This is a preprint of an article whose final and definitive form has been published in the Feminist Media Studies [2010] copyright Taylor & Francis; Feminist Media Studies is available online at:
http://www.informaworld.com/smpp/content~db=all~content=a930958834~frm=abslink

# "NEWSWORTHY" VICTIMS?
# Exploring differences in Canadian local press coverage of missing/murdered Aboriginal and White women

Kristen Gilchrist

More than 500 Aboriginal women have gone missing or been murdered in Canada since the 1980s yet press attention to this violence is relatively minimal. This paper compares local press coverage of matched cases: three missing/murdered Aboriginal women from Saskatchewan and three missing/murdered White women from Ontario. Quantitative and qualitative content analyses indicate stark disparities in the amount and content of coverage between groups. The Aboriginal women received three and a half times less coverage; their articles were shorter and less likely to appear on the front page. Depictions of the Aboriginal women were also more detached in tone and scant in detail in contrast to the more intimate portraits of the White women. Drawing on feminist media studies and theories of intersectionality, this paper argues that the simultaneous devaluation of Aboriginal womanhood and idealization of middle-class White womanhood contributes to broader systemic inequalities which re/produce racism, sexism, classism, and colonialism. This paper raises concerns about the broader implications of the relative invisibility of missing/murdered Aboriginal women in the press, and their symbolic annihilation from the Canadian social landscape.

KEYWORDS missing and murdered women; newsworthiness; local press coverage; racial bias; Aboriginal women; hierarchy of victims

## Introduction

Accounting for 2 percent of Canada's population, Aboriginal women are overrepresented as victims of sexual and physical violence and homicide.1 Aboriginal women aged 25–44 are five times more likely to experience a violent death than any other Canadian woman (Department Of Indian & Northern Affairs 1996). Emerging research has shown that more than five hundred Aboriginal women from all walks of life have gone missing and/or been murdered in Canada since the 1980s—and this number continues to grow (Jacobs & Williams 2008; Native Women's Association of Canada [NWAC] 2008).2 In the majority of cases the missing women were later found murdered, many in sexual homicides. Nearly half of murder cases remain unsolved (NWAC 2009). This paper adopts a feminist intersectional approach emphasizing the multiple and connecting dimensions of inequality (Collins [1990] 2000). The intersectional/interlocking nature of racism, sexism, classism, and colonialism compound the vulnerabilities faced by Aboriginal women in Canada (Gilchrist 2008; Larocque 2007; McIvor 2007; Smith 2005).

The racialization of Aboriginal women—the process by which they are racially marked and subjected to institutional and everyday racism (Jiwani & Young 2006)—is inextricably linked with and mutually constituted by these other oppressions (Monture-Angus 1995). The material effects of these interconnected disadvantages have led an advocacy group to proclaim

Aboriginal women "the most victimized group in Canadian society" (The Elizabeth Fry Society of Saskatchewan, cited in Henry & Tator [2000] 2006, p. 121).

First, I draw on literature outlining the features of a newsworthy crime and victim, with particular emphasis on studies highlighting racial biases in news reporting of violent crimes against women. Next, I present research findings revealing significant disparities in press coverage of Aboriginal and White missing/murdered women. While the press demonstrated a continued, committed, and compassionate response to the White women, depicting them as "the girl next door," the Aboriginal women were largely ignored and thus relegated to the status of invisible "Others" (Jiwani & Young 2006). Links are made between the intersecting disadvantages experienced by Aboriginal women and the value judgments made by news organizations about what constitutes a crime or victim worthy of attention, or, who and what is newsworthy. Lastly, I explore how press disparities promote the symbolic annihilation, or systematic exclusion, trivialization, and marginalization of Aboriginal women's experiences (Sonwalkar 2005; Tuchman 1978).

## Newsmaking and Newsworthiness

Tuchman (1976, p. 97) referred to the news as "a constructed reality," while Cohen and Young (1973, p. 97) suggested that the news is "manufactured by journalists," and Schudson (1989, p. 265) pointed out that "news items are not simply selected but constructed." Rather than objectively reporting events and facts, newsmakers engage in a highly subjective and selective process of news production based on socially and culturally constructed criteria (Fowler 1991; Jewkes 2004; Zelizer 2005). Notably, decisions about who/what is newsworthy are filtered through a predominantly Western, White, heteronormative, middle-class, male lens (Henry & Tator [2000] 2006).

Newsworthiness is defined as "what makes a story worth telling" (Jiwani 2006, p. 38). The specific criteria of newsworthiness can change depending on the individual reporter or news organization (Chermak 1995). However, generally speaking, newsworthy events are those considered to be dramatic, unusual, or fit with a continuing news theme. Additional features such as conflict, action, and deviance increase the likelihood of an event being deemed newsworthy (Ericson, Baranek & Chan 1987, 1991).

According to Greer (2003), over and above these criteria, what makes an event eminently reportable is its spatial and cultural proximity to the audience. Spatial (or geographic) proximity suggests that events "close by" will be more newsworthy than events "far away." In other words, readers react most strongly to events happening near them (Greer 2003, p. 53). Cultural proximity is closely related and refers to the extent to which events are seen as culturally meaningful and resonate with readers' values, beliefs, and concerns (Greer 2003, pp. 47–48). Greer further noted that in the context of sex crimes, proximity adds additional "shock value" as such crimes are being committed "on our streets" by offenders "on the loose" in the same area as a substantial portion of readers (2003, p. 73).

## Gender, Race, and Violence in the News

Hall (1973) argued that, of the millions of events that occur daily across the world, only a very tiny fraction will actually become part of the daily news landscape. Along the same lines, Meyers (1997) identified a hierarchy of crime operating in the news media, meaning that not all crimes are seen as equally newsworthy (see also Jewkes 2004). Severe violence, especially murder, is seen as most newsworthy, and young and elderly White females in particular receive considerable attention (Dowler 2004a, pp. 575–576). Sexually motivated homicides perpetrated by someone unknown to the victim will "invariably receive substantial, often sensational attention" (Jewkes 2004, p. 48). Previous literature has indicated that news stories exaggerate the risks of violent crimes faced by high-status White women (Reiner [1995] 2003, p. 386).

