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**YOU WILL BE PUNISHED: MEDIA DEPICTIONS OF MISSING AND
MURDERED INDIGENOUS WOMEN**

By

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B.A. (Honours), University of New Brunswick, 2014

THESIS

Submitted to the Department of Criminology

In partial fulfillment of the requirements for

Master of Arts (Criminology)

Wilfrid Laurier University

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Abstract

The following thesis focuses on media depictions of Canada's missing and murdered Indigenous women, a list that carries upwards of 1,200 names. The news coverage of these stories is reminiscent of television crime dramas in their depictions of minority victims of crime, specifically in regard to victim blaming. In order to examine this relationship, the present study compares coverage of missing and murdered Indigenous women in Canadian news articles to depictions of victims, particularly minority female victims, within crime procedural television shows. An ethnographic content analysis (ECA) was conducted in order to parse out common themes between news articles featuring missing and murdered Indigenous women (N = 50) and television crime drama episodes (N = 65) from *Law & Order: SVU* (N = 37), *CSI: Crime Scene Investigation* (N = 17), and *Criminal Minds* (N = 13). The overarching message portrayed within these forms of media is the importance of conforming to social mores. Both forms of media act as morality plays depicting the harm that will come to women if they transgress society's definition of 'appropriate' behaviour. These morality plays are aimed at white women in order to protect their virtue and stifle female sexual agency. These morality plays act as a way to enforce and engrain hegemony within society.

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Chapter 1: Introduction and Research Problem

Canada is a colonial nation, with Indigenous peoples representing 4% of the total population (RCMP, 2014). According to official estimates, approximately 1,200 Indigenous women in Canada have gone missing or have been murdered in the last 25 years; more disturbingly, this pattern seems to be increasing (RCMP, 2014). Indigenous women have the highest rates of victimization of any group within the Canadian population (Amnesty International, 2008; Gilchrist, 2010; RCMP, 2014). Despite the fact that Indigenous women make up only 4% of the Canadian female population, they account for 16% of female murders (RCMP, 2014). Many of the women who have disappeared have been discovered murdered and many of these crimes have involved sexual assault (Gilchrist, 2010; Jiwani & Young, 2006; Moral, 2011; RCMP, 2014). Of the 1,200 Indigenous women who have been reported missing since 1980, over 1,000 of these cases have resulted in homicide (RCMP, 2014). According to an independent study conducted by the *Toronto Star*, the RCMP ignored the fact that 28% of Indigenous female murders between 1980 and 2012 were carried out by either a stranger or serial killer within their operational overview (RCMP, 2014; Toronto Star, 2015). Despite these statistics, few charges are laid in these cases (Mathyssen, 2011).

Vancouver Sun journalist Lindsay Kines first brought this epidemic to light in 1998 through an expose focusing on the tremendous numbers of Indigenous women missing from Vancouver's Downtown Eastside; despite the public backlash and protests regarding the need for action, little has been done to mitigate this problem (Amnesty International, 2008; Barker, 2006; Gilchrist, 2010; Jiwani & Young, 2006; Moral, 2011). The problem is not only race- and sex-based it is widespread and grievous. Regardless,

the Canadian government has not acted in order to protect Indigenous women. Not surprisingly, the United Nations has openly admonished the Canadian government for its inaction and callous attitude in regard to this problem (Amnesty International, 2008). The election of a new Liberal government may result in efforts to mitigate this problem as the new government has vowed to conduct an inquiry investigating possible solutions. The results of this inquiry are yet to be seen.

Seventy-four percent of the recorded murders of Indigenous women between 1980 and 2012 occurred in the western and prairie provinces of Canada (RCMP, 2014). As a result, the Hazelton-Houston-Burns Lake corridor of British Columbia has macabrely been deemed the 'Highway of Tears' (Amnesty International, 2008; Jiwani & Young, 2006). The Vancouver Police Department, as well as the City of Vancouver, has been slow moving, and often unwilling, to participate in these cases (Harper, 2006; Jiwani & Young, 2006). For instance, in 1999 the families of Vancouver's missing and murdered women pressured the city to offer a reward for any information regarding these crimes; the reward offered by the city was a paltry \$5,000 (Harper, 2006). Unfortunately, this response has been typical of most jurisdictions in which Indigenous women have disappeared or been murdered (Harper, 2006; Jiwani & Young, 2006)

Despite the media's initial interest in this issue following Klines' expose, stories regarding specific Indigenous women have been largely absent from media accounts, media focus has been placed on the issue in general or the impending inquiry; however, the press coverage that exists has been sensationalized, creating a spectacle of victims' lives (Jiwani & Young, 2006; Moral, 2011). Press coverage has focused on rationalizations of this violence, the critically insufficient response by police, and

coverage regarding hesitation on the part of government officials to regard this issue as a serious problem (Jiwani & Young, 2006). Rationalizations of violence involve depicting Indigenous women as ‘deserving victims’ by referencing sex work, drug addiction, homelessness, or Vancouver’s Downtown Eastside (Jiwani & Young, 2006; Moral, 2011; Pietsch, 2010). The way in which these stories are constructed negates the idea that this issue should be considered a social problem (Gilchrist, 2010; Jiwani & Young, 2006; Moral, 2011).

The discussions surrounding these cases are rooted in crime as opposed to a more nuanced account of the sex- and race-based violence Indigenous women experience (Moral, 2011). Discussions regarding colonialism’s role in this violence, in particular, has been absent from media coverage of missing and murdered Indigenous women (Moral, 2011). These stories are also sensationalized, trivializing victims’ stories of violence (Moral, 2011). In this way, the reports released to the public are framed less like traditional news coverage and more like infotainment or television crime dramas. Infotainment refers to a blend of news, entertainment, and commodification under the guise of ‘real’ news (Surette, 2015).

The purpose of this thesis is to assess the similarities between news media and television crime dramas. Specifically, this thesis will focus on how victims are portrayed within these two forms of media. The television shows chosen were American and the news stories are uniquely Canadian, however these shows resonate with Canadians, as we are consumers of American entertainment. Further, the depictions of victims represented within crime dramas are consistent with crime media tropes in general, bridging the gap between the two types of media and geographical differences (Surette, 2015). Based on a

review of the literature, themes such as the ‘deserving victim’, perpetrator pathology, focus on forensics and science, and police malpractice will be examined. The results of the current study will also be compared to the results of previous studies noted in the literature review.

Chapter two of this thesis will focus on existing literature regarding depictions of missing and murdered Indigenous women and the portrayal of victims within crime dramas, as well as the theoretical paradigms used.

Chapter three focuses on methodology. This chapter outlines the method used in order to collect and code data as well as the main themes that will be examined based on a review of the literature.

Chapter four outlines the findings of this thesis and discusses the main themes that emerged within the samples.

Chapter five concludes the study. Along with a conclusion, this chapter will outline the challenges and limitations of this thesis and suggest areas for future study.

Chapter 2: Literature Review and Theoretical Framework

The focus of this thesis is to examine the similarities and differences between news media depictions of missing and murdered Indigenous women and portrayals of victims, particularly minority female victims, in crime procedurals. A review of the literature was conducted in order to gain a theoretical basis from which to approach this problem. The following chapter outlines the results of previous studies regarding depictions of missing and murdered Indigenous women and depictions of victims in crime procedurals.

To begin, a discussion of social constructionism is needed in order to lay the framework for the rest of the chapter. The premise here is that the image the general public have generated of missing and murdered Indigenous women has been socially constructed in large part by the news media. Next, news media in general are discussed in the context of missing and murdered Indigenous women. Specifically, this discussion centers on infotainment, claims-making, newsworthiness, news frames, and references to traditional gender roles and racial stereotypes.

Following this, the theoretical paradigms used within the course of this thesis are discussed. These paradigms are critical race theory, whiteness theory, and intersectional feminism. These theories apply to the study as a whole, however they are particularly helpful with the following discussion regarding the high-risk lifestyle trope used within news accounts of missing and murdered Indigenous women. This section regarding high-risk lifestyles focuses on depictions of sex workers, drug addiction, homelessness, and zones of degeneracy. These theories are also used in order to discuss the other media tropes used when reporting on missing and murdered Indigenous women: a focus on

forensics, focus on perpetrator pathology, and highlighting police inefficiency and misconduct.

This is followed by a discussion of the intersection of infotainment and crime procedurals. This discussion focuses on the similarities between crime news reporting and crime procedurals. Both forms of media follow a similar format and rely on similar themes (Surette, 2015). Crime dramas also base much of their content on real cases, adding a new dimension of realism to these shows (Jermyn, 2007; Jermyn, 2013). Following this discussion, crime dramas in general are discussed. Finally, the crime procedural section is concluded with a discussion of two main themes within crime dramas: a focus on science and forensics, and morality plays. This chapter is then concluded with a discussion of the purpose of this thesis.

Social Constructionism

Social constructionism is premised on the idea that reality is not an objective construct; what people perceive as ‘reality’ is based on information gathered from personal experience, and interactions with others, institutions, and the media (Surette, 2015). Therefore, reality is based on present social conditions; given this relationship, perceptions regarding society and social problems are variable over time (Surette, 2015). The media have an extensive role in this process as personal experience is limited; people look to information gatekeeping agencies, most notably the media, for cues as to the nature of reality and social problems they are not directly influenced by (Surette, 2015). The constructionist perspective regarding social problems posits that social problems do not exist in a vacuum; social problems exist because claims-makers say they exist (Best,

1995). Whether or not a social problem exists is not up for debate, what is pertinent is that these truth claims are being made (Best, 1995).

Central to this idea is the role of claims-makers (Altheide, 1991; Surette, 2015; Tuchman, 1976). Claims-makers are activists and other professionals who promote claims regarding social problems (Surette, 2015). Claims-makers can be any person, organization, or group with the power to hold sway over public opinion; for instance, politicians, journalists and news organizations, and grassroots activists are examples of claims-makers (Surette, 2015). These claims-makers highlight the characteristics of problems that support their claims-making frame (Altheide, 1991; Surette, 2015; Tuchman, 1976); for instance, in the case of missing and murdered Indigenous women, previous studies have found that the media in their role as claims-makers focus on rationalizations of the violence incurred, the ineffective response by police, and the hesitation on the part of government officials to address the problem as these are typical sound bites (Jiwani & Young, 2006). References to sex work, addictions and homelessness, as well as associating Indigenous women with ‘zones of degeneracy’ are used in order to rationalize the violence victims experienced (Jiwani & Young, 2006). In this way, news agencies reinforce raced and gendered constructions of Indigenous women by promoting racist and sexist news frames. News frames are used in order to define a problem in specific ways; journalists do not simply report news stories, they shape and define events (Surette, 2015; Tuchman, 1976).

Claims-makers often refer to sensational “typical cases” when addressing problems (Best, 1995, p. 9). According to the literature, in the case of missing and murdered Indigenous women, the ‘typical case’ involves women who have disappeared

from Vancouver's Downtown Eastside, especially in regard to Robert Pickton's victims (Gilchrist, 2010; Jiwani & Young, 2006; Moral, 2011). These 'typical cases' are often dramatic, in order to quickly grab the attention of the audience (Best, 1995). In order to grab the public's attention and avoid contention when discussing social problems, claim-makers tend to blame individuals instead of political systems and structures (Best, 1995; Best, 1997). A nuanced discussion of race, sexism, and colonialism were absent from media discussions pertaining to this issue, according to the findings of previous studies; instead the issue has been framed as a 'crime problem' (Gilchrist, 2010; Jiwani & Young, 2006; Moral, 2011).

The example of Robert Pickton follows this formula. Robert Pickton was a pig farmer from Port Coquitlam, British Columbia. Pickton gained notoriety for allegedly murdering as many as 49 women from Vancouver's Downtown Eastside, many of whom were Aboriginal (Pearce, 2013). During the search of Pickton's farm, much attention was given to the idea that Pickton may have fed the bodies of his victims to his pigs; following this, these pigs were then sold to the public for consumption (Pearce, 2013). This detail adds more drama to the case, as well as depersonalizes and objectifies the victims' bodies. Pickton was also depicted within news discourse as mentally 'slow', unclean, and strange (Pearce, 2013). These depictions create an image of an anomaly, a strange man with few social talents who terrorized unsuspecting women; journalists covering this story ignored aspects of Canadian culture that lead to this raced and sexed violence, such as colonisation (Pearce, 2013).

Social constructionism focuses on the relativistic nature of reality; one of the institutions that has the power to construct this reality is the news media (Surette, 2015;

Tuchman, 1976). In this regard, news media act as claims-makers and work to promote their claims-making frame and agenda (Altheide, 1991; Surette, 2015; Tuchman, 1976). In order to maintain a 'crime and deviance' news frame, reporters focus on references to the victims' high-risk lifestyles in order to shift the onus for the violence to the victim (Gilchrist, 2010; Jiwani & Young, 2006; Moral, 2011). Reporters sometimes add to this by portraying the perpetrator as an aberration and highlighting police malpractice (Jiwani & Young, 2006). These frames shift focus from larger political problems such as racism and sexism that are not as likely to be neatly packaged within a sound bite (Best, 1995; Best, 1997).

