson Regression	Estimate Std. Error z value Pr(>|z|) (Intercept) -12.357956 0.279839 -44.1610 < 2.2e-16 *** AGE10-19 0.386940 0.029961 12.9149 < 2.2e-16 *** AGE20-59 0.184861 0.028464 6.4946 8.324e-11 ***

	AGE60 0.331567 0.062842 5.2762 1.319e-07 ***
Ordinary Least Squares Regression	Estimate Std. Error t value Pr(>|t|) (Intercept) -0.0175371 0.0116550 -1.5047 0.13241 AGE10-19 0.1046886 0.0080099 13.0699 < 2.2e-16 *** AGE20-59 0.0434911 0.0070297 6.1868 6.188e-10 *** AGE60 0.1121420 0.0245350 4.5707 4.873e-06 ***
Age ~ High-Risk Frame	
Poisson Regression	Estimate Std. Error z value Pr(>|z|) (Intercept) -15.427034 NaN NaN NaN AGE10-19 0.284882 0.034565 8.2419 < 2.2e-16 *** AGE20-59 0.132927 0.032430 4.0989 4.150e-05 *** AGE60 -0.149268 0.116155 -1.2851 0.198767
Ordinary Least Square Regression	Estimate Std. Error t value Pr(>|t|) (Intercept) -0.0167742 0.0106932 -1.5687 0.1167288 AGE10-19 0.0613369 0.0076907 7.9755 1.550e-15 *** AGE20-59 0.0235706 0.0067996 3.4664 0.0005278 *** AGE60 -0.0320238 0.0241148 -1.3280 0.1841925
Age ~ Perpetrator Frame	
Poisson Regression	Estimate Std. Error z value Pr(>|z|) (Intercept) -17.193220 4.609831 -3.7297 0.0001917 *** AGE10-19 3.590380 0.219497 16.3573 < 2.2e-16 *** AGE20-59 3.513613 0.217979 16.1191 < 2.2e-16 *** AGE60 2.294570 0.400058 5.7356 9.717e-09 ***
Ordinary Least Square Regression	Estimate Std. Error t value Pr(>|t|) (Intercept) -0.0300239 0.0149481 -2.0085 0.044590 * AGE10-19 0.2092991 0.0044711 46.8115 < 2.2e-16 *** AGE20-59 0.1818012 0.0030707 59.2050 < 2.2e-16 *** AGE60 0.1215557 0.0117870 10.3127 < 2.2e-16 ***
Age ~ Systemic Frame	
Poisson Regression	Estimate Std. Error z value Pr(>|z|) (Intercept) -15.759916 NaN NaN NaN AGE10-19 -1.093415 0.034734 -31.4798 < 2.2e-16 *** AGE20-59 -1.575392 0.033776 -46.6429 < 2.2e-16 *** AGE60 -1.547567 0.121705 -12.7157 < 2.2e-16 ***
Ordinary Least Square Regression	Estimate Std. Error t value Pr(>|t|) (Intercept) -0.02613541 0.02517361 -1.0382 0.2991790 AGE10-19 -0.20562725 0.00806198 -25.5058 < 2.2e-16 *** AGE20-59 -0.25057151 0.00761268 -32.9150 < 2.2e-16 *** AGE60 -0.25609718 0.02071381 -12.3636 < 2.2e-16 ***

Age ~ Violent Victimization Frame	
Poisson Regression	Estimate Std. Error z value Pr(>|z|) (Intercept) -15.376954 3.587483 -4.2863 1.817e-05 *** AGE10-19 0.561410 0.055498 10.1158 < 2.2e-16 *** AGE20-59 0.241185 0.051226 4.7082 2.499e-06 *** AGE60 -0.190159 0.233506 -0.8144 0.4154357
Ordinary Least Square Regression	Estimate Std. Error t value Pr(>|t|) (Intercept) 0.0395452 0.0072166 5.4797 4.281e-08 *** AGE10-19t 0.0577550 0.0060208 9.5926 < 2.2e-16 *** AGE20-59 0.0153301 0.0050675 3.0252 0.0024859 ** AGE60 -0.0173935 0.0146677 -1.1858 0.2356925
Age ~ Loved Frame	
Poisson Regression	Estimate Std. Error z value Pr(>|z|) (Intercept) -15.224895 1.901063 -8.0086 1.160e-15 *** AGE10-19 0.677181 0.089078 7.6021 2.913e-14 *** AGE20-59 0.281912 0.085177 3.3097 0.0009339 *** AGE60 0.184579 0.235794 0.7828 0.4337463
Ordinary Least Square Regression	Estimate Std. Error t value Pr(>|t|) (Intercept) 0.00203094 0.00601734 0.3375 0.7357312 AGE10-19 0.03690617 0.00419177 8.8044 < 2.2e-16 *** AGE20-59 0.01288574 0.00346880 3.7148 0.0002036 *** AGE60 0.00423531 0.01407099 0.3010 0.7634189
Province ~ Cases With Coverage	
Poisson Regression	Estimate Std. Error z value Pr(>|z|) (Intercept) -0.1521478 0.1550303 -0.9814 0.326392 PROVINCEBC -0.0025069 0.0236259 -0.1061 0.915497 PROVINCEMB 0.0055037 0.0256312 0.2147 0.829982 PROVINCENB 0.0418264 0.0467401 0.8949 0.370855 PROVINCENL -0.2773763 0.1732339 -1.6012 0.109340 PROVINCENS 0.0706258 0.0356553 1.9808 0.047615 * PROVINCENT -0.2113293 0.1737069 -1.2166 0.223762 PROVINCENU -0.3855065 0.1741378 -2.2138 0.026842 * PROVINCEON -0.0483932 0.0346239 -1.3977 0.162209 PROVINCEPEI -16.3600324 1.0002342 -16.3562 < 2.2e-16 *** PROVINCEQC -0.0310030 0.0956451 -0.3241 0.745827 PROVINCESK -0.0120413 0.0260251 -0.4627 0.643593 PROVINCEYK 0.0323846 0.0402253 0.8051 0.420773
Ordinary Least Square Regression	Estimate Std. Error t value Pr(>|t|) (Intercept) 0.9697332 0.1542789 6.2856 5.989e-10 *** PROVINCEAB 0.0016147 0.0223357 0.0723 0.942390 PROVINCEMB 0.0066402 0.0281333 0.2360 0.813487 PROVINCENB 0.0429759 0.0467543 0.9192 0.358339 PROVINCENL -0.2345818 0.1246447 -1.8820 0.060282 . PROVINCENS 0.0668160 0.0336976 1.9828 0.047809 *

	PROVINCENT -0.1750501 0.1252975 -1.3971 0.162868 PROVINCENU -0.2921326 0.1045050 -2.7954 0.005337 ** PROVINCEON -0.0424200 0.0336863 -1.2593 0.208387 PROVINCEPEI -1.0522037 0.0226964 -46.3599 < 2.2e-16 *** PROVINCEQC -0.0267955 0.0871445 -0.3075 0.758574 PROVINCESK -0.0097441 0.0267525 -0.3642 0.715802 PROVINCEYK 0.0344052 0.0403962 0.8517 0.394698
Province ~ Number of Articles	
Poisson Regression	Estimate Std. Error z value Pr(>|z|) (Intercept) 4.081906 0.640438 6.3736 1.846e-10 *** PROVINCEBC 0.578178 0.314823 1.8365 0.0662809 . PROVINCEMB 0.471264 0.390260 1.2076 0.2272151 PROVINCENB 1.062507 0.561500 1.8923 0.0584556 . PROVINCENL -1.768418 0.408838 -4.3255 1.522e-05 *** PROVINCENS 0.408672 0.386657 1.0569 0.2905411 PROVINCENT -1.740200 0.447756 -3.8865 0.0001017 *** PROVINCENU -1.455298 0.402038 -3.6198 0.0002948 *** PROVINCEON 0.072036 0.298721 0.2411 0.8094401 PROVINCEPEI -13.171713 1.039201 -12.6748 < 2.2e-16 *** PROVINCEQC 0.093789 0.445519 0.2105 0.8332645 PROVINCESK 0.112062 0.258198 0.4340 0.6642786 PROVINCEYK -1.297719 0.774549 -1.6754 0.0938460 .
Ordinary Least Square Regression	Estimate Std. Error t value Pr(>|t|) (Intercept) 175.4152 106.9278 1.6405 0.101385 PROVINCEAB -40.2604 25.3078 -1.5908 0.112134 PROVINCEMB -17.3985 33.4282 -0.5205 0.602910 PROVINCENB 17.9492 55.7264 0.3221 0.747485 PROVINCENL -65.5249 23.0308 -2.8451 0.004580 ** PROVINCENS -20.7161 23.9762 -0.8640 0.387892 PROVINCENT -50.6385 17.3963 -2.9109 0.003728 ** PROVINCENU -58.4564 21.6700 -2.6976 0.007166 ** PROVINCEON -32.6310 17.9437 -1.8185 0.069445 . PROVINCEPEI -92.7677 32.9421 -2.8161 0.005009 ** PROVINCEQC -13.9270 29.4498 -0.4729 0.636439 PROVINCESK -33.2348 23.5760 -1.4097 0.159109 PROVINCEYK -92.1662 38.7121 -2.3808 0.017562 *
Province ~ Length of Articles	
Poisson Regression	Estimate Std. Error z value Pr(>|z|) (Intercept) 4.6870253 0.1283850 36.5076 < 2.2e-16 *** PROVINCEBC 0.0933759 0.0324109 2.8810 0.0039641 ** PROVINCEMB -0.0031937 0.0347009 -0.0920 0.9266695 PROVINCENB 0.2468974 0.0716489 3.4459 0.0005691 *** PROVINCENL -0.1856362 0.1177600 -1.5764 0.1149350 PROVINCENS 0.0594662 0.0508001 1.1706 0.2417630 PROVINCENT -0.0101890 0.1325566 -0.0769 0.9387307 PROVINCENU -0.3927007 0.0803088 -4.8899 1.009e-06 ***