Carter (1998) and Jewkes (2004) have drawn attention to how particular forms of violence against women are deemed too routine or ordinary by newsmakers to be considered newsworthy. For instance, physical and sexual violence committed in the home, by acquaintances, and/or that is non-fatal, tends to fall at the bottom of the hierarchy of crime and is left off the news agenda. It is also useful to consider that the news media perpetuate a hierarchy of female victims, meaning that not all women who have experienced violence are treated equally. Media representations of violence against women often emphasize binary categories which differentiate "good" from "bad" woman. " Good" women are seen as innocent and worth saving or avenging, whereas "bad" women are positioned as unworthy victims and beyond redemption (Jiwani 2008). Like social relations in general, this binary is deeply tied to race and class. Traditionally, it has been middle-class White women who have been constructed as "innocent" and "good" (Collins [1990] 2000). The idealization, or placing of certain bodies in higher regard, subordinates and relegates bodies—in particular "raced" or racialized female bodies—to the status of "Others" (Crenshaw 1991; Mclaughlin 1991). What must be underscored is that binaries of good/bad, worthy/unworthy, pure/impure, and the like, are relational and mutually dependent on one another. In other words, these binaries develop in the context of each other and each is inextricably bound to the other (Collins 1998). In order for there to be a "bad," "unworthy," "impure," "disreputable" woman/victim there must simultaneously be a "good," "worthy," "pure," and "respectable" woman/victim against whom she is judged. Simplistic binaries produce/reproduce hegemonic assumptions about acceptable and deviant expressions of femininity (Madriz 1997). Idealized depictions of heterosexual, able-bodied, middle-class, attractive White women have become the metaphor for "innocence" both in news discourse and in society more generally (Jewkes 2004; Wilcox 2005). The ideologies of human superiority and inferiority underlying these binaries encourage the valuing of some lives over others and act as powerful justifications for continued racial, gender, and class-based oppression (Collins [1990] 2000).

Dyer (1997) explored how over time idealized notions of White womanhood have positioned the White female body as the epitome of purity, cleanliness, vulnerability, and virginity. Dyer traced these notions to Christian traditions of identifying whiteness and blondness with the heavens and angels. The emphasis placed on romanticized images of White womanhood, he argued, connects the White body to that which is both angelic/forbidden, morally

superior/sexually unavailable. Wilcox similarly contended that Western thought associates White middle-class women “with a lack of sexual knowledge and hence with being childlike” (2005, p. 527). She added that Western cultural images of the “good” and “innocent” woman are often conflated with passivity, monogamy, and fragility.

According to Shome, White femininity does not lie in a specific physical body, but rather is “an ideological construction through which meanings about White women and their place in the social order is naturalized . . . and as sites through which otherness; racial, sexual, classed, gendered, and nationalized [identity] is negotiated” (2001, p. 323). Within this ideology poor and/or racialized women are pre-packaged as “bad” women, regardless of their actual behaviour (Collins [1990] 2000; Crenshaw 1991; Mukhopadhyay 2008). The devaluation of poor and/or racialized women, serves to simultaneously affirm the boundaries of appropriate femininity. According to Collins ([1990] 2000, p. 132) the “devalued jezebel makes pure White womanhood possible.”

Meyers (1997) argued that compared with high-status White women, poor and/or racialized crime victims are often depicted in the news as more blameworthy for their victimization. To illustrate, in sexual assault and sexual homicide cases, if a victim is judged to have deviated from patriarchal notions of appropriate feminine behavior by drinking/using drugs, dressing provocatively (or not conservatively), and especially if she engages in sex for money, she is likely to be constructed as, at least partially, responsible for violence against her (Ardovi-Brooker & Caringella-Macdonald 2002; Jiwani & Young 2006; Madriz 1997). Likewise, Mclaughlin (1991) found that television representations of prostitution tended to align the dangers of sex work with the sex worker herself, and accordingly assigned victims rather than offenders blame for violence. As pointed out by Wilcox (2005, p. 529), the presumption in the news media is that male offenders are guilty only to the extent that their female victims are innocent.

In her analysis of Canadian news discourses of the more than sixty missing/murdered women from a poverty-stricken area in Vancouver’s Downtown Eastside, Jiwani (2008) argued that because many of the victims were poor sex workers and/or Aboriginal, the women were labeled as “high-risk,” implying that violence occurred because women put themselves at risk because of their bad choices. This discourse blames women and obscures the unequal social conditions which governed and shaped “choices” made under these circumstances. Aboriginal scholar Martin-Hill (2003) maintained that the disappearances/murders of the Downtown Eastside women and the high number of missing/murdered Aboriginal women in Canada, signals that Aboriginal women are viewed as disposable and so brutal victimization against them is justified because victims are stigmatized as prostitutes, street people, and addicts—even if they are not. The invocation of such stereotypes mitigates the seriousness of their victimization; signalling to the public that crimes against them do not matter. Degrading stereotypes also render racialized women’s experiences of violence invisible, especially in relation to high-status White victims (Ardovi-Brooker & Caringella-Macdonald 2002).

The racial and social status of female victims also influences whether crimes against them are reported at all (Chermak 1995; Dowler, Fleming & Muzzatti 2006). In a study of local crime newscasts in Canada and the United States, Dowler (2004b) established that minority crime victims received not just a less sympathetic tone of news reporting but also less media attention than White victims (cited in Dowler, Fleming & Muzzatti 2006; see also Meyers 1997). In the United States, Black and Hispanic male and female crime victims face a higher likelihood than Whites of receiving no coverage at all (Buckler & Travis 2005). Likewise, in his study of press coverage of crime in Toronto, Ontario, Canada, Wortley (2002) found that Black female crime victims rarely made it on the front page of the newspaper, were relegated to the back pages, or not mentioned at all. Entman and Rojecki's (2001) study of broadcast news in Chicago ascertained that the ratio of time spent on White (male and female) victims compared to Black victims exceeded three to one. Blacks while underrepresented as victims were overrepresented as perpetrators.

Wilcox's (2005) research revealed that the press's reaction to the deaths of two young Black women killed in a drive-by shooting in England was considerable in scope and overemphasized the victims' innocence. Wilcox's findings suggested that the Black victims were constructed in ways usually attributed to middle-class White women, complicating the binary of "good"/White victim and "bad"/non-White victim found in other media studies. Her research shed light on other powerful binaries operating in crime news, and in particular that between female victims and male offenders. The beauty and innocence of the Black victims was juxtaposed with contrasting depictions of the young Black perpetrators as dangerous beasts. The devalued racial status of the perpetrators coupled with prevailing dominant crime and punishment discourses shaped how violence was re/presented. Wilcox's findings indirectly support arguments put forward by Jiwani (2008) Mukhopadhyay (2008), and Razack (2008) who suggested that racialized women, especially those from so-called exotic/"exoticized" cultures are depicted in Western media as imperilled and thus in need of rescue from their barbaric men. Mukhopadhyay (2008) contended that when women of color experience violence, especially sexual violence, they are constructed in dominant news discourse as a seductress who was "asking for it" or as an innocent victim who must be protected from horrific misogyny perpetrated by men in her culture (see also Narayan 1997).