News Media

This section will focus on theory and concepts regarding news media. In regard to the current study, infotainment, claims-making, newsworthiness, and news frames are discussed. As stated above, infotainment refers to the convergence of information and entertainment; this is important because depicting news in an entertaining manner blurs the line between reality and fiction, resulting in conflicting and confusing ideas regarding crime realities (Surette, 2015). News agencies are claims-makers that are perceived to be reliable; these agencies are trusted to be gatekeepers of information (Surette, 2015).

However, as these agencies have specific institutional goals regarding newsworthiness, certain news frames are more appealing than others; entertaining or scandalous frames are more valuable than political frames (Surette, 2015). News is constructed by journalists in order to give information in a discreet and formulated way; journalists have the discretion to decide the 'newsworthiness' of stories and the particular 'spin' they will apply to a piece in order to gain the attention of their audience (Altheide,

1991; Gilchrist, 2010; Jiwani & Young, 2006; Tuchman, 1976). News frames that are employed within news discourse regarding missing and murdered Indigenous women are often sexist and racist (Barker, 2006; Berns, 2001; Gilchrist, 2010; Jiwani & Young, 2006; Moral, 2011). References to how women have not conformed to traditional gender roles and have participated in ‘scandalous’ behaviour is entertaining and receives more attention than articles that humanize victims (Gilchrist, 2010; Jiwani & Young, 2006; Moral, 2011). As these women are Indigenous, their status as marginalized women exacerbates the situation as Indigenous women are stereotypically depicted as uncouth and hypersexual by nature (Harding, 2006; Pietsch, 2010).

This is not to say that news is always biased or even invalid, it is simply constructed based on the organizational demands of the news agency (Surette, 2015). Newsworthiness refers to “the seriousness of the event, whimsical circumstances, sentimental or dramatic elements, and the involvement of high-status persons, and, of course, engaging images” (Surette, 2015, p. 18). Therefore, news agencies prefer to focus on violent, heinous crimes that are significantly less common than more mundane property crimes (Surette, 2015). This process is referred to as ‘backwards law’; simply put, the idea of backwards law refers to the media’s focus on rare crimes meanwhile ignoring more common crimes, leading the public to misconstrue the true nature of crime within society (Surette, 2015). These concepts will be expanded upon below.

Infotainment

Another important aspect regarding the media and the construction of social problems is the media’s shift toward infotainment. Infotainment refers to a blend of news, entertainment, and commodification under the guise of ‘real’ news (Dowler, Fleming &

Muzzatti, 2006; Surette, 2015). Due to the competitive nature of the news industry, news agencies must compete for viewership with other networks as well as social media; this has resulted in the addition of entertainment within news reports in order to grab the attention of the audience and fill time within broadcasts (Surette, 2015). Due to this confluence of entertainment and news, it is difficult to differentiate between the two; this turns social problems and crime-based stories into a form of entertainment (Dowler, Fleming & Muzzatti, 2006; Surette, 2015). Coverage of crime news is also based on the traditional crime drama formula; this formula involves the different stages in the progression of a crime story: a crime is committed, an investigation is conducted, and the perpetrators are apprehended (Surette, 2015). This connection between news and crime dramas adds credence to the idea of infotainment and the convergence of news and popular culture.

Claims-making, Newsworthiness and News Frames

In their role as claims-makers, the media are able to present chosen topics in an attempt to inform the public about current events; this process establishes and reinforces the media's role as gatekeepers of information (Altheide, 1991; Pingree, Quennette, Tchernev, & Dickinson, 2013). The public accept this role resulting in gatekeeping trust; this trust results in not only the media's ability to define what constitutes news, but also the mass media's ability to set agendas (Altheide, 1991; Pingree et al., 2013). This trust can undermine the validity of news reporting as audiences are not always equipped to recognize media bias; further, as organizational mores and procedures are so engrained within news outlets, reporters themselves may not recognize this bias (Altheide, 1991; Pingree et al., 2013). In order to make coverage of social problems fit within a media

sound bite, reporters must grab the attention of the audience and present the story within a limited amount of time or space, depending on the news format; these stories cannot be too complex (Altheide, 1991; Gilchrist, 2010; Jiwani & Young, 2006; Best, 1995; Best, 1997). A problem's newsworthiness is determined by social and cultural mores that prescribe newsworthiness based on industry standards; as a result of this conception of newsworthiness and the need to compress news stories into small sound bites, overarching, complex political debates are often avoided in favor of base explanations of social problems (Altheide, 1991; Gilchrist, 2010; Jiwani & Young, 2006; Best, 1995; Best, 1997).

This process is known as framing; news frames involve focusing on particular aspects of an issue such as the aberrant nature of an individual offender as opposed to systemic racism and the effects of colonialism (Jiwani & Young, 2006; Ferrell, Hayward & Young, 2008; Moral, 2011). It is this definition of what is newsworthy and the selection of certain news frames that undermines journalists' calls for action in regard to missing and murdered Indigenous women (Gilchrist, 2010; Jiwani & Young, 2006; Moral, 2011). As stated above, these news frames include: reliance on stereotypical gender roles, racial stereotypes, references to 'high-risk' lifestyles, sensationalizing these stories with accounts of forensics and the construction of perpetrators as 'evil' or 'sick', and a focus on the inaction of specific agencies such as the police (Gilchrist, 2010; Jiwani & Young, 2006; Moral, 2011).

Traditional Gender Roles

A news frame that is often employed in regard to stories focusing on missing and murdered Indigenous women is seemingly innocuous references to traditional sex and

gender roles; for instance, references to sex work imply that women engaged in sex work are less deserving of public sympathy than ‘good, chaste’ girls (Barker, 2006; Berns, 2001; Gilchrist, 2010; Jiwani & Young, 2006; Moral, 2011). The media often draws on the ‘Madonna/whore dichotomy’ when covering these stories; this dichotomy frames victims as either deserving or undeserving of the violence befallen them (Brennan et al., 2015; Gilchrist, 2010). If a woman acts outside traditional, European gender roles, especially in regard to sexuality, she is deemed a whore in this dichotomy and, therefore, is perceived to have knowingly incurred the violence she experienced (Gilchrist, 2010; Pietsch, 2010). She has transgressed, she is a ‘fallen woman’ and must be punished for this transgression; as such, violence is her punishment.

This is evident in Canadian news coverage of missing and murdered Indigenous women when they are referred to as “hookers”, “junkies”, or “crack whores”, as opposed to ‘good’ women who are referred to as ‘mothers’ or ‘sisters’ (Farrell & Traikos, 2005, p. A3; Ward, 2007, p. B1). Even the positive attributes ascribed to women are grounded in gender stereotypes; as the above example illustrates, when women are deemed to be undeserving of the violence they experienced, they are often described using words such as ‘mother’ or ‘sister’, as opposed to making reference to their careers or personal achievements (Gilchrist, 2010). Not only are these terms gendered, they are objectifying; referring to women in this way removes the multidimensional character of their lives and reduces them to a single gendered characteristic (Gilchrist, 2010). Objectification of victims leads to justifications of gendered violence (Moral, 2011).

Indigenous women are also constructed as ‘bad’ or ‘unfit’ mothers which exacerbates the image that Indigenous women are unfeminine and ‘less than’ white

women (Alston-O'Connor, 2010). Many traditional Indigenous family structures are based on extended kinship arrangements that are in stark contrast to the bourgeois, European conception of the nuclear family; within these traditional kinship arrangements, children are raised by extended family as opposed to this role being strictly relegated to the child's parents (Alston-O'Connor, 2010; Emberley, 2001; Morphy, 2007). The patriarchal nuclear family has been accepted in the West as the 'proper' family structure; traditional Indigenous family structures are constructed as uncivilized and improper (Alston-O'Connor, 2010; Emberley, 2001). This conception of, and prejudice toward, a traditional family structure has resulted in the mass seizure of Indigenous children by Canadian Child Welfare Services (Sinha & Kozlowski, 2013). This construction of Indigenous women as unfit to fulfill the most basic role ascribed to women further strips them of their stereotypically feminine attributes.

Indigenous women were also afforded more autonomy in regard to sex in many traditional Indigenous communities; this autonomy was considered dangerous to the colonial social order and therefore strict regulation of Indigenous female sexuality was required (Oliver et al., 2015). This is believed to be one of the motives behind the removal of Indigenous children from their families; removal of Indigenous girls from their families and placement in foster homes and residential schools was an attempt to constrain their sexuality (Oliver et al., 2015). The denigration of Indigenous family structures and removal of children from Indigenous homes was another way the Canadian government, as a colonizing power, exerted control over, and reduced the agency of, Indigenous women (Oliver et al., 2015). As evidenced by the Madonna/whore media trope, fear of female sexual autonomy is still salient in Canadian society.

Racial Stereotypes

In this respect, Indigenous women are doubly stigmatized as they have traditionally been depicted within Canadian news media as inherently unfeminine, or even inhuman; Indigenous women have been depicted as hypersexual, uncouth, and criminogenic (Harding, 2006; Pietsch, 2010). Marginalized women, in general, are more likely to be constructed as ‘deserving victims’; there is an assumption that if women violate traditional gender norms of passivity and chastity, sexual assault committed against them is excusable (Pietsch, 2010). As Indigenous women and other marginalized women are depicted as being unfeminine and sexually promiscuous, these women are not perceived to be ‘actual’ victims; this stereotype excuses men from responsibility for the violence they inflict on women (Anderson & Robertson, 2011; Bird, 1999; Pietsch, 2010).

Much like the ‘Madonna/whore’ dichotomy, Indigenous women are often characterized as ‘Indian princess/Indian squaw¹’ in Canadian media (Anderson & Robertson, 2011; Bird, 1999). This dichotomy was borne out of colonisation, and still serves to demonize and fetishize Indigenous female sexuality (Oliver et al., 2015). The ‘Indian princess’ is sexually appealing yet chaste, passive, capable of assimilation to colonial rule, and likely to forgo a relationship with an Indigenous man in favor of the company of white men; this is an Indigenous woman with ‘white morals’ (Anderson & Robertson, 2011; Bird, 1999). The ‘Indian squaw’ is the polar opposite of the ‘Indian princess’; she is associated with sex work, she is impervious to assimilation, depicted as a drunkard as well as exhibiting a sexual presence that provokes white men to commit

¹ This term, although uncomfortable, is used extensively in the literature and carries a specific connotation.

violent sexual acts (Anderson & Robertson, 2011; Bird, 1999). As she is assumed to have incurred the wrath of white men, there is an assumption that these acts are excusable and the perpetrators were simply ‘being typical boys’ (Eberts, 2014). This sexualization of Indigenous women has been used in the context of colonisation to excuse white men of violence, specifically sexual violence, inflicted upon Indigenous women; sexual and exotic depictions of Indigenous women are used in order to depict white men as losing all control in the face of unbridled sexuality (Gilchrist, 2010; Oliver et al., 2015). Therefore, the colonising population simultaneously sexualizes Indigenous women and demonizes Indigenous women’s sexuality (Oliver et al., 2015).

Theoretical Paradigms

The news frames regarding Indigenous women mentioned above, traditional gender roles and racial stereotypes, can be examined through the lenses of critical race theory, whiteness theory, and intersectional feminism. Critical race theory examines how racism will always be a part of society and how depictions of racial minorities are fluid over time based on the needs of the dominant culture (Delgado & Stefancic, 2012). Whiteness theory states that women of colour are denigrated because they do not live up to the ‘feminine ideal’, which is inherently white (Walter & Butler, 2013). In this way, colonialism and its associated policies were put in place in order to maintain the purity and supremacy of the white settlers as opposed to focusing on oppressing Indigenous people (Walter & Butler, 2013). Intersectional feminism focuses on intersections of oppression (Crenshaw, 1989). In this case, Indigenous women are doubly stigmatized based on their gender and race.

Critical Race and Whiteness Theories

Critical race. Critical race theory (CRT) is an offshoot of critical legal studies, surfacing within legal discourse in the late 1980s (Harris, 2012). Critical race theorists outline how, despite legal changes intended to redress racism, the problem still persists within society (Harris, 2012). This theoretical paradigm is premised on the idea that racism will never be completely eradicated from society (Delgado & Stefancic, 2012; Harris, 2012). Legal doctrine is created by elites, therefore the voices of marginalized people are quashed; if these voices remain unheard, society cannot learn from their experiences and lose the lessons these voices can teach (Harris, 2012). The lack of acknowledgement of varying voices within society, or ‘perspectivelessness’, is a vestige of white privilege (Crenshaw, 1989; Harris, 2012).