	PROVINCEON 0.0155065 0.0414346 0.3742 0.7082256 PROVINCEPEI -13.8966055 1.0005192 -13.8894 < 2.2e-16 *** PROVINCEQC -0.0302159 0.0613737 -0.4923 0.6224891 PROVINCESK -0.0889133 0.0383962 -2.3157 0.0205759 * PROVINCEYK -0.0935811 0.0605652 -1.5451 0.1223149
Ordinary Least Square Regression	Estimate Std. Error t value Pr(>|t|) (Intercept) 175.6694 26.4780 6.6345 3.289e-11 *** PROVINCEAB -73.0456 24.6027 -2.9690 0.0029890 ** PROVINCEMB -74.6100 10.5939 -7.0427 1.910e-12 *** PROVINCENB 164.4755 69.6468 2.3616 0.0182018 * PROVINCENL -204.7813 71.7634 -2.8536 0.0043250 ** PROVINCENS -25.1552 27.7046 -0.9080 0.3638943 PROVINCENT -80.5350 90.9448 -0.8855 0.3758713 PROVINCENU -320.9354 39.1040 -8.2072 2.318e-16 *** PROVINCEON -59.9922 14.1741 -4.2325 2.315e-05 *** PROVINCEPEI -802.3191 5.6919 -140.9587 < 2.2e-16 *** PROVINCEQC -97.6645 28.0117 -3.4866 0.0004897 *** PROVINCESK -135.5215 12.5673 -10.7837 < 2.2e-16 *** PROVINCEYK -146.2550 36.8461 -3.9694 7.217e-05 ***
Province ~ Legal Frame	
Poisson Regression	Estimate Std. Error z value Pr(>|z|) (Intercept) -12.821075 0.360388 -35.5757 < 2.2e-16 *** PROVINCEBC -0.219458 0.019235 -11.4096 < 2.2e-16 *** PROVINCEMB -0.231233 0.021483 -10.7637 < 2.2e-16 *** PROVINCENB 0.266745 0.024050 11.0915 < 2.2e-16 *** PROVINCENL 0.233609 0.146990 1.5893 0.1119956 PROVINCENS -0.020494 0.038631 -0.5305 0.5957567 PROVINCENT -0.181291 0.198179 -0.9148 0.3603067 PROVINCENU -2.649144 0.493018 -5.3733 7.730e-08 *** PROVINCEON -0.270546 0.027262 -9.9240 < 2.2e-16 *** PROVINCEPEI -10.688153 1.000246 -10.6855 < 2.2e-16 *** PROVINCEQC 0.041756 0.038349 1.0888 0.2762257 PROVINCESK 0.170658 0.021588 7.9052 2.675e-15 *** PROVINCEYK 0.159377 0.053182 2.9968 0.0027279 **
Ordinary Least Square Regression	Estimate Std. Error t value Pr(>|t|) (Intercept) -0.1527192 0.0167312 -9.1278 < 2.2e-16 *** PROVINCEBC -0.0690366 0.0065595 -10.5247 < 2.2e-16 *** PROVINCEMB -0.0810884 0.0081255 -9.9795 < 2.2e-16 *** PROVINCENB 0.2731425 0.0158246 17.2607 < 2.2e-16 *** PROVINCENL 0.1118309 0.0714632 1.5649 0.1176188 PROVINCENS -0.0172495 0.0121640 -1.4181 0.1561726 PROVINCENT -0.0542485 0.0485816 -1.1166 0.2641514 PROVINCENU -0.4284206 0.0236440 -18.1196 < 2.2e-16 *** PROVINCEON -0.1023841 0.0105233 -9.7293 < 2.2e-16 *** PROVINCEPEI -0.2226905 0.0064757 -34.3886 < 2.2e-16 *** PROVINCEQC -0.0019230 0.0142230 -0.1352 0.8924530 PROVINCESK 0.0600156 0.0086880 6.9079 4.980e-12 *** PROVINCEYK 0.1007091 0.0306882 3.2817 0.0010326 **

Province ~ Police Frame	
Poisson Regression	Estimate Std. Error z value Pr(>|z|) (Intercept) -12.357956 0.288834 -42.7857 < 2.2e-16 *** PROVINCEBC -0.357863 0.019849 -18.0292 < 2.2e-16 *** PROVINCEMB -0.302681 0.021730 -13.9294 < 2.2e-16 *** PROVINCENB 0.075977 0.033159 2.2913 0.021948 * PROVINCENL 0.145746 0.170294 0.8558 0.392081 PROVINCENS -0.551331 0.057721 -9.5516 < 2.2e-16 *** PROVINCENT 0.106283 0.146242 0.7268 0.467372 PROVINCENU 0.036802 0.092463 0.3980 0.690616 PROVINCEON -0.268343 0.027456 -9.7735 < 2.2e-16 *** PROVINCEPEI -10.656447 1.000256 -10.6537 < 2.2e-16 *** PROVINCEQC 0.015316 0.036515 0.4194 0.674896 PROVINCESK 0.055080 0.022581 2.4392 0.014720 * PROVINCEYK -0.219215 0.075493 -2.9038 0.003687 **
Ordinary Least Square Regression	Estimate Std. Error t value Pr(>|t|) (Intercept) -0.0175371 0.0116550 -1.5047 0.13241 PROVINCEBC -0.0990578 0.0064073 -15.4602 < 2.2e-16 *** PROVINCEMB -0.0984443 0.0080079 -12.2934 < 2.2e-16 *** PROVINCENB 0.1526163 0.0218523 6.9840 2.906e-12 *** PROVINCENL 0.0811981 0.0744613 1.0905 0.27551 PROVINCENS -0.1357436 0.0112251 -12.0928 < 2.2e-16 *** PROVINCENT 0.0345039 0.0542064 0.6365 0.52443 PROVINCENU -0.0078810 0.0378984 -0.2079 0.83527 PROVINCEON -0.0891873 0.0104284 -8.5523 < 2.2e-16 *** PROVINCEPEI -0.2214885 0.0063243 -35.0217 < 2.2e-16 *** PROVINCEQC 0.0291318 0.0143052 2.0364 0.04171 * PROVINCESK 0.0178656 0.0084597 2.1119 0.03470 * PROVINCEYK -0.0628496 0.0315418 -1.9926 0.04631 *
Province ~ High-Risk Frame	
Poisson Regression	Estimate Std. Error z value Pr(>|z|) (Intercept) -15.427033 NaN NaN NaN PROVINCEBC -0.404810 0.023941 -16.9088 < 2.2e-16 *** PROVINCEMB -0.375362 0.026601 -14.1109 < 2.2e-16 *** PROVINCENB 0.074569 0.044011 1.6943 0.090204 . PROVINCENL -0.405425 0.302171 -1.3417 0.179691 PROVINCENS -0.753074 0.071178 -10.5802 < 2.2e-16 *** PROVINCENT -0.766294 0.302660 -2.5319 0.011346 * PROVINCENU -1.933618 0.396793 -4.8731 1.099e-06 *** PROVINCEON -0.345001 0.032920 -10.4801 < 2.2e-16 *** PROVINCEPEI -13.591214 1.000350 -13.5865 < 2.2e-16 *** PROVINCEQC -0.017214 0.045628 -0.3773 0.705977 PROVINCESK -0.041772 0.028207 -1.4809 0.138632 PROVINCEYK -0.276754 0.105070 -2.6340 0.008439 **
Ordinary Least Square Regression	Estimate Std. Error t value Pr(>|t|) (Intercept) -0.0167742 0.0106932 -1.5687 0.1167288 PROVINCEBC -0.0983114 0.0063704 -15.4326 < 2.2e-16 *** PROVINCEMB -0.1006453 0.0077590 -12.9714 < 2.2e-16 ***