Likewise in her analysis of discourses of prostitution, Mclaughlin (1991) highlighted the nuances in the "good"/"bad" dichotomy and how the binary depends on whether the "bad" woman can be rescued. When the "bad" woman is seen as having parts that are redeemable and worth saving, then her rescue becomes imperative. Jiwani's (2008) analysis contrasting news of Afghan women post-9/11 and missing/murdered Aboriginal women from Vancouver's Downtown Eastside demonstrated that Afghan women were subsumed under Orientalist discourses and ideologies which constituted them as legitimate victims requiring intervention and protection from the alleged dangers of Islam. The missing/murdered Aboriginal women on the other hand were constructed as beyond rescue, perhaps even beyond the pale of civilization, and cast as disposable "Others."

Jewkes (2004) reasoned that when a woman goes missing, several factors influence the news response. She argued that if the missing woman is young, White, conventionally attractive, and from a "respectable" home, the news media are more likely to report her disappearance. Jewkes added that even in cases where abduction and murder are immediately suspected, "the likelihood of media interest will vary in accordance with the background of the victim" (2004, p. 52). Jewkes asserted that to better understand differential news media interest in missing women's cases, comparisons among cases is necessary. To this end, it is useful to "analyze similar stories from the same time period and compare the level and tone of coverage accorded to them" (Jewkes 2004, p. 53). My analysis of matched Aboriginal and White missing/murdered women's cases utilizes this comparative strategy.

Much of the Canadian literature about missing/murdered women focuses on the Downtown Eastside women and how their criminalized statuses as poor, drug-using, sex workers falling outside of societal expectations of the "good"/"worthy" victims influenced news reaction to the cases (Gilchrist 2008; Jiwani 2008; Jiwani & Young 2006; Martin-Hill 2003). My research diverges considerably from previous analyses in that it contrasts press coverage of Aboriginal and White missing/murdered women who are matched in other ways. The Aboriginal women in the study have been selected because they are those who by all accounts "fit in." Such a research design allowed me to build on the previous studies above by determining what difference it made to media coverage simply that women were Aboriginal or White, when they were very similar in other respects.

## Cases

The focus of my analyses was on six cases. The disappearances/murders of three Aboriginal women from Saskatchewan: Daleen Bosse (age 26) who disappeared in Saskatoon, and Melanie Geddes (age 24) and Amber Redman (age 19) who disappeared in the Regina area. The coverage of these cases was contrasted with that of three White women from Ontario: Ardeth Wood (age 27) who went missing in Ottawa, Alicia Ross (age 25) who vanished in the Toronto area, and Jennifer Teague (age 18) who disappeared in the Ottawa area (for a description of each woman's case see Gilchrist 2007 or NWAC 2009 for personal stories and biographies of the Aboriginal women). All six women disappeared during the spring and summer months between 2003 and 2005. Four of the women, Amber Redman, Melanie Geddes, Alicia Ross, and Jennifer Teague disappeared within a seven week period in the summer of 2005. All six young women attended school or were working and maintained close connections with friends and family. None had known connections with the sex industry nor were they believed by their families to be runaways.3

## Methods and Findings

My objective was to explore whether there were identifiable differences in local press reporting of missing/murdered Aboriginal and White women. To gather data for comparison I utilized the Canadian Newsstand online newspaper database and searched for articles printed about each

woman from the first day of coverage about her disappearance through November 30, 2006. Local newspapers were selected given Greer's (2003) emphasis on the importance of spatial and cultural proximity in determining the newsworthiness of an event. The most widely read local newspapers corresponding with the city where each woman disappeared/was murdered, were selected for quantitative and qualitative content analyses.4 Quantitative content analysis is a methodological approach which codes print and visual text(s) into categories and then counts the frequencies and occurrences of each (Ahuvia 2001; Reason & Garcia 2007). The quantitative component of this research consisted of counting and comparing the number of times victims were mentioned in any capacity in their respective local newspapers, the number of articles addressing the victims and their cases specifically, the number of words printed about the victims in these articles, and the placement of articles within the newspaper.

Interpretive content analysis goes beyond simply quantifying explicit elements of the text and thus was used to supplement my quantitative findings. A qualitative or interpretive analysis seeks to understand the subtle meanings and implications of the text(s) and is considered a more holistic approach to understanding context as well as content (Ahuvia 2001; Reason & Garcia 2007). Headlines, articles, and accompanying photographs were analyzed and specific attention was paid to the language used to describe and memorialize the victims, the general tone and themes in the coverage, information that was present in some articles but missing in others, and the types of photographs presented. Sixty articles—ten for each woman—were selected for in-depth analysis. Articles longer than three hundred words which discussed the cases at several integral points were selected, including the initial disappearance, subsequent searches, police investigations, memorials, community rallies, and vigils.

## Amount of Coverage

When the number of articles mentioning the White and Aboriginal women in any capacity were counted, it was found that the White women were mentioned in the local press a total of 511 times compared with only eighty-two times for the Aboriginal women; more than six times as often (see Table 1). When this analysis was broken down to include only articles discussing the missing/murdered women's cases specifically, disparities remained. The Aboriginal women garnered just fifty-three articles compared with 187 articles for the White women; representing three and a half times less coverage overall for the Aboriginal women
(see Table 2).

There were 135,249 words published in articles related to the White women's disappearances/murders and 28,493 words about the Aboriginal women; representing a word count of more than four to one for the White women (see Table 3). Further, articles about the White women averaged 713 words whereas Aboriginal women's articles averaged 518 words; 1.4 times fewer words (see Table 4).

**Table 1: Comparison of # of articles that mention victims in any capacity**

| White Victims | # of times mentioned in local press | Aboriginal Victims | # of times mentioned in local press |
|---|---|---|---|
| Ardeth Wood | 253 | Daleen Bosse | 16 |
| Alicia Ross | 61 | Amber Redman | 37 |
| Jennifer Teague | 197 | Melanie Geddes | 29 |
| Total | 511 | Total | 82 |
| Average | 170 | Average | 27 |

**Table 2: Comparison of # of articles discussing victims/case**

| White Victims | # of articles written about case | Aboriginal Victims | # of articles written about case |
|---|---|---|---|
| Ardeth Wood | 82 | Daleen Bosse | 14 |
| Alicia Ross | 33 | Amber Redman | 26 |
| Jennifer Teague | 72 | Melanie Geddes, | 13 |
| Total | 187 | Total | 53 |
| Average | 62 | Average | 18 |

**Table 3: Comparison of # words printed about victims (using Table 2 data)**

| White Victims | # of words printed in articles | Aboriginal Victims | # of words printed in articles |
|---|---|---|---|
| Ardeth Wood | 61,809 | Daleen Bosse | 6559 |
| Alicia Ross | 22,616 | Amber Redman | 15,638 |
| Jennifer Teague | 50,824 | Melanie Geddes | 6296 |
| Total | 135,249 | Total | 28,493 |
| Average | 45,083 | Average | 9498 |

**Table 4: Comparison of average # of words printed about victims (using Table 2 data)**

| White Victims | average # of words per article | Aboriginal Victims | average # of words per article |
|---|---|---|---|
| Ardeth Wood | 747 | Daleen Bosse | 469 |
| Alicia Ross | 685 | Amber Redman | 601 |
| Jennifer Teague | 706 | Melanie Geddes | 484 |
| Total | 2138 | Total | 1554 |
| Average | 713 | Average | 518 |

## Placement

Thirty-seven percent of articles about the White women appeared on the front page versus twenty-five percent of articles about Aboriginal women. It was not uncommon in the White women's cases—especially in the Ottawa Citizen's coverage—for text and photographs to take up several pages of news or city sections. On the day that police/coroners identified the murdered body of Ardeth Wood there were nine articles printed about the case; two on the front page and seven in the "A"/news section.