Critical race theory has four main premises. Firstly, racism is common; racism is not peculiar in Western societies (Delgado & Stenfancic, 2012). Racism cannot be appropriately addressed simply by leveling the playing field, the systemic roots and bases of racism must be addressed and, importantly, it must be recognized (Delgado & Stefancic, 2012). Second, because racism is ideologically and tangibly advantageous to white people of all economic classes, the vested interests involved make it difficult to redress (Delgado & Stefancic, 2012). Third, race is not based on scientific fact; it is a social fact that has been constructed over time (Delgado & Stefancic, 2012). It is this very construction that makes racism difficult to redress, as the general populace is ignorant to the idea that race and, by extension, racism are not inherent to society. This ignorance also obscures the fact that racism is maintained via social structures and actors such as law enforcement, mass media, the courts, and government (Delgado & Stefancic,

2012); these mechanisms and actors work to maintain the status quo and hegemonic racial and colonial structures.

Finally, racism changes shape and appearance over time (Delgado & Stefancic, 2012). Racist images change based on the economic, political and social atmosphere of any given time (Delgado & Stefancic, 2012). Depictions of Indigenous people in Canada have changed over time from childlike to barbaric, and back again, based on the needs of the government (Jiwani & Young, 2006). When the Canadian government has to justify paternalistic policies, Indigenous people are depicted as childlike; when the government has to justify criminalization and disenfranchisement of Indigenous people, they are depicted as barbaric and violent (Jiwani & Young, 2006). Accordingly, one of the main tenets of critical race theory is the idea that racism does not simply disappear with the advent of progressive social policy; racism simply changes form (Delgado & Stefancic, 2012; Harris, 2012). In the context of missing and murdered Indigenous women, it cannot be assumed that due to the repeal of racist and sexist laws regarding Indigenous status, and other regulations associated with colonization, that the racism Indigenous people face in Canada is no longer existent.

Whiteness theory. Whiteness theory describes white privilege and its effects on people of colour (Walter & Butler, 2013). White privilege works to make ‘whiteness’ the norm; white people become the measuring rod by which others are judged (Walter & Butler, 2013). This norm takes three forms: structure, culture, and personal. Hence, white privilege is sustained via institutions, culture, and individual beliefs regarding one’s own place within the social structure (Walter & Butler, 2013). This suggests that racism is based more on holding others to the ‘standard of whiteness’ than by marginalizing non-

white populations (Walter & Butler, 2013). According to this theory, colonial oppression and dispossession of Indigenous people was an attempt to maintain this ideal of whiteness; mixing of any form with Indigenous people would dilute, or taint, the white settler population (Walter & Butler, 2013). This resulted in assimilationist policies such as residential schools and the mass seizure of Indigenous children by Canadian Child Welfare Services as in the ‘Sixties Scoop’. Assimilationist policies were instituted in order to try and ‘fix’ Indigenous peoples; yet, despite these attempts, divisions would always remain between the settler population and Indigenous population as not to promote or accept the comingling of the two cultures.

This is applicable to the issue of missing and murdered Indigenous women in regard to the comparison of Indigenous women to white women; Indigenous women are denigrated in order to preserve the image of the ideal woman who is inherently white and chaste (Gilchrist, 2010). This is the hegemonic conception of femininity within Euro-colonial societies; maintaining the eminence of white women maintains the status quo within settler societies (Oliver et al., 2015). This denigration adds to Indigenous women’s victimization as they are not considered ‘real’ women and the violence committed against them is acceptable because they are ‘less than’, or the ‘other’; in this way, Indigenous women are placed below white women in the social hierarchy of settler societies (Gilchrist, 2010). Indigenous women are placed at the bottom of the social strata.

Intersectional Feminism

As these people are marginalized women, they experience stigmatization and oppression as a result of both their gender and their race, not to mention socioeconomic status and other sociocultural factors. This comingling of oppressive attitudes can be

explained via intersectional theory. Kimberlé Crenshaw (1989) coined the term intersectionality in the late 1980s in order to describe differences in oppression based on the intersection of various socio-cultural factors. These socio-cultural factors could include gender, race/ethnicity, socioeconomic status, and sexuality (Cho, Crenshaw, & McCall, 2013; Crenshaw, 1989; Lykke, 2011; Potter, 2013). Crenshaw related this process to an intersection; while driving through an intersection, a person could be involved in a collision from one direction or multiple directions at once (Crenshaw, 1989). Therefore, some groups are ‘hit’ from multiple directions, or experience discrimination based on a number of factors, while other groups may only be ‘hit’ from one direction (Crenshaw, 1989).

Intersectionality was born out of Black feminism and critical race theory and was predicated on the notion that women of colour experience different forms of oppression than white women as women of colour are doubly stigmatized by the intersection of race and gender (Crenshaw, 1989; Delgado & Stefancic, 2012). As a result, women of colour are often misrepresented in movements that claim to ease the discrimination they face (Crenshaw, 1989; Crenshaw, 1991; Marchetti, 2008). Women of colour are not adequately represented within feminist movements, as their experiences of sexism are more complex than sexism experienced by white women (Crenshaw, 1989; Crenshaw, 1991; Marchetti, 2008). Also, women of colour are not adequately represented within anti-racist movements as they experience racism in a more complex fashion than men of colour (Crenshaw, 1989; Crenshaw, 1991; Marchetti, 2008). Further, anti-racist movements do not adequately represent Indigenous peoples as colonialism adds complexity to the racism Indigenous peoples experience. Therefore, single-axis

approaches to social problems such as violence against women generally or violence against Indigenous women, are not inclusive and may even increase the marginalization women of colour experience (Crenshaw, 1989; Crenshaw, 1991; Marchetti, 2008). Marginalized victims are often invisible due to the comingling of different forms of oppression; these victims do not fit neatly into any one box.

Although intersectional theory was a result of Black feminism in order to explain the oppression Black women experience in the United States, it can easily be related to the experiences of Indigenous women in Canada. As stated earlier, Indigenous women experience discrimination based on their gender and their race (Harding, 2006; Pietsch, 2010). This marginalization is most apparent in justifications for violence committed against Indigenous women; Indigenous women have traditionally been characterized as overtly sexual, creating the notion that sexually motivated violence committed against them is justifiable (Gilchrist, 2010; Harding, 2006; Jiwani & Young, 2006; Pietsch, 2010). There is an assumption that violence, and particularly sexual violence, committed against Indigenous women is tolerated or excusable, even permitted (Gilchrist, 2010; Harding, 2006; Jiwani & Young, 2006; Pietsch, 2010). Reducing Indigenous women to their sexuality objectifies them and, in turn, absolves white men from blame when they commit these sexual acts; in this way the colonizing power has full reign to exercise sexual coercion against Indigenous women (Oliver et al., 2015).

Colonization stripped Indigenous women of many of the rights and duties traditionally ascribed to them, such as their involvement in community politics and the matrilineal structure of many Indigenous societies (Amnesty International, 2008; Barker, 2006; Eberts, 2014; Oliver et al., 2015). As a result, patriarchy was passed into

Indigenous communities, many of which were matriarchal (Amnesty International, 2008; Barker, 2006; Eberts, 2014). Today, Indigenous women experience extreme violence and discrimination from Indigenous and non-Indigenous men alike as a result of the transmission of these colonial gender standards and patriarchy (Amnesty International, 2008; Barker, 2006; Culhane, 2003; RCMP, 2014).

However, Indigenous female victims are only characterized as feminine if the man who assaulted them was Indigenous as well (Gilchrist, 2010). Within media discourse, depictions of Indigenous men commonly fall into two archetypes: the ‘noble savage’ or the ‘ignoble savage’ (Bird, 1999). The ‘noble savage’ is characterized as stoic, wise, capable of assimilation, and is often depicted with lighter skin (Bird, 1999). The ‘ignoble savage’ is depicted much like the ‘Indian squaw’; he is licentious, prone to alcoholism, and sexually aggressive (Bird, 1999). In these cases, the female victim is depicted as innocent and delicate, in need of protection from the brutalization incurred by a ‘bestial’ man, the ‘ignoble savage’ (Gilchrist, 2010). This is a device used in order to denigrate Indigenous men and depict them as inherently dangerous; this is in contrast to white men who can act as saviours to marginalized women in law enforcement or criminal justice capacities. These conceptions of race and gender maintain social hierarchies within colonial societies. Therefore, even when Indigenous women are depicted as victims undeserving of the violence befallen them, the media relies on racist tropes.

Critical race theory, whiteness theory, and intersectional feminism are all applicable to media depictions of missing and murdered Indigenous women on their own, however the combination of the three provides a stronger explanation than any one

theoretical paradigm alone. Critical race theory describes how media depictions change over time and how these depictions are used to oppress people of colour based on the needs of the dominant culture (Delgado & Stefancic, 2012). Whiteness theory states that these changing depictions of colonized peoples are used in order to maintain white privilege (Walter & Butler, 2013). Finally, intersectional feminism outlines how Indigenous women, and women of colour in general, are doubly stigmatized by their race and gender. Just as whiteness is placed as the norm within settler societies, so is maleness. In order to adhere to this social hierarchy, any form of agency expressed by women must be quashed (Oliver et al., 2015). One such form of agency is sexual agency; as Indigenous women traditionally possessed sexual agency within many Indigenous social structures, they were inherently dangerous (Oliver et al., 2015). Female sexual agency had already been established as deviant within Euro-colonial societies, making Indigenous women deviant in comparison to white women (Oliver et al., 2015). Therefore, Indigenous women cannot maintain the hegemonic feminine ideal that is intrinsically white, chaste, and submissive.

Media Tropes

Media tropes are images that are so overused they become engrained within society; despite being innocuous, they can be particularly harmful when these tropes are used in order to oppress certain populations. Missing and murdered Indigenous women are depicted within the media as living 'high-risk' lifestyles (Gilchrist, 2010; Jiwani & Young, 2006; Moral, 2011). These high-risk behaviours include engaging in sex work, experiencing homelessness, battling addictions, and being associated with zones of degeneracy (Gilchrist, 2010; Jiwani & Young, 2006; Moral, 2011). Other media tropes

employed by the media when reporting on missing and murdered Indigenous women are a focus on forensics, a focus on portraying perpetrators as ‘bad apples’, and highlighting police malpractice. These tropes will be examined below.

Sex Work

According to previous studies, the ‘typical case’ journalists rely on when reporting on missing and murdered Indigenous women focuses on women who have disappeared from Vancouver’s Downtown Eastside; these women have been depicted as being involved in sex work, struggling with addiction, and experiencing homelessness or living ‘high-risk’ lifestyles (Jiwani & Young, 2006). These studies found sex work was often referenced even if the particular victim was not involved in the sex trade (Jiwani & Young, 2006; Gilchrist, 2010). Between 1991 and 2012, 3,989 female homicides were reported in Canada; of these, only 255 victims were known to be involved in sex work (RCMP, 2014). The predominance of references to sex work within media discussions of missing and murdered Indigenous women does not follow considering the few female homicide victims, of any ethnicity, who are known to have been involved in the sex trade.

Relying on this trope undermines these victims’ credibility within the Canadian population. References to sex work depict these women as ‘choosing’ a lifestyle that is inherently dangerous; therefore, the violence they experience is perceived to be a consequence of this lifestyle (Moral, 2011; Razack, 2000). Police officers have been quoted as saying, “... because of her lifestyle, because of her trade, she could be a victim [in] a group of many” (Kines, 1999, p. A1). Violence perpetrated against sex workers is often ignored, or even accepted, as these women are perceived to be selling their bodies for use; as a result, this transaction is viewed as a license to commit heinous acts toward

sex workers (Razack, 2000). This brutalization should be the focal point of news stories; however, when referencing sex work, journalists negate, and provide an explanation for, this violence (Gilchrist, 2010; Moral, 2011; Razack, 2000).