	PROVINCENB 0.1260425 0.0243759 5.1708 2.340e-07 *** PROVINCENL -0.0997293 0.0677067 -1.4730 0.1407680 PROVINCENS -0.1459203 0.0100065 -14.5825 < 2.2e-16 *** PROVINCENT -0.1499343 0.0346983 -4.3211 1.556e-05 *** PROVINCENU -0.3036787 0.0224165 -13.5471 < 2.2e-16 *** PROVINCEON -0.0935731 0.0098999 -9.4519 < 2.2e-16 *** PROVINCEPEI -0.2128001 0.0062850 -33.8583 < 2.2e-16 *** PROVINCEQC -0.0077934 0.0135426 -0.5755 0.5649754 PROVINCESK -0.0168343 0.0083264 -2.0218 0.0432027 * PROVINCEYK -0.0713429 0.0333318 -2.1404 0.0323286 *
Province ~ Perpetrator Frame	
Poisson Regression	Estimate Std. Error z value Pr(>|z|) (Intercept) -17.193220 7.735704 -2.2226 0.02624 * PROVINCEBC 0.446700 0.030728 14.5373 < 2.2e-16 *** PROVINCEMB -0.694199 0.045295 -15.3261 < 2.2e-16 *** PROVINCENB -1.965823 0.220604 -8.9111 < 2.2e-16 *** PROVINCENL -2.126756 0.973813 -2.1839 0.02897 * PROVINCENS -2.916319 0.288110 -10.1222 < 2.2e-16 *** PROVINCENT -1.377243 0.708565 -1.9437 0.05193 . PROVINCENU -13.542876 0.139001 -97.4300 < 2.2e-16 *** PROVINCEON -2.045266 0.101653 -20.1201 < 2.2e-16 *** PROVINCEPEI -14.297772 1.000548 -14.2899 < 2.2e-16 *** PROVINCEQC -0.431999 0.105224 -4.1055 4.034e-05 *** PROVINCESK -0.892372 0.058366 -15.2893 < 2.2e-16 *** PROVINCEYK -2.404328 0.503915 -4.7713 1.830e-06 ***
Ordinary Least Square Regression	Estimate Std. Error t value Pr(>|t|) (Intercept) -0.0300239 0.0149481 -2.0085 0.044590 * PROVINCEBC 0.0992847 0.0057459 17.2792 < 2.2e-16 *** PROVINCEMB -0.0917384 0.0061944 -14.8098 < 2.2e-16 *** PROVINCENB -0.2482130 0.0121325 -20.4586 < 2.2e-16 *** PROVINCENL -0.1632701 0.0241308 -6.7661 1.338e-11 *** PROVINCENS -0.1397728 0.0057329 -24.3809 < 2.2e-16 *** PROVINCENT -0.0958007 0.0237159 -4.0395 5.364e-05 *** PROVINCENU -0.1293179 0.0079211 -16.3257 < 2.2e-16 *** PROVINCEON -0.1871908 0.0058878 -31.7930 < 2.2e-16 *** PROVINCEPEI -0.1239742 0.0055360 -22.3942 < 2.2e-16 *** PROVINCEQC -0.0757050 0.0081877 -9.2462 < 2.2e-16 *** PROVINCESK -0.0781740 0.0058175 -13.4378 < 2.2e-16 *** PROVINCEYK -0.1867653 0.0144641 -12.9124 < 2.2e-16 ***
Province ~ Systemic Frame	
Poisson Regression	Estimate Std. Error z value Pr(>|z|) (Intercept) -15.759917 NaN NaN NaN PROVINCEBC 0.027383 0.047627 0.5749 0.56533 PROVINCEMB 0.567853 0.042124 13.4807 < 2.2e-16 *** PROVINCENB 0.256692 0.114326 2.2453 0.02475 * PROVINCENL 0.352297 0.445791 0.7903 0.42937

	PROVINCENS 0.781088 0.085235 9.1639 < 2.2e-16 *** PROVINCENT 0.419059 0.363941 1.1514 0.24955 PROVINCENU -13.387560 0.124657 -107.3949 < 2.2e-16 *** PROVINCEON 0.534034 0.055279 9.6607 < 2.2e-16 *** PROVINCEPEI -11.643493 1.001221 -11.6293 < 2.2e-16 *** PROVINCEQC 1.558251 0.054313 28.6904 < 2.2e-16 *** PROVINCESK 0.627647 0.048574 12.9214 < 2.2e-16 *** PROVINCEYK 0.859368 0.124865 6.8824 5.886e-12 ***
Ordinary Least Square Regression	Estimate Std. Error t value Pr(>|t|) (Intercept) -0.02613541 0.02517361 -1.0382 0.2991790 PROVINCEBC -0.00034236 0.00406271 -0.0843 0.9328425 PROVINCEMB 0.07205509 0.00576997 12.4880 < 2.2e-16 *** PROVINCENB 0.00979106 0.01972228 0.4964 0.6195817 PROVINCENL 0.02646270 0.04868170 0.5436 0.5867287 PROVINCENS 0.06163018 0.00847355 7.2732 3.562e-13 *** PROVINCENT 0.03355845 0.03164270 1.0605 0.2889028 PROVINCENU -0.21957972 0.01561730 -14.0600 < 2.2e-16 *** PROVINCEON 0.03661614 0.00733906 4.9892 6.083e-07 *** PROVINCEPEI -0.00209300 0.00372340 -0.5621 0.5740367 PROVINCEQC 0.32240795 0.01316816 24.4839 < 2.2e-16 *** PROVINCESK 0.05044254 0.00586109 8.6063 < 2.2e-16 *** PROVINCEYK 0.12142937 0.03132376 3.8766 0.0001061 ***
Province~ Violent Victimization Frame	
Poisson Regression	Estimate Std. Error z value Pr(>|z|) (Intercept) -15.376955 2.683362 -5.7305 1.001e-08 *** PROVINCEBC -0.632541 0.035271 -17.9335 < 2.2e-16 *** PROVINCEMB -0.685801 0.040925 -16.7574 < 2.2e-16 *** PROVINCENB -0.735487 0.100401 -7.3255 2.380e-13 *** PROVINCENL -0.979694 0.488398 -2.0059 0.0448634 * PROVINCENS -0.541836 0.082165 -6.5945 4.267e-11 *** PROVINCENT -0.840343 0.468894 -1.7922 0.0731042 . PROVINCENU -2.566687 0.705086 -3.6402 0.0002724 *** PROVINCEON -0.871889 0.054074 -16.1240 < 2.2e-16 *** PROVINCEPEI -13.010024 1.000809 -12.9995 < 2.2e-16 *** PROVINCEQC -0.919785 0.102915 -8.9373 < 2.2e-16 *** PROVINCESK -0.763388 0.051466 -14.8329 < 2.2e-16 *** PROVINCEYK -1.038359 0.207653 -5.0004 5.720e-07 ***
Ordinary Least Square Regression	Estimate Std. Error t value Pr(>|t|) (Intercept) 0.0395452 0.0072166 5.4797 4.281e-08 *** PROVINCEBC -0.0907554 0.0054347 -16.6993 < 2.2e-16 *** PROVINCEMB -0.0997686 0.0064702 -15.4196 < 2.2e-16 *** PROVINCENB -0.0979571 0.0209213 -4.6822 2.846e-06 *** PROVINCENL -0.1257501 0.0436460 -2.8811 0.0039642 ** PROVINCENS -0.0821473 0.0086792 -9.4649 < 2.2e-16 *** PROVINCENT -0.1058942 0.0271234 -3.9042 9.468e-05 *** PROVINCENU -0.2100504 0.0141092 -14.8875 < 2.2e-16 *** PROVINCEON -0.1247460 0.0076362 -16.3361 < 2.2e-16 *** PROVINCEPEI -0.1434737 0.0053082 -27.0289 < 2.2e-16 *** PROVINCEQC -0.1306865 0.0086588 -15.0929 < 2.2e-16 *** PROVINCESK -0.1035330 0.0061975 -16.7057 < 2.2e-16 ***