Additional analysis of newspapers on microfiche obtained from the National Archives of Canada demonstrated that Aboriginal women's articles tended to be hidden amongst advertisements and soft news.5 In the majority of instances greater space and prominence was given to events of much lesser significance, for example, an article about an October snowfall entitled

"Snowfalls in the southeast" (Regina Leader-Post 2005d, p. A1), a picture of two geese in the street with a caption that reads "A LITTLE OFF COURSE" (Saskatoon Star-Phoenix 2005a, p. A3), a photograph of classic cars accompanied by the headline, "CLASSICS: Summer is a great time for car lovers" (Regina Leader-Post 2005c, p. B1), and a photograph depicting flowers from "The Lily Society" (Regina Leader-Post 2005a, p. A12).

Articles discussing memorials to remember missing/murdered Aboriginal women were smaller in size than an advertisement offering a department store credit card (Regina Leader-Post 2005b, p. A12), and an ad for an automobile dealership offering customers an "Employee Discount" (Saskatoon Star-Phoenix 2005b, p. A5). Entman and Rojecki cautioned that poorly placed articles convey to readers that "events lack urgency and social importance," a condition which may "reduce the salience and emotional potency of stories whose content might otherwise be alarming or provoke hostility" (2001, p. 90). Articles about the (as yet) unsolved disappearances/murders of Aboriginal women were relegated to the periphery of the page and, by extension, of reader's consciousness.

## Headlines

Having laid out the quantitative findings, I now move to outlining the qualitative dimensions of coverage, beginning with the headlines.6 Headlines are a crucial element of press reporting given the limited space journalists have to communicate to readers the relevance of what has taken place (Teo 2000). Headlines printed about the Aboriginal women, often referred to them impersonally and rarely by name. For example, "RCMP identifies *woman's* remains" (Pruden 2006, p. A3; emphasis mine), "*Teen's* family keeping vigil" (Pruden 2005a, p. B1; emphasis mine), "Fear growing for family of *missing mom*" (Pruden 2005b, p. A1; emphasis mine), and "Trek raises awareness for missing aboriginal women" (Haight 2005, p. A3; emphasis mine). Detached descriptions of the Aboriginal women were in opposition to headlines about the White women referring to them by first and last names, and nicknames. Headlines were often also written as heartfelt personal messages from the victims' friends and family to the women, as with "*Ardeth Wood* 'lives in the light of God'" (Harvey 2003, p. B1; emphasis mine), "*Jenny* we love you, we miss you" (Mick 2005b, p. A1; emphasis mine), and "'Waiting for *Alicia*'" (Diebel 2005, p. A6; emphasis mine).

## Articles

As noted by Wortley (2002), how the news media depict a crime victim is almost as important as whether the crime is reported at all. Representations of both groups routinely invoked purported "good victim" characteristics. However, this tendency was amplified in the White women's coverage. The White women were discussed in glowing ways, using potent adjectives and imagery. For instance, Ardeth was described as "devout," "so beautiful," "imaginative," "promising," and possessing an "indomitable spirit," while Alicia was referred to as "cherished," "a lily among the thorns," "blossoming," "vibrant," "strong," and as having a "luminous smile." Similarly, Jennifer was said to be "gifted," "optimistic," and "a miniature dynamo" that "lit the

room in life." Such complimentary adjectives were commonplace and often a single article would include multiple adjectives of this nature. There was also considerable overlap in the words used to describe the White women, especially adjectives describing their beauty and/or blondness.

Although adjectives like "shy," "nice," "caring," "a good mom," "pretty," "educated," and "positive" were used to represent the three Aboriginal women, the impact of these words was in some ways neutralized because of their superficial and fleeting use. For instance, Melanie Geddes was described as a mother to three beautiful daughters and as the common-law wife of a very caring man, but this information was not bolstered with stories and memories as was the case for the White women. The amount of personal information included in accounts of the White women far outweighed the amount and depth of information presented about the Aboriginal women. Articles about the White women included what amounted to full biographies of their lives, offering thoroughly detailed accounts of their hobbies, idiosyncrasies, personalities, families, goals, and other intimate personal information. For instance, listing Alicia Ross's music preferences as Led Zeppelin, Pink Floyd, and The Beatles is not particularly newsworthy nor does it assist police in generating leads about her disappearance/murder. However, it paints her as relatable to readers. Representations of Jennifer Teague and Alicia Ross portrayed them as the "girl next door" who shared the values, dreams, and experiences of an imagined [White] Canadian public. Ardeth Wood was typically represented as an angel whose chastity, grace, and godliness rendered her innocent but also vulnerable and fragile to her attacker (see Madriz 1997; Meyers 1997). Below is a passage taken from the Ottawa Citizen's coverage of Jennifer Teague's murder:

> She shared her grandmother's stubborn spirit, her mother's gutsy determination, and according to those who loved her, a feisty spirit all her own. After 10 days of sleepless anxiety and hope, Jennifer Teague's family now knows the worst: that the teen who would sometimes make her brothers dinner before heading to work or soccer practice, is never coming home . . . And that they have been robbed of their baby sister, only daughter, and bubbly friend—by a killer who walks free. (Hayley Mick 2005a, p. A1)

Given that articles about the Aboriginal women were considerably shorter, details of an intimate or personal nature were sporadic. Beyond superficial details, readers did not get the same sense of who the Aboriginal women were or what they meant to their loved ones or communities.

## Tone and Themes

The tone of coverage for both groups was comparable, conveying a sense of desperation to locate the missing women and reunite them with their anguished loved ones. Faith and prayer were highlighted as ways for the families to cope with their tragic losses, and outpourings of compassion, grief, and support from their respective communities were displayed in coverage of both groups. Coverage of the White women, however, placed a heightened emphasis on the

police and community doing "whatever it takes" to find the women and bring their killers to "justice" (Duffy & Mccooey 2005). Following the discovery of Ardeth Wood's remains, the Ottawa Citizen published some articles under the byline: "THE HUNT FOR ARDETH'S KILLER." Articles also communicated both a fear and outrage that violent predators are stalking *our* streets, fracturing *our* communities, and harming *our* daughters (Mick 2005a). Although articles about the Aboriginal women emphasized Native spirituality and communities as a place of solace for victims' families, this was depicted more as something *they* (Aboriginal Peoples) do to get through *their* grief over *their* missing daughters (Cowan 2005b; Polischuk 2005; see also Jiwani & Young 2006).