Homelessness and Addiction

This is true for homelessness and addictions as well; when women are described as homeless or addicted, they are stripped of their worth in the eyes of the public (Gilchrist, 2010; Jiwani & Young, 2006). Worse yet, they become invisible victims (Gilchrist, 2010; Jiwani & Young, 2006). Within Western society, addictions and homelessness are depicted as personal failings as opposed to social failings; therefore victims who are battling addictions or experiencing homelessness are individualized and depicted as irresponsible. By focusing on the ‘deviant’ aspects of victims’ lives, journalists depict these women as the invisible ‘Other’; addictions, homelessness and involvement in sex work become their descriptors (Gilchrist, 2010; Jiwani & Young, 2006; Moral, 2011; Razack, 2000). This discursive technique renders this violence invisible by providing the public with reasons to view these women as ‘unworthy’ of their attention (Moral, 2011; Palacios, 2014; Razack, 2000). The public does not hear the story of a missing or murdered woman; they are receiving the story of a missing or murdered sex worker, addict, or homeless person (Moral, 2011; Palacios, 2014; Razack, 2000). As these populations are often mobile, their disappearance is often considered a part of their lifestyle; foul play is not often assumed, usually law enforcement and, by extension, the public simply assume these women moved to a different area (Jiwani & Young, 2006; Kiepal, Carrington & Dawson, 2012). Police have told families of women

missing from Vancouver's Downtown Eastside "their transient lifestyle meant they could be anywhere" (Mertl, 2002, p. C1)

Zones of Degeneracy

One such area is Vancouver's Downtown Eastside, which is considered a 'zone of degeneracy'; as mentioned above, this area is considered to be Canada's Skid Row (Culhane, 2003; Jiwani & Young, 2006; Moral, 2011; Razack, 2000). Zones of degeneracy have been a spectacle for 'respectable', read white, middle-class, people for hundreds of years (Moral, 2011; Razack, 2000). 'Respectable' people can move in and out of degenerate zones with ease and return to their normal lives; it is this ability to move within and between these zones that separates those living in degenerate zones from the rest of the population (Moral, 2011; Razack, 2000). Visiting these zones reinforces the visitor's 'reputable', white, middle-class lifestyle. As a result, those living in these zones become the racialized, deviantized Other (Moral, 2011; Razack, 2000).

This othering process creates invisible victims; despite the news coverage and shocking statistics, the violence perpetrated against those living in degenerate zones is ignored due to their spatial location (Moral, 2011; Razack, 2000). Violence committed against those that 'choose' to live in these areas is expected, and even accepted, as a typical consequence of living a 'high-risk' lifestyle (Moral, 2011; Razack, 2000). This area is referred to as "Vancouver's meanest streets" and "drug-infested" (Mertl, 2002, p. C1). The story of Vancouver's Downtown Eastside is almost always referenced within news stories of missing and murdered Indigenous women within the literature; therefore, even women who are not living in degenerate zones or involved in sex work or substance use, are painted with the brush of degeneracy (Gilchrist, 2010). Any one of these factors

on their own works to dehumanize victims and portray them as actively participating in their own victimization; however, the confluence of sex work, addictions, homelessness, and zones of degeneracy depicts women as deserving victims (Gilchrist, 2010; Jiwani & Young, 2006; Moral, 2011).

Forensics

Just as references to sex work, drug addictions, homelessness, and zones of degeneracy dehumanize victims, a focus on forensics and science also work to dehumanize victims by portraying them as cadavers as opposed to people (Moral, 2011). Journalists use depersonalizing language, such as ‘the body’ or ‘remains’ as opposed to individualizing this violence by referencing the victims’ names (Moral, 2011). This reliance on forensics, science, and objectivity also works to separate this violence from the social structures that precipitate it (Moral, 2011). This form of storytelling is referred to as “violent journalism”; this involves evoking entertainment from violent stories (Moral, 2011, p. 54).

Not only is this violence turned into entertainment, this violence is also sexualized through the use of eroticized language (Moral, 2011). For instance, in a *Toronto Star* (2007) article covering the investigation at Robert Pickton’s farm, the reporter uses eroticized language when describing a firearm discovered on the property. The reporter describes how the firearm had a sex toy attached to the barrel (Toronto Star, 2007); this reference does not add any pertinent information to the story, it simply adds an entertainment factor via shock value to the violence Pickton’s victims experienced. This further trivializes the, often sexual, violence women experience, and further objectifies victims (Moral, 2011; Razack, 2000). Victims are stripped of their human attributes when

described in this way (Moral, 2011). They are simply ‘bodies’; degenerate, hypersexual bodies, ‘disposed’ of like garbage by men who are an aberration and this violence is in no way a side effect of racist and sexist attitudes bred within society (Moral, 2011).

Perpetrators

The news media seek to depersonalize victims and strip them of their individuality, yet the opposite is true for the perpetrators of violence; when men are accused of committing violence against missing or murdered Indigenous women, and women in general, they are actively separated from ‘normal’, ‘well adjusted’ men in news discourse (Jiwani & Young, 2006; Moral, 2011). Violence against women is decontextualized within news media; the public is not presented with a social problem, they are presented with the story of a ‘sick’ man who committed heinous acts against victims who happen to be women (Berns, 2001).

An example in this context is Canadian serial killer Robert Pickton. Pickton was not presented as yet another man victimizing women, many of whom were Indigenous, from Vancouver’s Downtown Eastside (Jiwani & Young, 2006; Moral, 2011). He was depicted as an anomaly; a malcontent whose social and mental health difficulties led him to victimize numerous sex workers (Jiwani & Young, 2006; Moral, 2011).

Decontextualizing and depoliticizing the problem of violence against women decreases the urgency surrounding claims for social action; this, partnered with the sexist and racist news discourse outlined above helps to explain why little has been done to mitigate the violence Indigenous women, and women in general, face (Berns, 2001; Jiwani & Young, 2006; Moral, 2011).

Police

Another common frame utilized within news discourse surrounding missing and murdered Indigenous women is police inaction and inefficiency (Gilchrist, 2010; Jiwani & Young, 2006; Moral, 2011). For instance, following continued outcry from the public and Indigenous groups, the Vancouver Police Department acquiesced and gave a press conference regarding women missing from the Downtown Eastside (Jiwani & Young, 2006). The pictures chosen of the missing women by the police department and media were often their mug shots; this representation places these women in a criminogenic light, further negating the claim that this issue should be considered a social problem in need of action (Jiwani & Young, 2006).

Law enforcement officials are considered to be arbiters of the social order; these officials enforce the rules and laws that maintain public order (Jackson & Bradford, 2009; Nivette, 2014; Sunshine & Tyler, 2003). As such, law enforcement officials are perceived to protect social cohesion and uphold social mores and values (Jackson & Bradford, 2009; Sunshine and Tyler, 2003). This role is both symbolic and tangible; police officers represent the image of law and order while also actively enforcing law and order, they are enforcers of hegemony (Jackson & Bradford, 2009). This is problematic in regard to missing and murdered Indigenous women considering the ambivalence law enforcement officials have shown in regard to this crisis. When police officers, the arbiters of social mores and values, ignore these women, they indicate to the general public that Indigenous women should be ignored. This contributes to the invisibility of Indigenous victims.

Government officials have also been focused on within the press for their disregard for the safety of Indigenous women. The mayor of Vancouver at the time, Philip Owen, refused to offer a reward in this instance because he did not want public funds to be used to create a “finder’s service for prostitutes” (Mertl, 2002, p. C1). Police and governmental inaction is an important aspect of this problem; however, focusing on the inefficacy of specific organizations removes onus for action regarding this problem from the population at large (Gilchrist, 2010; Moral, 2011). By focusing on these institutions, the media has created a convenient scapegoat, providing the public with a way to assuage public guilt (Gilchrist, 2010; Moral, 2011).

These media tropes, high-risk lifestyles, forensics, perpetrators and police all work together in order to draw attention away from the political underpinnings of violence against Indigenous women. Focusing on these women’s lifestyle choices depict them as taking risks with their own safety (Moral, 2011; Razack, 2000). This portrayal makes it easy to blame the victim for the violence they encountered and works to dehumanize them (Moral, 2011; Razack, 2000). Women are further dehumanized by a focus on forensics. For example, describing the wounds inflicted upon victims in a clinical manner portrays victims as bodies; dehumanized, objectified bodies (Moral, 2011). References to police inaction provides a scapegoat for why this problem has become so widespread (Gilchrist, 2010; Moral, 2011). The implication is that violence against Indigenous women is only a crime problem and it is the responsibility of police agencies to address this violence (Gilchrist, 2010; Moral, 2011). Finally, when perpetrators are mentioned, this violence is not portrayed as a result of being raised in a society in which these women are not valued and this violence is acceptable; the

perpetrators are portrayed as mentally ill and maladjusted (Jiwani & Young, 2006; Moral, 2011). These tropes blame and depersonalize the victims, create a scapegoat, and decontextualize the violence.

Infotainment and Police Procedurals

As the literature indicates, the Canadian press has relied on spectacle and superficial media tropes in their coverage of this issue (Gilchrist, 2010; Jiwani & Young, 2006; Moral, 2011). This has resulted in the production of infotainment, as opposed to a more nuanced account of this sex- and race-based violence (Gilchrist, 2010; Jiwani & Young, 2006; Moral, 2011). This pattern is not limited to the issue of missing and murdered Indigenous women, however; it has become increasingly difficult to distinguish the difference between news and entertainment in recent decades, especially regarding reports on crime (Dowler, Fleming & Muzzatti, 2006; Surette, 2002; Surette, 2015). As stated earlier, news media is constructed based on what is deemed newsworthy; with the advent of the 24-hour news circuit and the increase in news outlets, media producers must create entertaining news stories that are often exaggerated and sensationalized in order to captivate their audience (Dowler, Fleming & Muzzatti, 2006; Ferrell et al., 2008; Gilchrist, 2010; Surette, 2002).

Crime dramas and infotainment work together in order to reinforce the need for law and order (Dowler, Fleming & Muzzatti, 2006; Surette, 2015). Crime is depicted as jeopardizing the social order and law enforcement is depicted as the only logical defense (Surette, 2015). Infotainment also works to enforce certain social norms based on modeling of appropriate behaviour and the use of morality plays (Jiwani & Young, 2006; Moral, 2011; Sood, Menard & Witte, 2003). The morality plays depicted in infotainment

crime news coverage converge with the morality plays depicted in crime dramas; these messages promote the same ideas regarding appropriate behaviour and work together to instill and enforce these ideas within the consciousness of the general population (Deutsch & Cavender, 2008). Therefore, crime dramas may not enforce social mores, they do, however, reinforce these messages in an easily digestible manner for the general public.

Crime Dramas

Television crime dramas, most notably *Dragnet* and *CSI: Crime Scene Investigation*, recreate current crimes on their programs, further muddling the distinction between fact and fiction (Jermyn, 2007; Jermyn, 2013). This process is referred to within cultural criminology as a “mediated hall of mirrors” in which “images bounce endlessly one off the other” (Ferrell et al., 2008, p. 130). However, as with a mirror, each new representation is not an exact facsimile of the previous image; the media is constantly reframing and adjusting reality in order to fit the constructs of their platform (Ferrell et al., 2008; Surette, 2002).

The similarities between news media and television crime dramas do not end there. Other similarities include: a fascination with science and a reliance on morality plays (Jermyn 2007; Jermyn, 2013; Parrott & Parrott, 2015; Weissmann & Boyle, 2007). The fascination with science depersonalizes and objectifies the victims, provides a buffer between the audience and the heinous acts playing out on screen, and also adds a semblance of reason to these ‘random’ acts of violence (Deutsch & Cavender, 2008; Jermyn, 2007; Jermyn, 2013; Weissmann & Boyle, 2007). The second common theme, gendered morality plays, also works to enforce social mores regarding appropriate

behaviour for women (Parrott & Parrott, 2015). These themes will be expanded upon below.

Science

The focus on forensics within television crime dramas has much the same effect as the focus on forensics within news accounts of missing and murdered Indigenous women; this focus acts as a way to objectify and depersonalize victims (Deutsch & Cavender, 2008; Jermyn, 2007; Jermyn, 2013; Weissmann & Boyle, 2007). This discursive technique acts as a buffer between the audience and the heinous acts performed on screen (Deutsch & Cavender, 2008; Jermyn, 2007; Jermyn, 2013; Weissmann & Boyle, 2007). For instance, in *CSI*, previous studies have found that the victim's face is often not shown; the focus is on the body of the victim (Jermyn, 2007). There is little attention given to the victim as a person; the focus is on the victim's body as an object and form of evidence (Jermyn, 2007).

One such example of the objectification of the body and reliance on sensationalism within crime dramas is the now famous *CSI*-shot (Jermyn, 2007; Weissmann & Boyle, 2007). This 'money shot' takes the audience inside the victim's body in order to show, in detail, the violence the victim experienced (Jermyn, 2007; Weissmann & Boyle, 2007). This technique further separates the audience from the victims, as well as creates a spectacle in much the same way as violent journalism (Jermyn, 2007; Weissmann & Boyle, 2007). Violent journalism, as noted above, involves creating entertainment from violence, which is a crime drama's main shtick; the entertainment aspect of these depictions of violence and bodies objectify and depersonalize the victim (Moral, 2011).

The focus on science, either forensic or psychological, within these programs and news coverage adds an air of objectivity and reason to seemingly random acts of violence (Deutsch & Cavender, 2008; Jermyn, 2007; Jermyn, 2013; Weissmann & Boyle, 2007). This reliance on order and science removes the political underpinnings of these acts from these accounts; the attention of the audience is trained on evidence or psychological pathology, as opposed to the systemic, social conditions that contribute and perpetuate these forms of violence (Deutsch & Cavender, 2008; Jermyn, 2007; Jermyn, 2013; Moral, 2011; Weissmann & Boyle, 2007). As with the discursive processes outlined above in regard to news media, this technique provides a degree of distance between the audience and the victim mitigating feelings of guilt and responsibility in regard to this violence (Deutsch & Cavender, 2008; Jermyn, 2007; Jermyn, 2013; Weissmann & Boyle, 2007).