	PROVINCEYK -0.1434049 0.0217800 -6.5842 4.618e-11 **
Province ~ Loved Frame	
Poisson Regression	Estimate Std. Error z value Pr(>|z|) (Intercept) -15.224894 NaN NaN NaN PROVINCEBC -0.318406 0.057652 -5.5228 3.335e-08 *** PROVINCEMB -0.372246 0.063292 -5.8814 4.069e-09 *** PROVINCENB 0.250437 0.111086 2.2544 0.0241685 * PROVINCENL 0.289922 0.461375 0.6284 0.5297499 PROVINCENS -0.020939 0.121953 -0.1717 0.8636773 PROVINCENT -0.845948 0.679412 -1.2451 0.2130886 PROVINCENU -1.436678 0.699628 -2.0535 0.0400253 * PROVINCEON -0.229944 0.075759 -3.0352 0.0024038 ** PROVINCEPEI -11.809263 1.001970 -11.7860 < 2.2e-16 *** PROVINCEQC -0.324949 0.104360 -3.1137 0.0018474 ** PROVINCESK 0.124363 0.065539 1.8975 0.0577572 . PROVINCEYK 0.175393 0.186213 0.9419 0.3462450
Ordinary Least Square Regression	Estimate Std. Error t value Pr(>|t|) (Intercept) 0.00203094 0.00601734 0.3375 0.7357312 PROVINCEBC -0.01488045 0.00360580 -4.1268 3.684e-05 *** PROVINCEMB -0.02337557 0.00453732 -5.1518 2.589e-07 *** PROVINCENB 0.07249647 0.01992279 3.6389 0.0002741 *** PROVINCENL 0.03585312 0.04846376 0.7398 0.4594295 PROVINCENS -0.00089497 0.00660311 -0.1355 0.8921871 PROVINCENT -0.03876976 0.01997065 -1.9413 0.0522232 . PROVINCENU -0.06242476 0.01220102 -5.1164 3.127e-07 *** PROVINCEON -0.01468665 0.00577270 -2.5442 0.0109573 * PROVINCEPEI -0.03305304 0.00343893 -9.6114 < 2.2e-16 *** PROVINCEQC -0.01384490 0.00771615 -1.7943 0.0727756 . PROVINCESK 0.00891259 0.00483387 1.8438 0.0652212 . PROVINCEYK 0.03365889 0.02424605 1.3882 0.1650759
Crime Type ~ Cases With Coverage	
Poisson Regression	Estimate Std. Error z value Pr(>|z|) (Intercept) -0.1521478 0.1550303 -0.9814 0.326392 TYPEdomestic -0.1088151 0.0587000 -1.8538 0.063775 . TYPEhighway of tears -0.1670985 0.0673000 -2.4829 0.013032 * TYPEhomicide -0.1260695 0.0582670 -2.1637 0.030491 * TYPEmedical racism -0.0966405 0.1000658 -0.9658 0.334159 TYPEpolice -0.1288953 0.0647562 -1.9905 0.046539 * TYPEserial killer -0.1793495 0.0641937 -2.7939 0.005208 ** TYPEsuspicious death -0.1345488 0.0626993 -2.1459 0.031878 * TYPEunsolved -0.3251060 0.0701501 -4.6344 3.579e-06 ***
Ordinary Least Square Regression	Estimate Std. Error t value Pr(>|t|) (Intercept) 0.9742557 0.0286763 33.9743 < 2.2e-16 *** TYPEdomestic -0.0928549 0.0480127 -1.9340 0.053541 . TYPEhighway of tears -0.1456744 0.0538042 -2.7075 0.006954 **

	TYPEhomicide -0.1107599 0.0474426 -2.3346 0.019861 * TYPEmedical racism -0.1415904 0.0810603 -1.7467 0.081146 . TYPEpolice -0.1231200 0.0524456 -2.3476 0.019188 * TYPEserial killer -0.1495049 0.0519708 -2.8767 0.004147 ** TYPEsuspicious death -0.1381725 0.0505907 -2.7312 0.006478 ** TYPEunsolved -0.3067491 0.0563197 -5.4466 7.235e-08 ***
Crime Type ~ Number of Articles	
Poisson Regression	Estimate Std. Error z value Pr(>|z|) (Intercept) 4.081906 0.640438 6.3736 1.846e-10 *** TYPEdomestic -1.463513 0.448500 -3.2631 0.0011019 ** TYPEhighway of tears -1.024949 0.684915 -1.4965 0.1345337 TYPEhomicide -1.046396 0.446127 -2.3455 0.0190009 * TYPEmedical racism 1.512163 0.911307 1.6593 0.0970483 . TYPEpolice -0.720861 0.557044 -1.2941 0.1956369 TYPEserial killer 0.632025 0.540284 1.1698 0.2420806 TYPEsuspicious death -1.716883 0.605524 -2.8354 0.0045773 ** TYPEunsolved -1.463129 0.562000 -2.6034 0.0092296 **
Ordinary Least Square Regression	Estimate Std. Error t value Pr(>|t|) (Intercept) 222.0588 102.0004 2.1770 0.029829 * TYPEdomestic -182.5656 99.7232 -1.8307 0.067589 . TYPEhighway of tears -175.4664 106.7861 -1.6432 0.100823 TYPEhomicide -166.6973 99.7621 -1.6709 0.095203 . TYPEmedical racism 79.0694 217.5950 0.3634 0.716437 TYPEpolice -156.8233 101.1815 -1.5499 0.121636 TYPEserial killer 63.3103 132.6100 0.4774 0.633222 TYPEsuspicious death -199.8056 100.1965 -1.9941 0.046545 * TYPEunsolved -187.8021 100.6061 -1.8667 0.062382 .
Crime Type ~ Length of Articles	
Poisson Regression	Estimate Std. Error z value Pr(>|z|) (Intercept) 4.787556 0.047234 101.3580 < 2.2e-16 *** TYPEdomestic -0.010666 0.035977 -0.2965 0.7668837 TYPEhighway 0.179460 0.054903 3.2687 0.0010805 ** TYPEhomicide 0.119270 0.034238 3.4835 0.0004948 *** TYPEmedical racism 0.103820 0.112550 0.9224 0.3563018 TYPEmissing 0.088690 0.039602 2.2395 0.0251207 * TYPEpolice 0.141438 0.058678 2.4104 0.0159344 * TYPEserial 0.164109 0.037305 4.3991 1.087e-05 *** TYPEsuspicious 0.254292 0.046228 5.5008 3.781e-08 *** TYPEunsolved 0.281798 0.038558 7.3085 2.702e-13 **
Ordinary Least Square Regression	Estimate Std. Error t value Pr(>|t|) (Intercept) 78.3144 33.3075 2.3513 0.0187141 * TYPEdomestic -6.1633 25.6550 -0.2402 0.8101467 TYPEhighway 138.0445 43.0595 3.2059 0.0013473 **