## Photographs

Visual images presented alongside text make the information presented more memorable, gives readers the feeling that they are experiencing or witnessing the events on a more personal level, and encourages them to identify with and become emotionally invested in the events (Graber 1996). Upon examination of the number and types of photographs found in the coverage of both groups, obvious qualitative differences were identified. Press coverage of the White women included photographs that were large, centrally placed, continued on in series for several pages, and often depicted the women as young children or alongside family members. Photographs also depicted police officers investigating the crimes alongside detailed maps and grids of search areas, images of community searchers, families in mourning, and sketches of suspects. By contrast, photographs of the Aboriginal women were considerably smaller, normally passport sized. If photographs were shown at all, they were less visible, not often centrally placed, and less intimate, as they rarely included images of victims' families and never included childhood photographs. The lack of visual imagery in these cases denied readers the same opportunity to identify with or become emotionally invested in the Aboriginal women's cases as they unfolded.

Overall, findings indicated identifiable quantitative and qualitative differences in local press coverage of the missing/murdered Aboriginal and White women. Disparities were found in the amount of coverage as well as in the wording, themes, tone, presentation, and placement of articles, headlines, and photographs. The Aboriginal women received three and a half times less coverage; their articles and photographs were smaller, less empathetic and provided minimal details. While violence against the White women was constructed as victimization done to or felt by all of us this was not replicated in the Aboriginal women's coverage.

## Messages of Resistance

Despite these dismal findings, resistance to the invisibility of missing/murdered Aboriginal women did emerge in local press coverage. Twelve articles were published wherein reporters in covering particular events, especially memorials, rallies, and vigils, provided critical commentary by highlighting broader structural inequalities that perpetuate Aboriginal women's victimization. The White women's coverage did not address broader structural factors which

place women at risk of violence, a common omission in news coverage of violence against women and a concern of feminist media scholars for a number of years (Carter 1998; Jiwani 2008; Meyers 1997). Critical articles—written mostly by female reporters—included sources from the Aboriginal community who critiqued inadequate police and media responses to missing/murdered Aboriginal women across Canada. Critical voices called for greater government resources to help locate the women and their abductors/killers, as well as the need to mobilize politically to prevent future victimization. Articles also discussed other missing/murdered women and children's cases, including the (still) unsolved July 2004 disappearance of Tamra Keepness, a 5-year-old Aboriginal girl from Regina, and the Downtown Eastside Vancouver victims and the 2002 arrest of Robert Pickton for the murders of twenty-six area women (Cowan 2005a; Pruden 2005a, 2005c, 2006).

In one article about a march for missing/murdered Aboriginal women organized by Daleen's mother Pauline Muskego, an Aboriginal man was quoted as saying,

> It's like we're at the gutter, the very bottom—lower than dirt. People don't really care about Native people. Everyone thinks everyone has alcohol problems, drug problems—I'm not like that. We're human beings. We've got to be treated equally. (Lana Haight 2005, p. A3)

This quotation is indicative of the ways critical articles drew connections between the lack of response to missing/murdered Aboriginal women, and the exclusion of Aboriginal peoples from the broader Canadian imaginary. The following poignant quotation by Amber's mother Gwenda Yuzicappi was published in an article entitled "Aboriginal Women Don't Count as Much, Mother Says":

> Because my daughter was a First Nations woman, I felt, as a mother, that she didn't get the attention that has happened to non-Aboriginal [women]. How many more families, how many more mothers, how many more daughters are we going to see traumatized or missed or murdered or abducted before something is done? I really feel deeply in my heart that something needs to be done. (Jana Pruden 2005c, p. A1)

## Discussion: Why Not Newsworthy?

Decisions about what constitutes a newsworthy event often hinge on perceptions about which crime victims newsmakers think audiences want to know about (Chermak 1995). Newsmakers thus make value judgments about the perceived public appeal of a story (Jewkes 2004). However, Entman & Rojecki (2001) cautioned that it is short-sighted to view disparities in press coverage between Whites and non-Whites as stemming from racist journalists or conservative-leaning newspapers alone. Since broader systemic forces play out in the day-to-day decisions about what crimes and which victims are covered, how and how much, these must be taken into account. Explanations about the lack of coverage of missing/murdered Aboriginal women must explore the intersecting forms of disadvantage based on Aboriginal Peoples' subordinated social, political, and cultural statuses (LaRocque 2007). While the Canadian news media have

devoted considerable attention to the extreme conditions in which many contemporary Aboriginal Peoples live—disproportionately high rates of suicide, victimization, addictions, incarceration, and poverty—reports do not situate these conditions in their relevant socio-historical colonial contexts (Harding 2006) and so readers may be left with the idea that such problems stem from Aboriginal cultural inferiority and/or their inability to "fit into" Canadian society. Representations of Aboriginality in mainstream media are steeped in negative stereotypes stripping Aboriginal Peoples, including missing/murdered Aboriginal women, of legitimate status as human beings (Jiwani 2008).

The stereotype of Aboriginal women as a "squaw" who is dirty, lazy, degraded, and easily sexually exploited has profoundly shaped the experiences of Aboriginal women since colonial contact. The "squaw" imagery was the binary opposite of the Indian Princess/Pocahontas who was lauded for being cooperative with colonial efforts to settle/usurp Native lands, easily "assimilated" into Christian Euro-Canadian settler culture, and for possessing idealized virtues of middle-class White womanhood such as delicacy and submissiveness (Burnett 2005). The "squaw" by contrast was stigmatized as "uncivilized" and incapable of "rescue" by Christianity (Acoose 1995; Burnett 2005). Today this demeaning stereotype continues to mark Aboriginal women and girls as inferior objects (Acoose 1995; Anderson 2000; McIvor 2007; Razack 2000).

LaRocque referred to the "squaw" stereotype as a "grotesque dehumanization [that] has rendered all Native women and girls vulnerable to gross physical, psychological, and sexual violence" (cited in Aboriginal Justice Inquiry Of Manitoba 1999, p. 479). As a child Aboriginal scholar Maracle internalized that "the world hates women and 'squaws' do not even qualify as women" (1996, p. 54). Smith (2005, p. 3) added that Aboriginal women's degraded place in Canadian society has marked them as "inherently rapeable." The colonial, racist, sexist, and classist ideologies engendered in this particularly damaging stereotype not only increase Aboriginal women's risks of violence but also "pre-packages" them as "bad"/"unworthy" victims, and influences news media and societal responses to their victimization. These broader systemic forces play out at the micro-level in news production by shaping the cultural context in which newsmakers make assumptions about who/what is newsworthy and who/what their readers will judge significant or insignificant.