Morality Plays

These shows are also an example of gendered morality plays (Parrott & Parrott, 2015). ‘Low-risk’ white women are overrepresented within these television programs, and the majority of the perpetrators are strangers (Parrott & Parrott, 2015). This is in contrast to official crime statistics, which show that Black men are most commonly victims of murder and people are most likely to be victimized by people they know (Parrott & Parrott, 2015). These shows often depict a woman who has transgressed some social more, or ‘put herself in harm’s way’ and the aftermath of those decisions (Parrott & Parrott, 2015). For instance, a young girl who goes to a party and is then sexually assaulted, such as Episode 5 from Season 6 of *Law & Order: SVU*, “Outcry”. This is similar to the Madonna/whore trope utilized within news accounts of missing and murdered Indigenous women; this construction of ‘good’ and ‘bad’ women constitutes a

morality play (Brennan et al., 2015; Gilchrist, 2010; Parrott & Parrott, 2015). These stories, real and imagined, act as warnings against improper behaviour and serve as examples of what can happen to women when they transgress in some way (Brennan et al., 2015; Gilchrist, 2010; Parrott & Parrott, 2015).

In sum, crime dramas and crime news reporting mirror each other, confusing the line between reality and fiction (Jermyn, 2007; Jermyn, 2013; Surrette, 2015). Two common themes between crime news reporting and crime dramas are a focus on forensics and the use of morality plays. The focus on forensics dehumanizes victims and objectifies them by portraying them as another piece of evidence (Jermyn, 2007). The morality plays are aimed at ‘low-risk’ white women. These are women who are worth protection if they do not transgress social mores (Parrott & Parrott, 2015). As women of colour are ‘un-women’, they are not worth redemption or saving; minority women, when depicted, are used as an example of inappropriate female behaviour (Gilchrist, 2010; Jiwani & Young, 2006; Moral, 2011). These themes are similar to the themes utilized within news discourse when missing and murdered Indigenous women are constructed as deserving victims.

Purpose

Given the infotainment nature of news accounts of missing and murdered Indigenous women and the similarities between these accounts and television crime dramas, the purpose of this thesis is to examine the extent to which similarities exist between these two types of media in regard to their depictions of victims. Based on a review of the literature, common media themes of missing and murdered Indigenous women fall into the following categories: marginalization, highlighting a victim’s

lifestyle in order to depict her as a ‘deserving’ victim, and a focus on forensic science, police activities and perpetrators. Marginalization refers to discussions of race and gender. The deserving victim trope refers to references to sex work, drug use/addiction, homelessness, previous criminal record, and zones of degeneracy. Focus on forensic science refers to references to forensic science as well as the objectification of victims’ bodies via the use of violent journalism. The police construct refers to police malpractice and inefficiency and the perpetrator construct refers to explanations or justifications of the perpetrator’s actions. A qualitative, ethnographic content analysis (ECA) will be employed in order to draw similarities between the two types of media and investigate whether the themes mentioned above are also present within the current sample or if new themes emerge (Altheide & Schneider, 2013).

Intersectional feminism and critical race theory are utilized as the dominant theoretical paradigms while interpreting the news and entertainment discourses. Critical race theory was chosen for its contributions regarding the concepts of white privilege and the changing nature of racism. It is important to note that racism against Indigenous people in Canada has involved dispossession and repression through legal doctrine, a typical ploy used by colonizing powers (Walter & Butler, 2013) and violence. This violence is not only ignored but accepted because Indigenous women are ‘less than’ when compared to white women. Intersectional feminism was chosen for its insights regarding the confluence and compounding nature of different forms of oppression.

Chapter 3: Methodology

The purpose of this thesis was to compare and contrast depictions of victims within news articles regarding missing and murdered Indigenous women and portrayals of victims within crime dramas; as such, this thesis involves two samples: television shows and news articles. The first sample consisted of fifty news articles outlining the stories of fifty missing or murdered Indigenous women. The second sample consisted of sixty-seven television episodes; these episodes were coded focusing on the portrayal of victims. Data was gathered on all victims, however extra care was given to minority female victims. The television shows chosen for this thesis were *Law & Order: SVU*, *CSI: Crime Scene Investigation*, and *Criminal Minds*. Thirty-seven episodes of *Law & Order: SVU*, 13 episodes of *Criminal Minds*, and seventeen episodes of *CSI: Crime Scene Investigation* were included in the sample. A preliminary protocol was constructed based on a review of the literature; this protocol was then revised during the course of the coding process in order to reflect emergent themes. The methodology is explained in detail below. Based on the review of the literature, political references, victims, space, police, and perpetrators were common themes within news articles covering stories of missing and murdered Indigenous women. These themes will be outlined in detail below.

Research Design

An ethnographic content analysis (ECA) was chosen in order to analyze the similarities and differences between media depictions of missing and murdered Indigenous women and depictions of victims, in general as well as marginalized victims, in television crime dramas. ECA refers to the merging of qualitative content analysis and ethnographic research (Altheide & Schneider, 2013). Ethnographic research involves

studying people and culture; the researcher engages with the documents of interest, allowing patterns and themes to emerge organically, in contrast to quantitative content analysis that employs strict coding categories (Altheide & Schneider, 2013). The first step in a research project that employs ECA is to identify a research problem (Altheide & Schneider, 2013). Next, the researcher must choose a unit of analysis specific to the intended research project (Altheide & Schneider, 2013).

News stories covering individual cases were chosen for this thesis, as opposed to stories covering the issue of missing and murdered Indigenous women in general, in order to gain an understanding of how individual victims are processed and presented. In this case, the unit of analysis for the first sample is individual cases of missing and murdered Indigenous women, and television crime drama episodes are the unit of analysis for the second sample. In order to access news stories regarding missing and murdered Indigenous women, Lexis Nexis, Canadian Newsstand, and news media websites were used; a list of missing and murdered Indigenous women was also used in order to find articles that did not mention the victims were Indigenous or did not reference the larger issue of missing and murdered Indigenous women. Search terms used in order to access articles were: missing or murdered, Aboriginal woman, and Indigenous woman. Once a list of missing and murdered Indigenous compiled by the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC) was accessed, I also searched individual names. This was helpful as articles printed before the early 2000s, and some afterward, did not mention that the missing or murdered women were Indigenous.

A total of 50 newspaper articles were chosen for the study. In the majority of cases, only one article was chosen per missing or murdered woman. Only one article was

chosen per woman in order to have a better cross-section of data; with only one or two articles per woman, more women could be included within the sample from different areas of the country and representing different characteristics. Further, when the list of names was used in order to access articles, women were chosen at random in order to avoid bias within the sample. The dates of publication range from 1991 to 2016. Older articles were more difficult to access as many have not been uploaded to the Internet. The majority of the articles, 38%, were from British Columbia. Almost 70% of the articles were from the western and prairie provinces, which is consistent with statistics regarding the murders and disappearances of these women; as stated above, almost 75% of the missing and murdered women are from the western and prairie provinces (RCMP, 2014).

The television shows chosen for this study were *CSI: Crime Scene Investigation* (Seasons 1-15, 2000-2015), *Criminal Minds* (Seasons 1-9, 2005-2015), and *Law & Order: Special Victims Unit* (Seasons 1-16, 1999-2015). These television shows were chosen based on their weekly viewership; according to the Nielsen ratings for television shows, these programs have been highly ranked for many years, in both American and Canadian markets. As these programs have high levels of viewership, they represent excellent data sources as they reach a large audience and can have the most influence on viewers.

In order to gain a random cross-section of the television shows, every tenth episode of *Law & Order: SVU* was analyzed due to the appropriate subject matter of the show. This show focuses on sex crimes, which is consistent with the scope of this study. Every twentieth episode of *Criminal Minds* and *CSI: Crime Scene Investigation* were analyzed as these shows did not feature the same quality nor quantity of applicable data

in regard to *Law & Order: SVU*. Every twentieth episode was chosen in order to have at least one episode from each season present within the study in order to gain a representative cross-section of the shows within the sample. Thirty-seven episodes of *Law & Order: SVU* were analyzed, thirteen episodes of *Criminal Minds* were analyzed, and seventeen episodes of *CSI: Crime Scene Investigation* were analyzed, making a sum total of sixty-seven episodes. Episodes were chosen at random in order to have a random sample and in order to make comparisons between different victims; this means episodes depicting men and children were included within the sample as well.

In studies using ECA, after the unit of analysis has been chosen, coding categories must be chosen (Altheide & Schneider, 2013). These categories are based on an investigation of several cases, in this case newspaper articles and television shows (Altheide & Schneider, 2013). The researcher allows themes and frames to emerge, without any prior coding categories in mind (Altheide & Schneider, 2013). For the purposes of this thesis, I chose to follow this step as well as add some coding categories based on a review of the literature; this provides continuity between this study and previous studies regarding media depictions of missing and murdered Indigenous women, meanwhile the reflexive nature of ECA allows for the inclusion of emergent themes as opposed to being tied to restrictive coding categories.

After reviewing the literature and choosing a unit of analysis, a preliminary protocol, or coding sheet, is drafted (Altheide & Schneider, 2013). A preliminary protocol is the coding sheet initially drafted by the researcher in order to capture themes and frames within the documents (Altheide & Schneider, 2013). Initially, the protocol should be short with few pre-coded variables (Altheide & Schneider, 2013). This allows the

researcher to add variables or categories or remove categories with ease (Altheide & Schneider, 2013). The protocols were revised during the coding process to reflect emergent themes within the source materials (Altheide & Schneider, 2013). Separate protocols had to be made for the news stories and the television episodes; however, in order to compare common themes and frames, these protocols were similar.

Themes

The protocols for this study focused on the following thematic areas based on a review of the literature: political references, victims, space, police, and perpetrators², which are briefly described below:

Political References: Based on a review of the literature, two political themes were chosen for analysis, sexist language and racist language. During the coding process, two emergent political themes were added to this section for both news and television protocols: violence against women and victimization. Finally, references to missing and murdered Indigenous women were added to this section in the news media protocol.

Sexist language: In previous studies investigating media depictions of missing and murdered Indigenous women in Canada, sexist language was a common theme within news articles focusing Indigenous victims. Within this section I noted derogatory language regarding women as well as language that denoted more implicit sexist attitudes such as depicting women as weak, emotional, or sexually ‘promiscuous’.

Racist language: I made note of racist language, both explicit and implicit. Lack of racial representation was also noted; for instance, some news articles covering specific missing or murdered women did not mention their Indigenous status. I also noted

² See Appendix A for the preliminary protocol and final protocols

references to 'Indians' and whether the terms Indigenous, Native or Aboriginal were capitalized within news accounts as these linguistic differences denote the reporter's use of appropriate nomenclature. While coding television shows, I noted racist language used against any group, not just Indigenous people, as Indigenous people were not included in the television sample and also in order to draw connections between depictions of Indigenous people and other marginalized communities.

Violence against women: Violence against women was an important coding category as it is important to note how violence is discussed within the media samples as this issue centers on violence against women. I noted empowering references, such as investigators telling women the violence they encountered was not their fault, as well as examples of victim blaming, such as investigators asking women why they did not leave an abusive relationship. I took note of both of these kinds of references in order to ascertain whether there was a difference between victims the investigators blamed for the violence they encountered and 'blameless' victims.

Victimization: I took note of references to victimization such as what 'predators' look for when choosing victims, statistics regarding victimization, and victimization patterns regarding 'risky' populations.

Missing and murdered Indigenous women: This category was only applicable to news media, as the shows included in this study did not directly address missing and murdered Indigenous women. When missing and murdered Indigenous women were referenced in an article I took note of whether the reporter referenced the issue in general or a specific woman and how this issue was addressed. I took note of whether or not there were any

victim-blaming aspects to the references, such as referencing Vancouver's Downtown Eastside, sex work, or addictions.

Victims: Within this category, I took note of references to sex work, addictions, homelessness or transience, positive attributes of victims, backstory/demographics, socioeconomic status, objectifying/eroticizing victim's bodies, and reports of prior police contact based on the review of the literature. During the coding process, two additional themes emerged: police comments regarding the victim and transgression.

Sex work: References to sex work were noted regardless of whether or not the victim, herself, was a sex worker. Sex work could refer to any work in the sex trade such as exotic dancing, traditional sex work and escort services. Any references comparing or associating the victim and sex work were noted within this section.

Addictions: References to drug or alcohol use or addictions were noted here. For the news articles, references to addictions were noted. As the television shows were audio as well as visual, references to addictions did not have to be explicit. If drug use was implied based on scene staging or something similar, it was made note of.