	TYPEhomicide 90.8363 25.2536 3.5970 0.0003223 *** TYPEmedical racism 71.6838 96.5540 0.7424 0.4578352 TYPEmissing 67.5875 28.0177 2.4123 0.0158552 * TYPEpolice 110.0203 45.6626 2.4094 0.0159816 * TYPEserial 125.2166 26.5095 4.7235 2.325e-06 *** TYPEsuspicious 201.0659 37.0110 5.4326 5.581e-08 *** TYPEunsolved 220.2927 28.2315 7.8031 6.160e-15 ***
Crime Type~ Legal Frame	
Poisson Regression	Estimate Std. Error z value Pr(>|z|) (Intercept) -12.9722079 0.2599105 -49.9103 < 2.2e-16 *** TYPEdomestic 0.6160224 0.0435242 14.1535 < 2.2e-16 *** TYPEhighway 0.3400973 0.0828218 4.1064 4.019e-05 *** TYPEhomicide 0.5188437 0.0438103 11.8430 < 2.2e-16 *** TYPEmedical racism 0.1098457 0.0876030 1.2539 0.209877 TYPEmissing 0.0860523 0.0482830 1.7822 0.074709 . TYPEpolice 0.3987176 0.0653222 6.1039 1.035e-09 *** TYPEserial 0.6131836 0.0449792 13.6326 < 2.2e-16 *** TYPEsuspicious -0.2793285 0.0959171 -2.9122 0.003589 ** TYPEunsolved 0.3287223 0.0465993 7.0542 1.735e-12 ***
Ordinary Least Square Regression	Estimate Std. Error t value Pr(>|t|) (Intercept) -0.2502411 0.0177440 -14.1029 < 2.2e-16 *** TYPEdomestic 0.2503917 0.0161984 15.4578 < 2.2e-16 *** TYPEhighway 0.1251822 0.0226169 5.5349 3.130e-08 *** TYPEhomicide 0.1952181 0.0161270 12.1050 < 2.2e-16 *** TYPEmedical racism 0.0718885 0.0317352 2.2653 0.0235013 * TYPEmissing 0.0724893 0.0162404 4.4635 8.080e-06 *** TYPEpolice 0.1493701 0.0237759 6.2824 3.361e-10 *** TYPEserial 0.2139273 0.0158281 13.5156 < 2.2e-16 *** TYPEsuspicious -0.0666382 0.0257945 -2.5834 0.0097854 ** TYPEunsolved 0.1292654 0.0167197 7.7313 1.085e-14 ***
Crime Type ~ Police Frame	
Poisson Regression	Estimate Std. Error z value Pr(>|z|) (Intercept) -12.886611 0.301237 -42.7790 < 2.2e-16 *** TYPEdomestic 0.583877 0.055495 10.5213 < 2.2e-16 *** TYPEhighway 0.818628 0.082548 9.9170 < 2.2e-16 *** TYPEhomicide 0.529773 0.055330 9.5748 < 2.2e-16 *** TYPEmedical racism -0.090070 0.102669 -0.8773 0.380336 TYPEmissing 0.569726 0.057542 9.9010 < 2.2e-16 *** TYPEpolice 0.917250 0.069536 13.1910 < 2.2e-16 *** TYPEserial 0.630247 0.056544 11.1462 < 2.2e-16 *** TYPEsuspicious 0.212167 0.089081 2.3817 0.017232 * TYPEunsolved 0.645069 0.057000 11.3171 < 2.2e-16 ***
Ordinary Least Squares Regression	Estimate Std. Error t value Pr(>|t|) (Intercept) -0.1400234 0.0173456 -8.0726 7.038e-16 *** TYPEdomestic 0.1486191 0.0157489 9.4368 < 2.2e-16 *** TYPEhighway 0.1892527 0.0240737 7.8614 3.876e-15 ***

	TYPEhomicide 0.1176297 0.0154817 7.5980 3.061e-14 *** TYPEmedical racism -0.1427192 0.0305593 -4.6702 3.016e-06 *** TYPEmissing 0.1289558 0.0156736 8.2276 < 2.2e-16 *** TYPEpolice 0.2392746 0.0237854 10.0597 < 2.2e-16 *** TYPEserial 0.1453244 0.0152206 9.5479 < 2.2e-16 *** TYPEsuspicious 0.0076542 0.0262116 0.2920 0.770276 TYPEunsolved 0.1627116 0.0161936 10.0479 < 2.2e-16 ***
Crime Type ~ High-Risk Frame	
Poisson Regression	Estimate Std. Error z value Pr(>|z|) (Intercept) -15.6306729 2.8592425 -5.4667 4.584e-08 *** TYPEdomestic 0.3443680 0.0633379 5.4370 5.418e-08 *** TYPEhighway 0.5808000 0.0964962 6.0189 1.756e-09 *** TYPEhomicide 0.3656296 0.0602518 6.0684 1.292e-09 *** TYPEmedical racism 0.3900458 0.1105685 3.5276 0.0004193 *** TYPEmissing 0.2746551 0.0643352 4.2691 1.962e-05 *** TYPEpolice 0.4066116 0.0884066 4.5993 4.238e-06 *** TYPEserial 0.5343920 0.0617967 8.6476 < 2.2e-16 *** TYPEsuspicious -0.5010569 0.1309318 -3.8269 0.0001298 *** TYPEunsolved 0.4593726 0.0634973 7.2345 4.672e-13 **
Ordinary Least Square Regression	Estimate Std. Error t value Pr(>|t|) (Intercept) -0.0551786 0.0168773 -3.2694 0.0010785 ** TYPEdomestic 0.0710742 0.0157452 4.5140 6.376e-06 *** TYPEhighway 0.1079850 0.0223725 4.8267 1.392e-06 *** TYPEhomicide 0.0681578 0.0148722 4.5829 4.597e-06 *** TYPEmedical racism 0.0587343 0.0301692 1.9468 0.0515608 . TYPEmissing 0.0494796 0.0150691 3.2835 0.0010259 ** TYPEpolice 0.0686574 0.0217708 3.1537 0.0016134 ** TYPEserial 0.1028120 0.0146742 7.0063 2.478e-12 *** TYPEsuspicious -0.1225559 0.0230231 -5.3232 1.024e-07 *** TYPEunsolved 0.0955383 0.0157480 6.0667 1.315e-09 ***
Crime Type ~ Perpetrator Frame	
Poisson Regression	Estimate Std. Error z value Pr(>|z|) (Intercept) -17.069866 4.539666 -3.7602 0.0001698 *** TYPEdomestic 0.720769 0.448837 1.6059 0.1083049 TYPEhighway 2.958089 0.456969 6.4733 9.590e-11 *** TYPEhomicide 1.391763 0.445516 3.1239 0.0017845 ** TYPEmedical racism 0.308447 0.643542 0.4793 0.6317275 TYPEmissing 2.569557 0.445707 5.7651 8.160e-09 *** TYPEpolice 0.814710 0.528245 1.5423 0.1230016 TYPEserial 4.051489 0.444250 9.1198 < 2.2e-16 *** TYPEsuspicious 0.665638 0.580181 1.1473 0.2512601 TYPEunsolved 2.213201 0.445554 4.9673 6.789e-07 ***
Ordinary Least Square Regression	Estimate Std. Error t value Pr(>|t|) (Intercept) 0.06041917 0.00705871 8.5595 < 2.2e-16 *** TYPEdomestic -0.02747186 0.00488312 -5.6259 1.856e-08 *** TYPEhighway 0.09319790 0.01529283 6.0942 1.108e-09 *** TYPEhomicide -0.00987685 0.00518692 -1.9042 0.0568921 .

	TYPEmedical racism 0.02557588 0.01451498 1.7620 0.0780699 . TYPEmissing 0.06171109 0.00565707 10.9087 < 2.2e-16 *** TYPEpolice -0.02464235 0.00716928 -3.4372 0.0005882 *** TYPEserial 0.37949984 0.00595119 63.7688 < 2.2e-16 *** TYPEsuspicious -0.09615818 0.00867431 -11.0854 < 2.2e-16 *** TYPEunsolved 0.00371143 0.00603552 0.6149 0.5386034
Crime Type ~ Systemic Frame	
Poisson Regression	Estimate Std. Error z value Pr(>|z|) (Intercept) -14.797079 NaN NaN NaN TYPEdomestic -1.526565 0.078937 -19.3390 < 2.2e-16 *** TYPEhighway -0.970407 0.174107 -5.5736 2.495e-08 *** TYPEhomicide -1.231007 0.062465 -19.7071 < 2.2e-16 *** TYPEmedical racism -0.709344 0.117431 -6.0405 1.536e-09 *** TYPEmissing -0.966919 0.072658 -13.3078 < 2.2e-16 *** TYPEpolice -0.678779 0.099850 -6.7980 1.061e-11 *** TYPEserial -1.324175 0.076668 -17.2715 < 2.2e-16 *** TYPEsuspicious -0.626013 0.111446 -5.6172 1.941e-08 *** TYPEunsolved -0.533971 0.067840 -7.8711 3.516e-15 ***
Ordinary Least Square Regression	Estimate Std. Error t value Pr(>|t|) (Intercept) 0.2441136 0.0152040 16.0559 < 2.2e-16 *** TYPEdomestic -0.3243561 0.0138209 -23.4685 < 2.2e-16 *** TYPEhighway -0.2615289 0.0177227 -14.7568 < 2.2e-16 *** TYPEhomicide -0.3048703 0.0141319 -21.5733 < 2.2e-16 *** TYPEmedical racism -0.2089382 0.0296407 -7.0490 1.826e-12 *** TYPEmissing -0.2792883 0.0140850 -19.8287 < 2.2e-16 *** TYPEpolice -0.2588827 0.0199343 -12.9868 < 2.2e-16 *** TYPEserial -0.2758488 0.0138647 -19.8957 < 2.2e-16 *** TYPEsuspicious -0.2048848 0.0234081 -8.7527 < 2.2e-16 *** TYPEunsolved -0.2079544 0.0145448 -14.2975 < 2.2e-16 ***
Crime Type ~ Violent Victimization Frame	
Poisson Regression	Estimate Std. Error z value Pr(>|z|) (Intercept) -15.2346748 1.3329747 -11.4291 < 2.2e-16 *** TYPEdomestic 0.6874557 0.0980188 7.0135 2.324e-12 *** TYPEhighway 0.4814386 0.1870535 2.5738 0.0100588 * TYPEhomicide 0.6546814 0.0977968 6.6943 2.167e-11 *** TYPEmedical racism 0.5082304 0.2279837 2.2292 0.0257979 * TYPEmissing -0.0050771 0.1113099 -0.0456 0.9636195 TYPEpolice 0.1938835 0.1581754 1.2257 0.2202928 TYPEserial 1.1007830 0.0999467 11.0137 < 2.2e-16 *** TYPEsuspicious -1.5454389 0.3481103 -4.4395 9.016e-06 *** TYPEunsolved 0.6675390 0.1024327 6.5169 7.180e-11 ***
Ordinary Least Square Regression	Estimate Std. Error t value Pr(>|t|) (Intercept) 0.04037937 0.01288381 3.1341 0.0017247 ** TYPEdomestic 0.06950814 0.01158097 6.0019 1.964e-09 *** TYPEhighway 0.03776646 0.01588682 2.3772 0.0174475 * TYPEhomicide 0.05771251 0.01148348 5.0257 5.034e-07 *** TYPEmedical racism 0.06504677 0.01918403 3.3907 0.0006978 ***