## Conclusion: Constituting an Invisible "Other"

Intersecting legacies of oppression have situated Aboriginal women on the margins of Canadian press and society (Gilchrist 2007; Jiwani & Young 2006). Jiwani and Young (2006, p. 912) argued bluntly that Aboriginal women are positioned "in the lowest rungs of the social order, thereby making them expendable and invisible, if not disposable." Jiwani (2008, p. 137) added that missing/murdered Aboriginal women are seen by the media "less as victims deserving rescue than as bodies that simply do not matter."

In stark contrast to the compassionate and in-depth coverage of the White women, the Aboriginal women were not seen to be "eminently newsworthy" (Jewkes 2004, p. 51) and were mostly "filtered out" of the press (Chermak 1995, p. 73); reinforcing the belief that White lives

are more valuable (Entman & Rojecki 2001). Carter (1998, p. 230) cautioned that when newsmakers cease to report certain types of crime it creates the impression that they are no longer a cause for concern. The lack of coverage to missing/murdered Aboriginal women appears to suggest that their stories are not dramatic or worthy enough to tell, that Aboriginal women's victimization is too routine or ordinary, and/or irrelevant to (White) readers. The common news adage "if it bleeds it leads" is not an accurate one as "it really depends on who is bleeding" (Dowler, Fleming & Muzzatti 2006, p. 841).

The invisibility of missing/murdered Aboriginal women from the news landscape depends on the hyper-visibility of missing/murdered White women. While the White middle-class victims were considered legitimate, "worthy," and "innocent," the Aboriginal women by contrast were denied such status and legitimacy (see also Jiwani 2008), perpetuating a hierarchy of victims in the press. At the top of the hierarchy are conventionally beautiful (thin, blonde, young), middle-class, White women, and near the bottom of the hierarchy are Aboriginal women who, regardless of occupation, personal achievement, appearance, or circumstances, are ignored. At its most powerful this hierarchy creates an underclass of victims that could signal to offenders that Aboriginal women can be easily brutalized because they are so readily dismissed (Amnesty International Canada 2004). The lack of coverage might also create a vicious cycle, whereby inattention to Aboriginal women's victimization by the police and community is reinforced by the lack of coverage. The amount of media attention given to a case could have an effect on the police investigation itself. For example, the more media attention that is afforded to a crime, the more police attention and resources presumably will be expended investigating, which increases the likelihood that the case will be solved (Doyle 2003; Ericson, Baranek & Chan 1989). The systematic exclusion, trivialization, and marginalization of missing/murdered Aboriginal women can be described as symbolic annihilation (Tuchman 1978). This symbolic annihilation contributes to Aboriginal women's unequal treatment in other societal domains, further entrenching their marginalization in Canadian society (Sonwalkar 2005).

I am not arguing that the three White women (or other White victims) are undeserving of the widespread news attention that accompanies their tragic and horrific deaths. The press coverage of their victimization was deeply compelling and extremely successful in evoking feelings of mourning and empathy for victims and their families, and mobilizing the public into action. The response to the murders of Ardeth Wood, Alicia Ross, and Jennifer Teague was appropriately one of horror, outrage, and grief. But Daleen Bosse, Amber Redman, and Melanie Geddes have been positioned as "Others" and relegated to the margins—where their lives were not similarly celebrated and their deaths not equally grieved. This is a precarious space that can have dangerous implications for the safety and well-being of Aboriginal women across Canada. This racial bias operating in the Canadian press must be named, confronted, and dismantled—without any further delay.

NOTES

1. The terms Aboriginal, Native, First Nations, and Indigenous are used interchangeably. These are umbrella terms used to describe various First Nations, Inuit, and Métis communities and Nations in Canada.

2. Missing refers to cases where women have disappeared under suspicious circumstances, with a strong likelihood that they may have been killed. Murdered refers to cases where missing women are found to be/identified as victims of homicide.

3. During the time period explored for this research, all of the White women were found to be victims of homicide and White male perpetrators were criminally charged. By contrast, only Melanie Geddes was identified as murdered during this time. At the time of this article's publication, her perpetrator(s) remain at large. It was not until 2008 that evidence led police to the discovery of both Amber Redman and Daleen Bosse's remains. In early 2009, an Aboriginal man pled guilty to the second-degree murder of Amber Redman. A White man awaits trial in the murder of Daleen Bosse.

4. The Saskatoon Star-Phoenix was selected for Daleen Bosse and the Regina Leader-Post was selected for Amber Redman and Melanie Geddes. The Toronto Star was selected for Alicia Ross's case while the Ottawa Citizen was selected for its local coverage of Ardeth Wood and Jennifer Teague.

5. This analysis draws on the sixty articles selected for qualitative/interpretive analysis.

6. Critics might argue that these findings are problematic given that the White women were from Ontario while the Aboriginal women were from Saskatchewan. Granted, Ontario is the most populous Canadian province and closer to the major national media markets influencing the amount of national media coverage for the White women. However, in selecting the most widely read local newspaper corresponding with the cities where the women disappeared/were murdered this largely resolves the problems of potential geographic and market differences between the provinces. Even though both Saskatchewan newspapers are smaller than the Ontario newspapers, they also have correspondingly less local news to cover, and one could reasonably expect that such a case would receive at least as much coverage in a Saskatchewan newspaper as an Ontario newspaper. In addition, the qualitative component of this research provides strong support that geographical differences do not account for/explain the stark disparities found along several other dimensions of coverage.

REFERENCES

ABORIGINAL JUSTICE INQUIRY OF MANITOBA. (1999) 'Chapter 13: Aboriginal women', The Justice System
and Aboriginal People, [Online] Available at: http://www.ajic.mb.ca/volumel/chapter13.
html#1 (14 Sept. 2010).

ACOOSE, JANICE (1995) Iskwewak-kah' ki yaw ni wahkomakanak: Neither Indian Princesses nor Easy Squaws, Women's Press, Toronto.

AHUVIA, AARON (2001) 'Traditional, interpretive, and reception based content analyses: improving the ability to address issues of pragmatic and theoretical concern', Social Indicators Research, vol. 54, pp. 139–172.

AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL CANADA (2004) 'Stolen sisters: a human rights response to discrimination and violence against Indigenous women in Canada' (2004) [Online] Available at: http://www.amnesty.ca/stolensisters/amr2000304.pdf (14 Sept. 2010).

ANDERSON, KIM (2000) A Recognition of Being: Reconstructing Native Womanhood, Sumach Press, Toronto.

ARDOVI-BROOKER, JOANNE & CARINGELLA-MACDONALD, SUSAN (2002) 'Media attributions of blame and sympathy in ten rape cases', The Justice Professional, vol. 15, pp. 3–18.