Homelessness: I noted whether or not the victim had a 'stable' living situation. If the victim was homeless, living with friends/family, or living in youth housing it was noted. In regard to the news articles, I noted whether the victim was mentioned to have been living in housing provided by Child Welfare Services.

Positive attributes of victims: I made note of comments regarding the victims that highlighted their positive personal attributes such as intelligence, kindness, and creativity. I also took note of whether feminine familial relations were referenced, such as whether

the victim was a mother, sister, or grandmother. This was added based on findings from earlier studies. I also noted the source of the comment.

Backstory/demographics: I noted basic demographic characteristics of the victims, for instance name, age, sex.

Socioeconomic status (SES): I noted references to the victim's socioeconomic status, either explicit or implicit. For instance, references to government assistance, 'bad'/'good' neighborhoods, and occupations were noted.

Objectifying/eroticizing victim's bodies: I made note of how victims were killed, how bodies were dressed or positioned, and wounds inflicted on the victim's body.

Reports of prior police contact: I made note as to whether victims had previous criminal records, were known to police, or had some other previous connection to law enforcement.

Police/reporter comments regarding victim: I noted police and reporter comments regarding the victim. I noted whether the comments were negative or positive as well as the language used, for instance if depersonalizing language was used such as referring to the 'the body', or 'the victim'.

Transgression: Here I noted whether the victim broke any societal mores that were framed as precipitating their victimization. The degree to which this behaviour was related to victimization was also noted.

Space:

Zones of degeneracy: I made note of zones of degeneracy. A zone of degeneracy was operationalized as an area with a high concentration of sex work or sexual activity, copious drug or alcohol use, or homelessness.

Police: Police malpractice or abuse of power, and focus on forensics, science and technology were chosen for the coding protocol based on the review of the literature. During the coding process, interactions between agencies was added to the protocols for both news and entertainment media. Initiatives to help, courts, and governmental agencies were added to the news protocol.

Police malpractice or abuse of power: I noted instances in which police or criminal justice officials abused their power or committed malpractice. Examples of this could be ignoring victims due to their ‘high-risk’ lifestyle, breaking the law or infringing on a suspect’s rights in order to catch a ‘criminal’, lying to suspects or victims, and using unjustified force against a suspect.

Focus on forensics/science/technology: I noted references to forensics, science and/or technology used to solve cases. For instance, the use of DNA, fingerprinting, psychological profiling, autopsies, and cell phone tracing.

Interactions between agencies: I noted how well different criminal justice and governmental agencies worked together during the course of an investigation or criminal court case. I noted whether certain agencies were antagonistic toward each other, how well they cooperated, if other agencies were portrayed as incompetent, which agencies were more likely to advocate for victims, and how these interactions affected the outcome of the case.

Initiatives to help: During the course of the coding process, news articles regarding missing and murdered Indigenous women occasionally referenced law enforcement initiatives used to help these women. I noted whether these initiatives were the driving

force behind the investigation looking into these crimes or if they were simply given lip service, or if these initiatives were openly criticized for their inefficiency.

Courts: I noted cases in which there were references to anger or dissatisfaction regarding the outcome of sentencing perpetrators involved in these cases.

Governmental agencies: References to governmental agencies or programs such as Child Welfare Services or Social Assistance were noted here. I took note of which agencies were involved and whether or not their involvement was deemed positive or negative.

Perpetrators and Suspects: Based on the review of the literature, explanations or justifications for violent behaviour and references to positive attributes of perpetrators were chosen as coding categories. During the coding process, demographics, individualized or demonizing language, and typifying offenders were added.

Explanations or justifications for behaviour: I made note of language providing explanations or justifications for the perpetrator's actions. This could include making reference to the use of intoxicants, psychological illnesses, or delusions. I also made note of who was making the justification or excuse, whether it was the perpetrator, someone close to them, or a criminal justice official.

Positive attributes of the perpetrator: Positive attributes could involve making reference to the fact that the perpetrator is a student, has a high-level job, or was simply a 'nice' person.

Demographics: I noted the perpetrators' race, age, name and any other demographic information provided by the media source.

Individualized/demonizing language: This category was added due to the characterization of suspects and perpetrators as ‘evil’ or ‘sick’. Examples of individualized or demonizing language include calling the perpetrator names such as ‘crazy’, ‘psychopath’ or other forms of derogatory language.

Typifying offenders: Within this category I noted instances of psychological profiling, discussions of forensic countermeasures, and statistical information regarding perpetrators and offending.

Reference to Real Case: This category was added to the coding protocol for the television shows as many crime dramas base their material on real cases. I made note of the episode and the real case the episode portrayed.

Chapter 4: Data Analysis

The expected main themes within the sample, based on a review of the literature, were the ‘deserving’ victim, a focus on perpetrator pathology, a focus on forensics and science, and police malpractice or inefficiency. Based on the data collected from the crime dramas, five themes became apparent: traditional, conservative views regarding family structure, sexism/sex work, lack of racial representation, objectification of the victims’ bodies, and police conduct. This is consistent with the findings of previous studies regarding depictions of missing and murdered Indigenous women; the ‘deserving’ victim is present within depictions of sexism and ‘appropriate’ family structures, the focus on forensics and science are prevalent within the objectification of victims’ bodies, and police malpractice or inefficiency was highlighted within the literature as well as the sample.

The news sample, surprisingly, did not conform to previous studies as nicely. Less than half the articles mentioned sex work, despite this being a main theme within previous studies. However, when sex work was referenced, a clear connection between sex work and violence was made which is consistent with recent changes to sex work laws that depict sex workers as victims (Davies, 2015). Similar to the lack of racial representation within the television sample, almost a third of the articles in the news sample did not mention the victims were Indigenous. Within both the television and news samples, objectification of bodies were prevalent, which is consistent with findings from the previous studies; despite this, forensics were seldom highlighted in the news sample which contradicts previous studies. Police malpractice and inefficiency were also highlighted in the news sample, which is consistent with previous studies. The news

sample is consistent with the television sample and previous studies in regard to depicting a hierarchy of victims and morality plays.

An overarching theme, the culmination of those listed above, also emerges: if you transgress society's conception of acceptable behaviour, you will be punished. These stories act as a fable or morality play used in order to teach and reinforce social mores. In this context, police act as the arbiters of proper conduct. Victims who transgress these mores are portrayed in two ways: women who are worth 'saving', and lost causes. This creates a hierarchy of victims; 'good', well-behaved white girls and children generate the most sympathy from the officers whereas women who have 'sinned' receive scorn and flippant remarks that trivialize the violence they experience. Media coverage of missing and murdered Indigenous women use the same tropes; when sex work, addiction, transience or zones of degeneracy are referenced within news stories, victims are portrayed as lost causes and deserving of violent treatment. These themes will be discussed below.

Family Structure

Family structure is an important theme within the television sample and a minor theme within the news article sample. Within these contexts, the bourgeois notion of the nuclear family reigns supreme; this depiction involves a middleclass family with the husband as breadwinner and wife as homemaker. Families with a high socio-economic status are depicted as ambivalent to their children's needs and as lacking discipline. Families with a low socio-economic status are depicted as incapable of taking care of themselves. Both samples demonize single mothers depicting them as making poor choices and mentioning the removal of children from single mothers with addiction

issues. Many of the cases within the samples depict family structure as a defining factor relating to the victims' criminality or victimization. These issues will be examined below.

Many Indigenous family structures are comprised of extended family; raising children in Indigenous communities is typically a community affair (Alston-O'Connor, 2010; Emberley, 2001; Morphy, 2007). This is in stark contrast to the idealized European family structure in which parents are solely responsible for raising their own children. This familial structure can be misinterpreted as a flippant parenting style as individual parents can be portrayed as neglectful or uncaring if another family or community member is watching over their child.

A conservative view of family structure is most apparent in *Law & Order: SVU*. Within this show, dysfunctional families tend to take two forms: families with a low socio-economic status (SES) and families with a high SES. Although the socio-economic status of a victims' family is rarely referenced explicitly, there are visual cues that reinforce stereotypes regarding people of a lower SES. For instance, in Episode 21 from Season 1, "Nocturne", the detectives visit the home of a male victim of sexual abuse. The perpetrator in this instance preys on disadvantaged youth. The home of this victim was depicted as decrepit, messy, and there were open liquor bottles, pill bottles and a collection of cigarette butts on the kitchen table. His mother was sitting at the table in her housecoat and looked haggard; she is a single mother dealing with addictions. The implication here is that people of a lower SES are prone to addictions and are incapable of caring for themselves, as their houses, and often their appearance, are in disarray. Further, her parenting capabilities are called into question, as she was not aware of the abuse her son was encountering; she is portrayed as disengaged and selfish. The

perpetrator in this episode also targeted boys of colour; this is one of the few examples of marginalized people and they are depicted as disadvantaged, addicted, and living in a dysfunctional family unit, confirming stereotypes regarding people of colour.

Within the sample of newspaper articles, only 10 articles made a direct reference to SES, representing just 20% of the sample. Of these ten articles, three made references to dysfunctional home situations and low SES. Patricia Lee 'Indigo' Evoy was placed in the custody of a child welfare agency because her mother was battling addictions (Rankin, 2016). Patricia was facing eviction, despite help from the welfare agency. Had Patricia's mother not had addiction issues, she may not have been in a precarious financial situation and may not have had to 'resort' to sex work to pay her bills. The other side of this coin is Kari Ann Gordon, a mother who lost custody of her young child to her ex-husband (Kines, 1999). She was cited to have been involved in sex work and drug use, presumably the reason she lost custody of her child and, presumably, the reason for her victimization. The third reference was the case of Bernadette Ahenakew, 22 (Cormier, 2004). Bernadette is cited to be a sex worker who was "born into a poor family of 13 children" (Cormier, 2004, p. A1).

People of a high socio-economic status are also portrayed as hailing from dysfunctional family units within the television sample. Young victims who are from families with a high SES are portrayed as rebellious teens acting out because they feel ignored. Their parents are portrayed as disinterested and oblivious. An example of this is Episode 25 from Season 4 of *Law & Order: SVU*, "Soulless". Detective Benson voices her dismay regarding the parents of a 15-year-old girl who was raped and murdered. She implies they do not care about their daughter because they had not reported her missing,

nor even noticed she had disappeared. This implies that parents who have high-paying and demanding jobs are not adequate parents; they are depicted as ignoring their children's pleas for attention.

Parents of perpetrators from families with a high SES are also villainized. They are portrayed as flippant and lacking in discipline; these parents are depicted as giving their children everything and expecting nothing, these children never receive consequences or sanctions for their behaviour. The perpetrators in the same episode are referred to as lacking a conscience and character. Detective Stabler places all the blame for the teens' actions on their parents when he opines about a person's character being based completely on how they were raised. Therefore, the actions of children who come from families with a high SES are blamed on the parenting styles of the wealthy as opposed to the youth themselves.

Conservative views regarding family structure depict the 'perfect' family as comprising a hardworking white heterosexual couple in which the man is the breadwinner and the woman is a homemaker, middle-class, not too many children and not too few; the quintessential white picket fence, Norman Rockwell-esque family. It is implied that the children of couples with a high SES are not given enough attention and act out as a result. These children do not receive enough attention due to both parents working demanding jobs. This implies that if the mother were not involved in work outside the home, the children would not act out or transgress. This plays into traditional views of women as caregivers. Working outside the home is portrayed as choosing work over family, resulting in dire consequences.

Within the news sample, one article referenced a victim from a wealthy home (Crawford, 2000). Diane Dobson was born into a large, Native family and then adopted into a wealthy, white family. Despite this, she ran away at 13-years-old. Once she was on the streets, she turned to sex work and drugs. This reference to being adopted into a wealthy family subtly implies that she could not ‘overcome her nature’ and accept this handout. She rejected her ‘white saviours’ and her life ended violently. This is reminiscent of Canadian governmental policies that removed Indigenous children from their homes such as the ‘Sixties Scoop’ and residential schools. These practices were used in order to assimilate Indigenous people and resulted in making Indigenous communities vulnerable due to the systemic abuse and maltreatment the numerous generations of children who were taken experienced. In all of these cases white people are characterized as saviours to Indigenous peoples and in all of these cases, the ‘help’ offered results in stigmatization, marginalization, and misery.

As stated above, the ‘perfect’ family unit is conceived as being directed by a heterosexual couple. The crime dramas often depict single parents as providing their children with inadequate supervision or attention. For instance, *Law & Order: SVU* and *CSI: Crime Scene Investigation* have both created episodes in which single moms murder their children in order to start a new life with a man, unburdened by a child. Another episode of *Law & Order: SVU* depicting a single father who was often away from home for work resulted in his daughter participating in sex work and pornography in order to afford high-end clothing and accessories; this story involved the teenage daughter contracting HIV and later being murdered, further entrenching the idea that transgressions result in dire consequences.