	TYPEmissing 0.01291113 0.01127185 1.1454 0.2520358 TYPEpolice 0.02221681 0.01507299 1.4739 0.1405020 TYPEserial 0.10895827 0.01125438 9.6814 < 2.2e-16 ***
Crime Type ~ Loved Frame	
Poisson Regression	Estimate Std. Error z value Pr(>|z|) (Intercept) -15.801564 1.661199 -9.5121 < 2.2e-16 *** TYPEdomestic 0.140871 0.165243 0.8525 0.3939302 TYPEhighway 0.611967 0.235861 2.5946 0.0094700 ** TYPEhomicide 0.402797 0.170654 2.3603 0.0182596 * TYPEmedical racism -1.430405 0.360295 -3.9701 7.184e-05 *** TYPEmissing 0.501559 0.175411 2.8593 0.0042453 ** TYPEpolice 0.352119 0.214632 1.6406 0.1008856 TYPEserial 0.274531 0.173923 1.5785 0.1144596 TYPEsuspicious 0.237536 0.235426 1.0090 0.3129941 TYPEunsolved 0.500307 0.175686 2.8477 0.0044031 **
Ordinary Least Square Regression	Estimate Std. Error t value Pr(>|t|) (Intercept) -0.02237455 0.00961445 -2.3272 0.019960 * TYPEdomestic -0.00035925 0.00793676 -0.0453 0.963897 TYPEhighway 0.02174348 0.01369700 1.5875 0.112414 TYPEhomicide 0.01392383 0.00880102 1.5821 0.113640 TYPEmedical racism -0.08972601 0.01659719 -5.4061 6.471e-08 *** TYPEmissing 0.01875274 0.00877110 2.1380 0.032521 * TYPEpolice 0.00522275 0.01267167 0.4122 0.680224 TYPEserial 0.00765250 0.00842591 0.9082 0.363772 TYPEsuspicious 0.00454721 0.01600273 0.2842 0.776295 TYPEunsolved 0.02297003 0.00916698 2.5057 0.012223 *

Appendix H: MMIWG2S+ Media Framing Dictionary

The words and phrases listed below in the MMIWG2S+ Media Framing dictionary are not inclusive of the capture-specific or negation rules I used in WordStat when developing the dictionary. The capture-specific rules I used ensured that the words and phrases in the dictionary categories were the appropriate definitions of the words. Likewise, the negation rules that preceded or followed certain rules also allowed for better accuracy. For example, I used a negation rule of "not political" for the dictionary entry "party" under the "high-risk" categorization.

Frame Category	Corresponding Word or Phrase
POLICE	ANYONE_WITH_INFORMATION
POLICE	ASSOCIATION_OF_CHIEFS_OF_POLICE
POLICE	CAPTAIN

POLICE	CASE*_REMAIN*_UNSOLVED
POLICE	CITY_POLICE
POLICE	COLD_CASE*
POLICE	COME_FORWARD
POLICE	COMPOSITE_SKETCH
POLICE	CONTACT_POLICE
POLICE	CRIME_SCENE
POLICE	CRIME_STOPPERS
POLICE	DETECTIVE*
POLICE	EXHAUSTED_ALL_LEADS
POLICE	INFORMATION_ON_THE_WHEREABOUTS
POLICE	INFORMATION_REGARDING
POLICE	INSPECTOR
POLICE	INVESTIGATE*
POLICE	INVESTIGATIVE_TEAM
POLICE	LAST_HEARD
POLICE	LAST_SEEN
POLICE	LAW_ENFORCEMENT
POLICE	LEAD
POLICE	LEADS
POLICE	MISSING_PERSONS_UNIT
POLICE	MOUNTIES
POLICE	MOUNTY
POLICE	NEW_LEAD*
POLICE	OFFICER
POLICE	OFFICER*
POLICE	ONGOING_INVESTIGATION*
POLICE	OPP
POLICE	POLICE*
POLICE	POLICEMAN
POLICE	POLICE_APPREHEND*
POLICE	POLICE_CANVAS*

POLICE	POLICE_CHIEF*
POLICE	POLICE_INVESTIGATE*
POLICE	POLICE_OFFICER*
POLICE	POLICE_RESPONSE*
POLICE	POLICE_SERVICE*
POLICE	PROJECT_KARE
POLICE	PROVINCIAL_POLICE
POLICE	PUBLIC*_ASSISTANCE
POLICE	RCMP
POLICE	RCMP*_OFFICER*
POLICE	REWARD_FOR_INFORMATION
POLICE	ROYAL_CANADIAN_MOUNTED_POLICE
POLICE	SURRENDER*_TO_POLICE
POLICE	SUSPECT*
POLICE	TASK_FORCE*
POLICE	TIP
POLICE	TIP*
POLICE	UNDERCOVER_OFFICER*
POLICE	WARRANT
POLICE	UNSOLVED_CASE
VIOLENT	ANAL
VIOLENT	ANUS
VIOLENT	ASPHYXIATE
VIOLENT	BADLY_BEATEN_BODY
VIOLENT	BADLY_DECOMPOSED
VIOLENT	BEATEN_AND_STRANGLED
VIOLENT	BEATEN_BODY
VIOLENT	BEATEN_TO_DEATH
VIOLENT	BEATING_DEATH
VIOLENT	BEHEAD
VIOLENT	BITEMARK*
VIOLENT	BITE_MARK*

VIOLENT	BLED_TO_DEATH
VIOLENT	BLOODY
VIOLENT	BLOODY_MINDED
VIOLENT	BLOOD_SHED
VIOLENT	BLOOD_STAINED
VIOLENT	BLOOD_THIRSTY
VIOLENT	BLUDGEONED
VIOLENT	BLUNT_FORCE_TRAUMA
VIOLENT	BODY_DUMPED
VIOLENT	BODY_HANGING
VIOLENT	BODY_PART*
VIOLENT	BONE_FRAGMENTS
VIOLENT	BRAIN
VIOLENT	BREAST
VIOLENT	BUTCHER*
VIOLENT	BUTCHERED_PIGS_AND_HUMAN_REMAINS
VIOLENT	CARNAGE
VIOLENT	CHOKE*
VIOLENT	CRUCIFY
VIOLENT	CUTTHROAT
VIOLENT	DEADLY_WEAPON
VIOLENT	DEATHBLOW
VIOLENT	DECAPITATE*
VIOLENT	DECIMATE
VIOLENT	DEFILE
VIOLENT	DISMEMBER*
VIOLENT	DUMPED
VIOLENT	ELECTROCUTE
VIOLENT	FETICIDE
VIOLENT	FLESH
VIOLENT	FREEZER
VIOLENT	GRUESOME

VIOLENT	HANGING
VIOLENT	HOCKEY_BAG
VIOLENT	MASSACRE
VIOLENT	MEDICAL_EXAMINER
VIOLENT	MUTILATE*
VIOLENT	MUTILATED_BODY
VIOLENT	NAKED_BODY
VIOLENT	NAKED_CORPSE
VIOLENT	NECK
VIOLENT	PELVIS
VIOLENT	PLASTIC_BAG*
VIOLENT	RIB
VIOLENT	RIBCAGE
VIOLENT	SAWN
VIOLENT	SEVERED
VIOLENT	SKULL
VIOLENT	SLAUGHTER*
VIOLENT	SLAY
VIOLENT	STAB
VIOLENT	STRANGLE*
VIOLENT	STRANGULATION
VIOLENT	SUFFOCATE
VIOLENT	SUITCASE
VIOLENT	TEETH
VIOLENT	TORTURE*
VIOLENT	WRAPPED_IN_
VIOLENT	VAGINA*
LOVED	BEAUTIFUL
LOVED	BEST_FRIEND
LOVED	BIG_SISTER
LOVED	BRIGHT
LOVED	BRIGHT_FUTURE