BUCKLER, KEVIN & TRAVIS, LAWRENCE (2005) 'Assessing the newsworthiness of homicide events: an analysis of coverage in the Houston Chronicle', Journal of Criminal Justice and Popular Culture, vol. 12, no. 1, pp. 1–25.

BURNETT, KRISTIN (2005) 'Aboriginal and White women in the publications of John Maclean, Egerton Ryerson Young, and John McDougall', in Unsettled Pasts: Reconceiving the West Through Women's History, eds Sarah Carter, Lesley Erickson, Patricia Roome & Char Smith, University of Calgary Press, Calgary, pp. 101–122.

CARTER, CYNTHIA (1998) 'When the "extraordinary" becomes the "ordinary": everyday news of sexual violence', in News, Gender and Power, eds Cynthia Carter, Gill Branston & Stuart Allan, Routledge, London, pp. 219–232.

CHERMAK, STEVEN M. (1995) Victims and the News: Crime and the American News Media, Westview Press, Boulder.

COHEN, STANLEY & YOUNG, JOCK (eds) (1973) The Manufacture Of News: A Reader, Sage, Beverley Hills.

COLLINS, PATRICIA HILL (1998) 'The tie that binds: race, gender and US violence', Racial & Ethnic Studies, vol. 21, no. 5, pp. 917–938.

COLLINS, PATRICIA HILL [1990] (2000) Black Feminist Thought: Knowledge, Consciousness, and the Politics of Empowerment, 2nd edn, Routledge, New York.

COWAN, PAMELA (2005a) 'They cannot forget', Regina Leader-Post, 6 Oct., p. A1.

COWAN, PAMELA (2005b) 'Family still clings to hope', Regina Leader-Post, 8 Oct., p. A6.

CRENSHAW, KIMBERLE´ (1991) 'Mapping the margins: intersectionality, identity politics, and violence against women of color', Stanford Law Review, vol. 43, no. 6, pp. 1241–1299.

DEPARTMENT OF INDIAN AND NORTHERN AFFAIRS. (1996) Aboriginal Women: A Demographic, Social, and Economic Profile, Information Quality and Research Directorate, Information Management Branch, Corporate Services, Ottawa.

DIEBEL, LINDA (2005) 'Waiting for Alicia', Toronto Star, 28 Aug., p. A6.
DOWLER, KENNETH (2004a) 'Comparing American and Canadian local television crime stories: a content analysis', Canadian Journal of Criminology and Criminal Justice, vol. 46, no. 5, pp. 573–597.

DOWLER, KENNETH (2004b) 'Dual realities? Criminality, victimization, and the presentation of race on local television news', Journal of Crime and Justice, vol. 27, pp. 79–99.

DOWLER, KENNETH, FLEMING, THOMAS & MUZZATTI, STEPHEN L. (2006) 'Constructing crime: media, crime, and popular culture', Canadian Journal of Criminology and Criminal Justice, vol. 48, no. 6, pp. 837–866.

DOYLE, AARON (2003) Arresting Images: Crime and Policing in Front of the Television Camera, University of Toronto Press, Toronto.

DUFFY, ANDREW & MCCOOEY, PAULA (2005) 'Why this two-year-old act of evil is still unsolved', Ottawa Citizen, 6 Aug., p. A1.

DYER, RICHARD (1997) White, London, Routledge.

ENTMAN, ROBERT M. & ROJECKI, ANDREW (2001) The Black Image in the White Mind: Media and Race in America, The University of Chicago Press, Chicago.

ERICSON, RICHARD, BARANEK, PATRICIA & CHAN, JANET (1987) Visualizing Deviance: A Study of News Organization, University of Toronto Press, Toronto.

ERICSON, RICHARD, BARANEK, PATRICIA & CHAN, JANET (1989) Negotiating Control: A Study of News Sources, University of Toronto Press, Toronto.

ERICSON, RICHARD, BARANEK, PATRICIA & CHAN, JANET (1991) Representing Order: Crime, Law, and Justice in the News Media, University of Toronto Press, Toronto.

FOWLER, ROGER (1991) Language in the News: Discourse and Ideology in the Press, London, Routledge.

GILCHRIST, KRISTEN (2007) Invisible Victims: Disparity in Print-Media Coverage of Missing and Murdered Aboriginal and White Women, MA Thesis, The University of Ottawa.

GILCHRIST, KRISTEN (2008) 'Multiple disadvantages: the missing and murdered women of Vancouver', in Gender Relations in Canada: Intersectionality and Beyond, eds Andrea Doucet & Janet Siltanen, Oxford University Press, New York, pp. 174–175.

GRABER, DORIS A. (1996) 'Say it with pictures', Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, vol. 546, no. 1, pp. 85–96.

GREER, CHRIS (2003) Sex Crime and the Media: Sex Offending and the Press in a Divided Society, Willan, Cullompton.

HAIGHT, LANA (2005) 'Trek raises awareness for missing Aboriginal women', Regina Leader-Post, 23 July, p. A3.

HALL, STUART (1973) 'The determination of news photographs', in The Manufacture of News: A Reader, eds Stanley Cohen & Jock Young, Sage, Beverly Hills, pp. 176–190.

HARDING, ROBERT (2006) 'Historical representations of Aboriginal people in the Canadian news media', Discourse & Society, vol. 17, no. 2, pp. 205–235.

HARVEY, BOB (2003) 'Ardeth Wood "lives in the light of God"', Ottawa Citizen, 19 Aug., p. B1.

HENRY, FRANCES & TATOR, CAROL [2000] (2006) The Colour of Democracy: Racism in Canadian Society, 3rd edn, Nelson, Toronto.

JACOBS, BEVERLY & WILLIAMS, ANDREA (2008) 'Legacy of residential schools: missing and murdered Aboriginal women', in From Truth to Reconciliation: Transforming the Legacy of Residential Schools, eds Marlene Brant Castellano, Linda Archibald & Mike DeGagne, Aboriginal Healing Foundation, Ottawa, pp. 119–142.

JEWKES, YVONNE (2004) Media & Crime, Sage, London.

JIWANI, YASMIN (2006) Discourses of Denial: Mediations on Race, Gender, and Violence, University of British Columbia Press, Vancouver.

JIWANI, YASMIN (2008) 'Mediations of domination: gendered violence within and across borders', in Feminist Intervention in International Communication: Minding the Gap, eds Katherine Sarikakis & Leslie Regan Shade, Rowman & Littlefield, Plymouth, pp. 129–145.

JIWANI, YASMIN & YOUNG, MARYLYNN (2006) 'Missing and murdered women: reproducing marginality in news discourse', Canadian Journal of Communication, vol. 31, pp. 895–917.

LAROCQUE, EMMA (2007) 'Metis and feminist: ethical reflections on feminism, human rights and decolonization', in Making Space for Indigenous Feminism, ed. Joyce Green, Fernwood, Halifax, pp. 53–70.