An episode of *Law & Order: SVU*, Episode 19 of Season 10, “Selfish”, depicts a young, single mother whose baby passes away. The story resembles the Casey Anthony story in the beginning. The mother, Ashley Walker, shook her daughter, Sierra, the night before she was found dead. Ashley is depicted as overwhelmed by the responsibilities of motherhood and an inadequate parent, as she still goes to bars with her friends. Ashley then buried her daughter in order to try to cover up the death of the infant. It is later revealed that Sierra died of measles as a result of coming in contact with an unvaccinated child at the park. The District Attorney in the case tricks Ashley into accepting a plea deal after the cause of death has been determined and she has been cleared of any wrongdoing. Despite not contributing to the death of her child, she still must be punished for being a ‘bad’ mother, a moniker the detectives use frequently while describing Ashley. The mother of the child who was unvaccinated, Monica Stewart, was put on trial due to her refusal to vaccinate her child. This mother is also depicted in a negative light due to her choice not to vaccinate, a right she has as a parent. This mother must also be punished for putting her child and other children at risk due to her ignorance and negligence.

Single, minority mothers are cast in an even worse light. One episode of *Law & Order: SVU* depicts a single mother participating in sex work in her home while her son is hidden in the closet. Not only is this marginalized single mother depicted as a sex worker, she is portrayed as emotionally scarring her son. Any family unit that does not conform to these preconceived notions regarding ‘appropriate’ family structure are conceived to be, and portrayed to be, ineffective and deficient. As Indigenous people have long been portrayed within Canadian news media as unfit parents, messages blaming parents for their children’s victimization reinforce the idea that these women

incur the violence they experience; if they had been raised ‘properly’ they would not have been susceptible to victimization. Again, this was the premise behind residential schools and the placement of Indigenous children into foster homes and up for adoption.

Although the idea of the supremacy of the bourgeois, nuclear family is prevalent within the television sample, it is not as prevalent within the news media sample. Family structure was only noted in 10 of the 50 articles, representing 20% of the sample. One article noted a perpetrator as having a “chaotic” home life that contributed to his disposition as an angry young man; this chaotic upbringing was used in order to justify murdering Brandy Vittrekwa (‘I’m trying hard to change my life’, 2016). Another article outlined how a woman’s three young children were placed in foster homes following her death (Rassel, 2002). The children were not placed with their biological father, as he was a person of interest in her murder. A 15-year-old girl, Tina Fontaine, was in the care of Manitoba’s Child and Family Services (Barghout, 2015). The reason for her placement in the custody of the child services agency was not stated and it was not associated with her death.

Four articles covered the stories of teenage mothers. Three of these pregnancies were constructed as a transgression, a mistake. C. J. Fowler was a sixteen-year-old girl who was cited to be a crystal meth user (Fortems, 2015). She and her 24-year-old boyfriend found out about the pregnancy the day she was murdered. The pregnancy was listed as a possible motive for her murder. The second woman, Rachel Quinney, “was already a mother of two young children and heavily addicted to crack cocaine” by the age of 19 (Farrell & Traikos, 2005, p. A3). The fact that she was a young mother was constructed in such a way as to imply that she made poor decisions and participated in

‘risky’ behaviour. Another victim was constructed as making ‘poor’ parenting decisions when she was cited to have had an addiction to cocaine and left her young son behind in order to move to a larger city in order to “escape” her hometown (Smith, 2016, p. A1). Only one article depicted a teenage mom as a good parent. Jarita Naistus, 20, was a mother of two (French, 2005). She was depicted as a college student who had sworn off men in order to focus on her children. Despite trying to make ‘good’ parenting choices she was inevitably murdered. It would be interesting to note whether white single mothers would be praised for swearing off men or if would be mentioned at all.

Two articles related to family structure focused on girls who were removed from their mothers’ custody due to addiction issues. Patricia Lee ‘Indigo’ Evoy, 19, was living in government housing sustained by the Vancouver Native Housing Society, a housing development aimed at youth (Rankin, 2016). She was receiving help from the British Columbia Ministry of Children and Family Development. The ministry was portrayed as failing her as she had to work as an exotic dancer in order to pay her bills and was facing eviction due to missed work while she was in the hospital. She was depicted as being in a precarious position and lacking adequate support from the agencies entrusted with her care. The article also cited two other Indigenous teenagers who died while in the custody of this agency within two years of the article’s publication date. The final case involves 7-year-old Katelynn Sampson (CBC News, 2016). Katelynn died from injuries sustained from her foster parents. The agencies overlooking Katelynn’s case are cited as being negligent in their duty to ensure her safety (CBC News, 2016). Native Child and Family Services placed Katelynn with Donna Irving and Warren Johnson despite their previous criminal records and reports of misconduct with Child Welfare Services. Also,

Katelynn's teachers called Child Welfare Services five times in order to report suspicious bruises on her body. The agency took 16 days to respond to a call from Irving stating she no longer wanted to be Katelynn's guardian. This child was abandoned by the government services meant to protect her and died as a result.

Five of the ten articles implied that these family structures contributed to their deaths or criminality. The perpetrator, name unknown due to the Youth Criminal Justice Act, who killed Brandy Vittekwa was constructed as having a poor family life that led to his anger issues. This implies that had he been raised in an 'appropriate' home, he may have been better adjusted and Brandy may still be alive. Patricia's cause of death was not disclosed in the article, however it was implied that had she received more support and not been in such a 'precarious' position, she may still be alive; this premise suggests that had her mother not been battling addictions, a sign of poor parenting, Patricia would not have been under the care of the agency (Rankin & Brend, 2016). This is also true of Katelynn Sampson's case. Katelynn was placed with Donna Irving and Warren Johnson because her mother was also battling addictions. Had her mother not been an addict, she would not have been placed in the system.

The other cases, C. J. Fowler, Rachel Quinney, and Kari Gordon were depicted as poor parents. As stated above, C. J.'s pregnancy was depicted to be the motive for her murder. Had she made 'proper' decisions and not transgressed, she would still be alive. Her addiction to crystal meth also implied that she would not be a 'fit' or 'good' mother. Rachel was also dealing with an addiction to crack cocaine and was working as a sex worker. The fact that she had two children by the age of 19 creates the impression that she was sexually promiscuous or participating in 'risky' sex when she conceived. Kari

was working in the sex trade and was battling addiction. She had lost custody of her child, which denotes poor parenting.

In sum, despite family structure not being mentioned as a theme in the previous studies cited, this theme proved to be fruitful within the television sample and to be a minor theme within the news sample. Within the television sample, low SES parents were depicted as incapable of taking care of themselves or so busy working they could not supervise their children. High SES parents were depicted as lacking discipline and simply being ambivalent to the needs of their children. Single mothers were also depicted as unfit and, in some cases, they were depicted as causing harm to their children because they no longer wanted to be strapped down by a child. Within the news sample, low SES was mentioned, as well as Child Welfare agencies. Children were cited as being removed from their families due to drug addiction. This portrays Indigenous women as poor parents, a trope used by the media in the past, particularly during periods in which Euro-colonial governmental workers removed Indigenous children from their homes in large numbers, such as during the ‘Sixties Scoop’. In the end, both samples frame stories in such a way as to imply these family structures contributed to criminality or victimization.

Sexism/Sex Work

The sexism/sex work theme was prevalent within previous studies regarding missing and murdered Indigenous women and the television sample. This theme was not as common within the news sample but when sex work was mentioned, there was a clear connection made between sex work and violence. The idea that women incur the violence they experience is based in sexist tropes that are reinforced by news media and popular media alike. Many of the female victims depicted in the television crime dramas

transgressed traditional gender norms in some way; for instance, participating in sex work, partying, and meeting boys when they were not permitted to do so.

A common trope within the dramas was the ‘good girl gone bad’, or the ‘fallen woman’. These are white teenagers who are pretty, smart, and well behaved who decide to take a walk on the wild side; this detour often ends in horrific results such as murder, sexual assault, and even, in one case, contracting HIV as in Episode 15 of Season 6 of *Law & Order: SVU*, “Hooked”. As the victims depicted in crime dramas become older, or are women of colour, the officers use less personalizing language and begin to condemn these women; there is a clear distinction between women who the officers wish to ‘save’ and women the officers consider lost causes. Both of these reactions are based in sexism; victims are either portrayed as *damsels in distress* or *Jezebels* who are beyond help or respect.

Previous studies investigating press coverage of missing and murdered Indigenous women are consistent with this characterization. As stated above, many of these women are depicted as sex workers and even when a particular woman is not involved in sex work, Vancouver’s Downtown Eastside is often referenced within news articles; this reference creates a link between the victim in the article and the Downtown Eastside, a zone of degeneracy (Jiwani & Young, 2006). Linking women to the Downtown Eastside links these victims to sex work, addictions, and homelessness, which results in the impression that these women are complicit in their own victimization.

Despite previous findings, this pattern did not hold within the sample of news articles included in the present study. Less than half, 42%, of the newspaper articles mentioned sex work and only 34% mention drug use. Fourteen of the fifty cases, 28%,

reference zones of degeneracy such as Vancouver's Downtown Eastside. The previous studies listed sex work, addictions and zones of degeneracy as common and interconnected themes within their samples, the 'typical case' reporters often reference. In this respect, the previous studies and the current study diverge. This may be due to the articles chosen, either the actual news agency or the area in which the articles are published, or even the time periods from which the previous studies' collected their data.

Despite sex work only being mentioned in less than half the sample, when it was mentioned violence associated with sex work was emphasized, which is consistent with the previous studies (Gilchrist, 2010; Jiwani & Young, 2006; Moral, 2011). Of the 21 articles that mentioned sex work, 7 of the articles featured the word 'prostitute' in the title. In one such article, the victims, Rachel Quinney and Theresa Innes, were mentioned by name only once each; they were referred to as prostitutes four times within the article (Man accused of killing prostitutes, 2008). The depictions of sex workers were not all negative. Eleven of the twenty-one articles that identify victims as sex workers also include positive and personalizing details about the victims such as describing them as smart, athletic, beautiful or mothers. The depictions of sex workers are often critical; however, they are not all depersonalized and cold.

This discrepancy between the current study and previous studies could be in part due to recent changes to the *Criminal Code* regarding sex work; these changes were undertaken in order to ensure sex work laws were consistent with the *Charter* and also worked to frame sex workers as victims (Davies, 2015). At the same time, less stigmatizing language regarding sex work, such as eschewing the term prostitute for sex worker, was making its way into public and media discourse (Davies, 2015). This shift

toward framing sex workers as victims and the use of less stigmatizing language in regard to sex workers may be why more recent media depictions are less depersonalizing and cold.

According to the literature, references to sex work depict victims as deserving of the violence they incur (Barker, 2006; Berns, 2001; Gilchrist, 2010; Jiwani & Young, 2006; Moral, 2011). However, 13 of the 21 articles, 62%, that mentioned sex work were referring to a pattern of homicides and disappearances in which sex workers were targeted. This creates a problem for researchers studying the victimization of marginalized populations. When victims are labeled as sex workers, this label devalues the victim due to the stigma sex work holds within society; however, not making this connection contributes to the public's ignorance regarding this victimization. When certain populations are being targeted, it is important to bring this victimization to the fore just as the victimization of Indigenous women was brought to the fore.

Racial Representation

As noted in the literature review, television crime dramas function as morality plays aimed at white women; these fables outline the consequences of 'improper' conduct (Pietsch, 2010). It is not surprising, then, that the majority of victims within the television sample were white. When minorities were present they were in the background or victimized by a man of colour. Within the news sample, some articles did not mention the women who were murdered or had disappeared were Indigenous and some did not mention the larger issue of missing and murdered Indigenous women above and beyond the individual case. However in some cases, this lack of representation was based on

other factors, such as a pattern of violence against sex workers. These ideas will be expanded upon further below.

The lack of racial representation within the shows speaks to the invisibility of victims of colour and also reinforces the fable-like quality of the media; these stories are aimed at white women who are considered ‘pure’, not women of colour who are considered ‘tainted’ by nature (Pietsch, 2010). For instance, four white boys murdered an Indigenous teenager, Helen Betty Osborne, in 1971. She was murdered because she “struggled and refused to acquiesce to sex” with these boys (Harris, 1991). This characterization is interesting. She did not “refuse to acquiesce to sex”; she tried to fend off a rape. Had this been a white female, this characterization may have been different. This choice of words implies that it was noble for her to refuse sex with four teenage, white boys; the implication is that most Indigenous women would be eager to have sex with these boys. This is an example of Indigenous women being discriminated against due to the confluence of gender and race, as well as an example of rape culture within news media discourse.