LOVED	BUBBLY
LOVED	CAREFREE
LOVED	CHEERFUL
LOVED	CHERISH*
LOVED	DESCRIBED_HER
LOVED	DESCRIBING_HER
LOVED	DREAMED_OF_BECOMING
LOVED	DREAMED_OF_BEING
LOVED	ENTHUSIASM
LOVED	FAMILY_AND_FRIENDS
LOVED	FOND_MEMORIES
LOVED	FULL_OF_LIFE
LOVED	FUN_LOVING
LOVED	GENTLE
LOVED	HILARIOUS
LOVED	HOPES_AND_DREAMS
LOVED	KIND_HEART
LOVED	KIND_PERSON
LOVED	LAUGH
LOVED	LAUGHTER
LOVED	LIVELY
LOVED	LOVED_TO_DANCE
LOVED	LOVED_TO_LAUGH
LOVED	LOVING_DAUGHTER
LOVED	LOVING_MOTHER
LOVED	LOVING_PERSON
LOVED	LOVING_SISTER
LOVED	OUTGOING
LOVED	REMEMBERED_AS
LOVED	SMILE
LOVED	SOUL
LOVED	SPARKLING

LOVED	SWEET
LOVED	WAS_LOVED
LOVED	YOUNGER_SISTER
HIGH-RISK	ADDICT*
HIGH-RISK	ADDICTED_TO_DRUGS
HIGH-RISK	AFTER_DARK
HIGH-RISK	ALCOHOL
HIGH-RISK	ALCOHOL_ABUSE
HIGH-RISK	BAR*
HIGH-RISK	BEER
HIGH-RISK	BOOZE
HIGH-RISK	CLUB
HIGH-RISK	COCAINE
HIGH-RISK	CRACK
HIGH-RISK	CRACK_COCKAINE
HIGH-RISK	DOWNTOWN_EASTSIDE
HIGH-RISK	DOWNTOWN_EAST_SIDE
HIGH-RISK	DRINK
HIGH-RISK	DRINKING
HIGH-RISK	DRUG*
HIGH-RISK	DRUG_ADDICTED
HIGH-RISK	DRUG_ADDICTIONS
HIGH-RISK	DRUG_ADDICTS
HIGH-RISK	DRUG_DEALERS
HIGH-RISK	DRUG_INFESTED
HIGH-RISK	DRUG_USE
HIGH-RISK	DRUNK*
HIGH-RISK	EARLY_MORNING
HIGH-RISK	EXOTIC_DANCERS
HIGH-RISK	FETANYL
HIGH-RISK	HALFWAY_HOUSE
HIGH-RISK	HASTINGS_AND_MAIN

HIGH-RISK	HERION
HIGH-RISK	HIGH_RISK_LIFESTYLE*
HIGH-RISK	HITCHHIKE*
HIGH-RISK	HOMELESS*
HIGH-RISK	HOMELESS_SHELTER
HIGH-RISK	HOOKER*
HIGH-RISK	HOSTEL
HIGH-RISK	IJNECT
HIGH-RISK	ILLEGAL_ACTIVITY*
HIGH-RISK	IMPOVERSIHED
HIGH-RISK	INTOXICATE*
HIGH-RISK	KNOWN_TO_GO_MISSING
HIGH-RISK	LATE_INTO_THE_EVENING
HIGH-RISK	LIFE_ON_THE_STREET
HIGH-RISK	LIVE*_ON_THE_STREET
HIGH-RISK	MARIJUANA
HIGH-RISK	MISSING_FROM_THE_DOWNTOWN_EASTSIDE
HIGH-RISK	MISUSE*
HIGH-RISK	MONEY_FOR_SEX
HIGH-RISK	MOTEL
HIGH-RISK	NARCOTIC
HIGH-RISK	NEEDLE
HIGH-RISK	NEFARIOUS
HIGH-RISK	NIGHTCLUB
HIGH-RISK	NIGHTLIFE
HIGH-RISK	NIGHT_CLUB
HIGH-RISK	ORGANIZED_CRIME
HIGH-RISK	OUTSKIRTS_OF_THE_CITY
HIGH-RISK	OUT_LATE
HIGH-RISK	OVERDOSE
HIGH-RISK	OXYCONTIN
HIGH-RISK	PARTY*

HIGH-RISK	PIMP*
HIGH-RISK	POVERTY_STRICKEN
HIGH-RISK	PROSTITUTE*
HIGH-RISK	PROSTITUTION
HIGH-RISK	RANWAY
HIGH-RISK	REGULAR_COCAINE_USE*
HIGH-RISK	RELAPSE*
HIGH-RISK	ROOMING_HOUSE
HIGH-RISK	RUNAWAY
HIGH-RISK	RUNDOWN
HIGH-RISK	SEDATIVE
HIGH-RISK	SEEDY
HIGH-RISK	SEX_TRADE
HIGH-RISK	SEX_WORK*
HIGH-RISK	SKID_ROW
HIGH-RISK	SOCIAL_ASSISTANCE
HIGH-RISK	SOLICITATION
HIGH-RISK	SOLICITED
HIGH-RISK	STROLL
HIGH-RISK	SUBSTANCE_ABUSE
HIGH-RISK	SYRINGE
HIGH-RISK	TRANSIENT
HIGH-RISK	TROUBLED_LIFE
HIGH-RISK	TROUBLED_PAST
HIGH-RISK	TROUBLED_YOUTH
HIGH-RISK	VANIER
HIGH-RISK	WEED
HIGH-RISK	WHISKY
HIGH-RISK	WRONG_CROWD
HIGH-RISK	WORKING_IN_THE_SEX_INDUSTRY
SYSTEMIC	60S_SCOOP
SYSTEMIC	AMNESTY

SYSTEMIC	CFS
SYSTEMIC	CFS_WORKERS
SYSTEMIC	CHILDREN_IN_CARE
SYSTEMIC	CHILD_APPREHEND*
SYSTEMIC	CHILD_PROTECTION
SYSTEMIC	CHILD_WELFARE
SYSTEMIC	CHILD_WELFARE_AUTHORITIES
SYSTEMIC	CHILD_WELFARE_SYSTEM
SYSTEMIC	DISCRIMINATE
SYSTEMIC	DISCRIMINATION
SYSTEMIC	DISCRIMINATIVE
SYSTEMIC	DISTINCTION
SYSTEMIC	FAILURE_TO_PROTECT
SYSTEMIC	FINAL_REPORT
SYSTEMIC	FOSTER
SYSTEMIC	FOSTER_CARE
SYSTEMIC	FOSTER_CARE_SYSTEM
SYSTEMIC	FOSTER_CHILDREN
SYSTEMIC	HEALTH_CARE
SYSTEMIC	HUMAN-TRAFFICKING
SYSTEMIC	IMPOVERISH
SYSTEMIC	INEQUALITY
SYSTEMIC	INJUST*
SYSTEMIC	MINISTRY
SYSTEMIC	OVER-REPRESENT*
SYSTEMIC	POVERTY
SYSTEMIC	PREJUDICE
SYSTEMIC	RACISM
SYSTEMIC	RATES_OF_VIOLENCE
SYSTEMIC	REFORM
SYSTEMIC	RESIDENTIAL_SCHOOL
SYSTEMIC	SEXISM

SYSTEMIC	SEXUAL_EXPLOITATION
SYSTEMIC	SIXTIES_SCOOP
SYSTEMIC	SOCIAL_SERVICES
SYSTEMIC	ACTION_PLAN
SYSTEMIC	CALLS_FOR_A_NATIONAL_INQUIRY
SYSTEMIC	ABORIGINAL_JUSTICE_INQUIRY
SYSTEMIC	SOCIAL_WORKERS
SYSTEMIC	CALLS_TO_ACTION
SYSTEMIC	CALLS_FOR_AN_INQUIRY
SYSTEMIC	EPIDEMIC
SYSTEMIC	GENOCIDE
SYSTEMIC	FEDERAL_INQUIRY
SYSTEMIC	CALLS_TO_POLICE
SYSTEMIC	CALLS_FOR_JUSTICE
SYSTEMIC	NATIONAL_INQUIRY_INTO_MISSING_AND_MURDERED_INDIGENOUS_WOMEN_AND_GIRLS
SYSTEMIC	NATIONAL_TRAGEDY
SYSTEMIC	NATIONAL_INQUIRY
SYSTEMIC	NATIONAL_CRISIS
SYSTEMIC	SYSTEMIC_RACISM
SYSTEMIC	UNEQUAL
LEGAL	ACCUSATION
LEGAL	ACCUSED
LEGAL	ADJUDICATE
LEGAL	ADMISSION
LEGAL	AFFIDAVIT
LEGAL	ALLEGATION
LEGAL	ALLEGE
LEGAL	APPEAL
LEGAL	APPEAL_MOTION
LEGAL	APPEARED_IN_COURT
LEGAL	APPLY_FOR_PAROLE