MADRIZ, ESTHER (1997) Nothing Bad Happens to Good Girls: Fear of Crime in Women's Lives, The University of California Press, Berkeley.

MARACLE, LEE (1996) I Am Woman: A Native Perspective on Sociology and Feminism, Press Gang, Vancouver.

MARTIN-HILL, DAWN (2003) 'She no speaks and other colonial constructs of "the traditional woman"', in Strong Women Stories: Native Vision and Community Survival, eds Bonita Lawrence & Kim Anderson, Sumach Press, Toronto, pp. 106–120.

MCIVOR, SHARON WITH KUOKKANEN, RAUNA (2007) 'Sharon McIvor: woman of action', in Making Space for Indigenous Feminism, ed. Joyce Green, Fernwood, Halifax, pp. 241–254.

MCLAUGHLIN, LISA (1991) 'Discourses of prostitution/discourses of sexuality', Critical Studies in Mass Communication, vol. 8, pp. 249–272.

MEYERS, MARIAN (1997) News Coverage of Violence Against Women: Engendering Blame, Sage, Newbury Park.

MICK, HAYLEY (2005a) 'Feisty, gutsy, vibrant', Ottawa Citizen, 20 Sept., p. A1.

MICK, HAYLEY (2005b) 'Jenny we love you, we miss you', Ottawa Citizen, 2 Oct., p. A1.

MONTURE-ANGUS, PATRICIA (1995) Thunder in My Soul: A Mohawk Woman Speaks, Fernwood, Halifax.

MUKHOPADHYAY, SAMHITA (2008) 'Trial by media: Black female lasciviousness and the question of consent', in Yes Means Yes: Visions of Female Sexual Power & A World Without Rape, eds Jaclyn Friedman & Jessica Valenti, Seal Press, Berkeley, pp. 151–161.

NARAYAN, UMA (1997) Dislocating Cultures/Identities, Traditions and Third World Feminism, Routledge, London.

NATIVE WOMEN'S ASSOCIATION OF CANADA (2008) Voices of our Sisters in Spirit: A Research and Policy Report to Families and Communities, Native Women's Association of Canada, Ottawa.

NATIVE WOMEN'S ASSOCIATION OF CANADA (2009) Voices of our Sisters in Spirit: A Research and Policy Report to Families and Communities, 2nd edn, Native Women's Association of Canada, Ottawa.

POLISCHUK, HEATHER (2005) 'Mother still searching', Regina Leader-Post, 15 April, p. A1.

PRUDEN, JANA (2005a) 'Teen's family keeping vigil', Regina Leader-Post, 9 Aug., p. B1.

PRUDEN, JANA (2005b) 'Fear growing for family of missing mom', Regina Leader-Post, 18 Aug., p. A1.

PRUDEN, JANA (2005c) 'Aboriginal women don't count as much, mother says', Regina Leader-Post, 25 Oct., p. A1.

PRUDEN, JANA (2006) 'RCMP identifies woman's remains', Saskatoon Star-Phoenix, 2 Feb., p. A3.

RAZACK, SHERENE (2000) 'Gendered racial violence and spacialized justice: the murder of Pamela George', Canadian Journal of Law and Society, vol. 15, no. 2, pp. 91–130.

RAZACK, SHERENE (2008) Casting Out: The Eviction of Muslims from Western Law & Politics, University of Toronto Press, Toronto.

REASON, MATTHEW & GARCIA, BEATRIZ (2007) 'Approaches to the newspaper archive: content analysis and press coverage of Glasgow's year of culture', Media, Culture & Society, vol. 29, no. 2,
pp. 304–331.

REGINA LEADER-POST (2005a) 'The Lily society', 23 July, p. A12.

REGINA LEADER-POST (2005b) Advertisement offering a department store credit card, 23 July, p. A12.

REGINA LEADER-POST (2005c) 'Classics: summer is a great time for car lovers', 22 Aug, p. B1.

REGINA LEADER-POST (2005d) 'Snowfalls in the southeast', 6 Oct, p. A1.

REINER, ROBERT (2003) 'Media made criminality: the representation of crime in the mass media', in Oxford Handbook of Criminology, 8th edn, eds Mike Maguire, Rod Morgan & Robert Reiner, Oxford University Press, Oxford, pp. 376–417.

SASKATOON STAR-PHOENIX (2005a) 'A little off course', 12 May, p. A3.

SASKATOON STAR-PHOENIX (2005b) 'Employee discount', 22 Aug, p. A5.

SCHUDSON, MICHAEL (1989) 'The sociology of news production', Media, Culture & Society, vol. 11, no. 3, pp. 263–282.

SHOME, RAKA (2001) 'White femininity and the discourse of the nation: re/membering Princess Diana', Feminist Media Studies, vol. 1, no. 3, pp. 323–342.

SMITH, ANDREA (2005) Conquest: Sexual Violence and American Indian Genocide, South End Press, Boston.

SONWALKAR, PRASUN (2005) 'Banal journalism: the centrality of the "us-them" binary in news discourse', in Journalism: Critical Issues, ed. Stuart Allan, Open University Press, New York, pp. 261–273.

TEO, PETER (2000) 'Racism in the news: a critical discourse analysis of news reporting in two Australian newspapers', Discourse & Society, vol. 11, no. 1, pp. 7–49.

TUCHMAN, GAYE (1976) 'Telling stories', Journal of Communication, vol. 26, fall, pp. 93–97.

TUCHMAN, GAYE (1978) 'Introduction: the symbolic annihilation of women by the mass media', in Hearth and Home: Images of Women in the Mass Media, eds Gaye Tuchman, Arlene Kaplan Daniels & James Benet, Oxford University Press, New York, pp. 3–38.

WILCOX, PAULA (2005) 'Beauty and the beast: gendered and raced discourse in news', Social & Legal Studies, vol. 14, no. 4, pp. 515–532.

WORTLEY, SCOT (2002) 'Misrepresentation or reality? The depiction of race and crime in the Toronto print media', in Marginality & Condemnation: An Introduction to Critical Criminology, eds Bernard Schissel & Carolyn Brooks, Fernwood, Halifax, pp. 55–82.

ZELIZER, BARBIE (2005) 'Journalism through the camera's eye', in Journalism: Critical Issues, ed. Stuart Allan, Open University Press, New York, pp. 167–176.

*Kristen Gilchrist is a PhD Candidate in the Department of Sociology and Anthropology at Carleton University in Ottawa, Canada. Her current dissertation research explores the growing*

*grassroots movement for justice for missing and murdered Aboriginal women and their families. Kristen is a community activist, non-Indigenous ally, and volunteer on campaigns such as the Native Women's Association of Canada's Sisters in Spirit vigils and Amnesty International Canada's No More Stolen Sisters.*