LEGAL	ASSISTANT_JUDGE
LEGAL	ASSOCIATE_JUSTICE
LEGAL	ATTEST
LEGAL	ATTORNEY
LEGAL	BEAR_WITNESS
LEGAL	CAPITAL_PUNISHMENT
LEGAL	CHARGED_IN_THE_DEATH
LEGAL	CHARGED_IN_THE_DEATHS
LEGAL	CHARGED_WITH_KILLING
LEGAL	CHARGED_WITH_SECOND_DEGREE_MURDER
LEGAL	CHARGES
LEGAL	CHARGE_OF_FIRST_DEGREE_MURDER
LEGAL	CHIEF_JUSTICE
LEGAL	CONVICT
LEGAL	CONVICTED
LEGAL	CORROBORATE
LEGAL	COURT
LEGAL	COURT_APPEARANCE
LEGAL	COURT_JUDGE
LEGAL	COURT_OF_APPEAL
LEGAL	COURT_REPORTER
LEGAL	CRIMINAL
LEGAL	CRIMINAL_LAW
LEGAL	CROSS_EXAMINATION
LEGAL	CROWN
LEGAL	CROWN_LAWYER
LEGAL	CROWN_PROSECUTOR
LEGAL	CROWN_SPOKESMAN
LEGAL	CUSTODY
LEGAL	DEFENCE
LEGAL	DEFENCE_LAWYER
LEGAL	DEFENDANT

LEGAL	DELIBERATIONS
LEGAL	DELIVER_JUDGMENT
LEGAL	ENTER_A_PLEA
LEGAL	EVIDENCE
LEGAL	EXHIBIT
LEGAL	EXPECTED_TO_TESTIFY
LEGAL	EXPERT_TESTIMONY
LEGAL	EXPERT_WITNESS*
LEGAL	EXTERNAL_EVIDENCE
LEGAL	EYEWITNESS
LEGAL	FIRST_DEGREE_MURDER
LEGAL	FOUL_PLAY
LEGAL	GIVE_EVIDENCE
LEGAL	GUILTY
LEGAL	HAVE_WEIGHT
LEGAL	HEARD_EVIDENCE
LEGAL	HEARING
LEGAL	HEARSAY_EVIDENCE
LEGAL	HOSTILE_WITNESS
LEGAL	IMPRISONMENT
LEGAL	INDICT
LEGAL	INDICTMENT
LEGAL	INTERNAL_EVIDENCE
LEGAL	JUDGE
LEGAL	JUDICIAL
LEGAL	JURY
LEGAL	JURYMAN
LEGAL	JURY_CONVICTED
LEGAL	JUSTICE
LEGAL	LAWSUIT
LEGAL	LAWYER
LEGAL	LAY_CHARGE

LEGAL	LEGAL_COUNSEL
LEGAL	LEGAL_RESEARCH
LEGAL	LIBEL
LEGAL	LIFE_IN_PRISON
LEGAL	LIFE_SENTENCE
LEGAL	LITIGATION
LEGAL	LITIGIOUS
LEGAL	MANSLAUGHTER
LEGAL	MATERIAL_EVIDENCE
LEGAL	MATERIAL_WITNESS
LEGAL	MISCONDUCT
LEGAL	MURDER_CHARGE
LEGAL	MURDER_TRIAL
LEGAL	NOT_GUILTY
LEGAL	ORAL_EVIDENCE
LEGAL	PAROLE
LEGAL	PAROLE_INELIGIBILITY
LEGAL	PASS_SENTENCE
LEGAL	PHYSICAL_EVIDENCE
LEGAL	PLAINTIFF
LEGAL	PLEA
LEGAL	PLEAD
LEGAL	POLICE_MAGISTRATE
LEGAL	PRECEDENT
LEGAL	PRECEDING_
LEGAL	PRELIMINARY_HEARING
LEGAL	PRELIMINARY_TRIAL
LEGAL	PRISON
LEGAL	PROCEDURAL
LEGAL	PROCEDURE
LEGAL	PRODUCE_WITNESSES
LEGAL	PROOF

LEGAL	PROSECUTE
LEGAL	PROSECUTION
LEGAL	PROSECUTOR
LEGAL	PUBLICATION_BAN
LEGAL	REASONABLE_DOUBT
LEGAL	RULING
LEGAL	SECOND_DEGREE_MURDER
LEGAL	SENTENCED_TO_LIFE
LEGAL	SENTENCED_TO_LIFE_IN_PRISON
LEGAL	SENTENCING_HEARING
LEGAL	STAND_TRIAL
LEGAL	SUFFICIENT_EVIDENCE
LEGAL	SUMMONS
LEGAL	SUPREME_COURT
LEGAL	TESTIFIED
LEGAL	TESTIFY
LEGAL	TESTIMONY
LEGAL	TRIAL
LEGAL	TRIAL_JUDGE
LEGAL	VERDICT
LEGAL	WITNESS
PERPETRATOR	BAD_MAN
PERPETRATOR	BLACK_SHEEP
PERPETRATOR	BOOZING_BARBER
PERPETRATOR	BUTCHER
PERPETRATOR	CLIFFORD_OLSON
PERPETRATOR	CLIFFORD_ROBERT_OLSON
PERPETRATOR	CODY_LEGEBOKOFF
PERPETRATOR	CRAWFORD
PERPETRATOR	CULPRIT
PERPETRATOR	DEMON
PERPETRATOR	DEMONIACAL

PERPETRATOR	DEVIANT
PERPETRATOR	DEVIL
PERPETRATOR	DEVIL_INCARNATE
PERPETRATOR	DIABOLIC
PERPETRATOR	EDWARD_DENNIS_ISAAC
PERPETRATOR	EDWARD_ISSAC
PERPETRATOR	EVIL
PERPETRATOR	EVIL-DISPOSED
PERPETRATOR	EVIL-DOING
PERPETRATOR	EVIL-MINDED
PERPETRATOR	GILBERT_JORDAN_
PERPETRATOR	GILBERT_PAUL_JORDAN
PERPETRATOR	HEARD_VOICES
PERPETRATOR	HEARING_VOICES
PERPETRATOR	HEINOUS
PERPETRATOR	INSANITY
PERPETRATOR	JOHN_CRAWFORD
PERPETRATOR	JOHN_MARTIN_CRAWFORD
PERPETRATOR	KILLER
PERPETRATOR	LAWLESS
PERPETRATOR	MERCILESS
PERPETRATOR	MONSTER
PERPETRATOR	MONSTROSITY
PERPETRATOR	MONSTROUS
PERPETRATOR	OFFENDER
PERPETRATOR	OFFENDER
PERPETRATOR	OLSON
PERPETRATOR	LEGEBOKOFF
PERPETRATOR	PERPETRATOR
PERPETRATOR	PICKTON_FARM
PERPETRATOR	PORT_COQUITLAM
PERPETRATOR	PORT_COQUITLAM_PIG_FARM

PERPETRATOR	PORT_COQUITLAM_PIG_FARMER
PERPETRATOR	PREVIOUS_CHARGES
PERPETRATOR	REMORSE
PERPETRATOR	REMORSE
PERPETRATOR	ROBERT_PICKTON
PERPETRATOR	ROBERT_WILLIAM_PICKTON
PERPETRATOR	SADIST
PERPETRATOR	SERIAL_KILLER*
PERPETRATOR	SERIAL_MURDER*
PERPETRATOR	SEXUAL_SADIST
PERPETRATOR	SIN
PERPETRATOR	SINFUL
PERPETRATOR	SINNED
PERPETRATOR	SINNER
PERPETRATOR	STALKED
PERPETRATOR	STALKER
PERPETRATOR	THOMAS_SVEKLA
PERPETRATOR	TOWERING
PERPETRATOR	TRANSGRESSOR
PERPETRATOR	UNSEEMLY
PERPETRATOR	VILLAIN
PERPETRATOR	WICKED
PERPETRATOR	WICKEDNESS
PERPETRATOR	WILLIE_PICKTON
PERPETRATOR	SVEKLA
PERPETRATOR	WRONGDOER
PERPETRATOR	WRONGDOING