People of colour are scarcely represented within the sample of crime dramas and when they are represented they are often in the background, minus, of course, the token African American police officer; for instance, 9 of the 36 *Law & Order: SVU* episodes within the sample featured non-white victims. African American police officers are over-represented within crime dramas (Pietsch, 2010); this could be an attempt to promote diversity within the shows. When race is referenced within the context of violence, it is often used as a defense for the perpetrator. The perpetrators’ lawyers often reference police malpractice in regard to African American men; racism is then used as a defense,

not a contributing factor to violence, making the racial dimension of victimization invisible.

When women of colour are the primary victims, it is often because a man of colour victimizes them, which is consistent with previous findings (Gilchrist, 2010). For instance, both examples of intimate partner violence (IPV) in *Law & Order: SVU* involve African American couples. However, despite being the focus of the episode, these women are not free from judgment. They transgress by staying with an abusive partner; the onus to end the abuse is placed solely on the victim. This violence is also not taken seriously; the officers often make jokes regarding the abuse, provide justifications for the abuse, and often refer to the couple as ‘passionate people’. Use of the word ‘passionate’ in regard to violence implies that African Americans are incapable of controlling their emotions; therefore, abuse is expected in African American relationships. Detective Benson states that the outcome was “inevitable” when an abusive partner murders one of the victims of IPV; this flippant reaction by law enforcement contributes to the perception that victims of IPV are responsible for their victimization because they do not leave their abusive partner.

Indigenous women are invisible victims as, much like their African American counterparts in crime dramas, violence committed against these women is expected and considered inevitable (Gilchrist, 2010; Harding, 2006; Jiwani & Young, 2006; Pietsch, 2010). When a group of people is depicted as inhuman and inferior, violence committed against them is considered commonplace and inconsequential. This blatant disregard for human life results in the invisibility of these women; references to transgressions results in further marginalization.

This lack of representation is also present in the newspaper articles. Almost a third of the sample, 32% or 16 of the 50 cases, did not mention that the victim was Indigenous. However, despite research indicating stories outlining the victimization of marginalized victims are buried deep within the paper (Gilchrist, 2010; Jiwani & Young, 2006), of the 37 articles that were published within newspapers, 14, or almost 40%, were printed on the first three pages of the paper. Six of these thirty-seven, or almost 20%, were printed on the front page.

Less than half the articles within the sample mentioned the larger issue of missing and murdered Indigenous women. Ignoring the larger issue decontextualizes the race-based dimension of this violence. The reporters are also not aware of the correct terminology regarding Indigenous people. All the articles spelled Aboriginal, Indigenous, and Native with lower case letters. For example, one of Lindsay Kines' articles referred to Indigenous people as "Indians" in place of Aboriginal, Indigenous or First Nations throughout the article as well as within the title (Kines, 1995, p. B1). Kines was one of the first reporters to report on this issue extensively.

There is, however, a counterpoint to this argument. As mentioned above, thirteen of the twenty-one articles that mentioned sex work, 62%, framed the disappearances and murders within their reports as violence against sex workers. This is not to say that race is not a factor in the cases involving sex work; however, the ethnicity of these women may have been ignored because the reporters were trying to highlight violence against a specific group: sex workers. Focusing more attention on the ethnicity of the victims may obscure a pattern of violence experienced by sex workers of all ethnicities. For instance, an article from the *Vancouver Sun*, "Unsolved murders", outlined 40 women who had

been murdered between 1980 and 2001 in British Columbia (2001). All of the women were sex workers or listed as living a 'high-risk' lifestyle. Of these 40 women, only 7 were Indigenous. Despite this, being cognizant of patterns regarding ethnicity and street sex work is necessary in order to provide context for this violence; for instance, street sex workers are some of the most marginalized workers in the sex industry and, as such, marginalized women are overrepresented within street sex work populations.

Twelve of the twenty-one articles that reference sex work also mention white women. Indigenous sex workers and non-Indigenous sex workers are depicted in the same way. The articles often involved drug use, they were often only referred to as prostitutes, and their 'high-risk' behaviours were highlighted. These 'high-risk' behaviours are constructed as leading to their murders or disappearances. One victim, Karen-Lee Violet Taylor, cited in the article "Unsolved murders" was not a sex worker but she was added to the list of murdered sex workers because she lived a "free lifestyle" (2001). This phrase, and the fact that she was listed with sex workers, implies she was sexually 'promiscuous'. This 'promiscuity' led to her death denoting that any sexual 'impropriety' can lead to devastating consequences.

In sum, victims who were people of colour were underrepresented within the sample of television shows other than the token minority police officer. When minority women were the primary victims, a man of colour victimized them or they were participating in 'high-risk' activities. Some of the news articles did not mention that the victims were Indigenous or the larger issue of violence against Indigenous women. However, in some cases, when race was overlooked it was due to a pattern of victimization in regard to another population, such as sex workers.

Objectification of Bodies

Objectification of victims' bodies results in dehumanizing the subject (Moral, 2011). Objectification of bodies, including providing graphic details about the victims' death as well as referencing science and forensics, were common in both the news sample and the television sample. Not surprisingly, child victims were personalized within both samples. Adults were differentially objectified within the samples. Forensics were an important feature within the television sample and previous studies regarding missing and murdered Indigenous women, however it was not a major theme within the news sample. These findings will be expanded upon below.

The invisibility of victims is heightened when news media and popular culture depersonalize and objectify the victims' bodies. For instance, within the crime drama sample, female victims' bodies were mutilated, fed to pigs, eaten, and a baby was cut out of the mother's body, to name a few. This objectification lends a clinical atmosphere to the story that decreases uneasiness regarding the horrible violence playing out on the screen. However, the more innocent the victim, the more care is taken with the body as the viewer is supposed to feel uneasy when innocent people are victimized. When the victim is a child, they are shown fully clothed and at peace; when the victim is a sex worker, her body is often crudely dumped in various states of undress. *CSI: Crime Scene Investigation* often shows victims with their eyes open. This view further depersonalizes the victim, as they appear doll-like. Shots where the victim's eyes are open or they are in the morgue mid-autopsy depersonalize the victim due to the clinical nature of the body; these images reinforce the idea that investigators are dealing with bodies or corpses as opposed to human beings (Deutsch & Cavender, 2008; Jermyn, 2007; Jermyn, 2013;

Weissman & Boyle, 2007). When victims are conceived of as corpses the violence they encounter is easily dismissed (Deutsch & Cavender, 2008; Jermyn, 2007; Jermyn, 2013; Weissman & Boyle, 2007).

This objectification and depersonalization of the bodies of victims are prevalent in media accounts of missing and murdered Indigenous women when journalists reference ‘remains’ or ‘bodies’, when they focus on science or technology, or when they outline the violent acts inflicted on the victim in detail (Moral, 2011). The inclusion of graphic violence committed against the bodies of victims within the television shows is consistent with how victims are treated within news accounts. As stated above, this is referred to as violent journalism; horrific violence is constructed as entertainment (Moral, 2011). This construction depersonalizes the victim and separates the audience from the victims (Moral, 2011). This depiction of victimization stops the viewer, either of news media or television shows, from identifying with the victims (Duetsch & Cavender, 2008; Jermyn, 2007; Jermyn, 2013; Moral, 2011; Weissman & Boyle, 2007).

Within the news media sample, 34 of the 50 articles, or 68%, objectified the victims. These articles outlined how women were beaten, burned, decapitated, how a woman’s head was buried in the perpetrator’s basement, and the injuries one woman sustained from being beaten to death with a 25 kilogram concrete block. The addition of the weight of the concrete block was an unneeded and grisly detail. Sixteen of these 34 women were sex workers, representing less than 50% of the women who were objectified. Sixteen articles did not objectify the victims; of these sixteen, two were children under 10 years of age. Seven of the sixteen were sex workers. Based on the sample, sex workers were less likely to be objectified than non-sex workers. Depictions

of non-sex workers can be more gruesome than depictions of sex workers; for instance, the woman who was beaten with the concrete block, C. J. Fowler, was not a sex worker (Fortems, 2015). Other than how she was killed, her addictions, and her underage pregnancy, no personal details were shared about C. J (Fortems, 2015); so she was not denigrated because she was a sex worker but she lived a ‘high-risk’ lifestyle which may have contributed to the objectification of her body in the news media. The woman who was decapitated and whose head was buried in her murderer’s basement also was not a sex worker (Baum, 2015). Therefore, participation in sex work does not appear to be the defining attribute that determines whether or not women will be objectified, eroticized, or depersonalized in media accounts of their deaths.

In contrast to the previous studies concerning media depictions of missing and murdered Indigenous women (Moral, 2011), only 14 articles referenced forensics outside of the description of a victim’s cause of death. This is also in contrast to the television shows, most notably *CSI: Crime Scene Investigation*, that place forensic science as paramount to criminal investigations. There were references to DNA testing, forensic specialists, collecting fluid samples, cellphone tracking, and using medical examiners and anthropologists to determine cause of death, time of death, and/or murder weapons. Six of the fourteen articles that reference forensics were written between 1999 and 2002. Only two articles in the past two years referenced the use of forensics. This could indicate that references to forensics are more common in certain time periods. In sum, the objectification of victims’ bodies was prevalent within both the television and news samples as well as the existing literature regarding missing and murdered Indigenous women. Despite this, not all victims were objectified in the same way.

Police Conduct

Police conduct is a crucial theme that emerged from both the television sample and the crime news sample, specifically in regard to ‘high-risk’ and minority victims. Police have been cited within both samples to undervalue these victims; family members of victims have been met with flippant attitudes and gross inaction. There are also instances in both samples of police officers only becoming involved in cases involving ‘high-risk’ and minority victims following pressure from the media, advocates, or government officials. Despite this, not all references to law enforcement are negative. A few provinces within the news sample have assembled their own task forces with the main goal of investigating and solving these cases. These issues are further discussed below.

The malpractice committed by the Vancouver Police Department in regard to missing and murdered Indigenous women has been well documented (Jiwani & Young, 2006). When the police service ignores a victimization crisis due to the demographics of the victims, they render these victims invisible as the police, as an institution, are considered arbiters and enforcers of the social order and social mores. If these victims are not considered a priority or even worth an investigation by the police, even when they are disappearing at alarming rates, it is easy for the general public to dismiss these victims as well (Jiwani & Young, 2006).

Within the study, *Criminal Minds* was found to often address this issue, albeit falling into some of the same traps as the other shows. *CSI: Crime Scene Investigation* and *Law & Order: SVU* often play into these same issues. As stated above, law enforcement officials act as arbiters of the social order and socially acceptable behaviour

(Jackson & Bradford, 2009; Nivette, 2014; Sunshine & Taylor, 2003). As such, when police officers participate in and perpetuate ideas regarding the worth of victims, the general public tends to follow suit. In Episode 9 of Season 2 of *Law & Order: SVU*, “Pixies”, Detective Elliott Stabler, a veteran detective in the squad, tells the medical examiner he and his partner would like to “pass the case off” on homicide because they have other cases placed above this one involving a victim presumed to be a sex worker. A detective from a squad that focuses on sex crimes wanted to dismiss this victim because he thought she was a sex worker. This sends a message that not even specialized units that are depicted as less stigmatizing and discriminatory care about women who participate in the sex trade.

Within the literature, the Vancouver Police Department’s inaction in regard to missing and murdered women from the Downtown Eastside has been cited (Jiwani & Young, 2006). Within the sample of news articles, 15 of the 50 cited concerns regarding the dismissive and derogatory nature of police officers when disappearances were reported. Family members were often met with lines such as, “She’ll be back. She took off. She was drinking. She was partying. You know how she is,” (Smith, 2016, p. A1). The derogatory comments are not saved for the families; officers have been quoted within the sample articles as stating, “Street prostitution has devolved. There used to be a certain amount of class on the street. It’s now only crack whores,” (Farrell & Traikos, 2005, p. A3). These characterizations devalue the women who have been met with horrible violence.

This flippant attitude does not hold for all of the victims in the sample. One such example is the case of Tina Fontaine, 15 (Barghout, 2015). A police sergeant from the

Winnipeg Homicide Unit personalized Tina when he spoke of her (Barghout, 2015). He referred to her as a child, a kid (Barghout, 2015). He referenced the outrage the officers felt after finding a young girl dead outside a Costco store (Barghout, 2015). He also made reference, although veiled, to the lack of support for missing and murdered Indigenous women (Barghout, 2015). He is cited as saying, “She’s a child. This is a child that’s been murdered. I think society, we would be horrified if we found a litter of kittens or pups in this condition. This is a child. Society should be horrified,” (Barghout, 2015). The reference to kittens and puppies trivializes her pain, but his sentiment is felt. Despite the sergeant’s good intentions, one cannot help but wonder if the response would have been the same had she been an adult or a sex worker. Another child, five-year-old Tamra Keepness, was also treated differently because she was a child (Rhodes, 2005). The article referenced police overtime, numerous volunteers, and vast searches for the little girl. Missing Indigenous women do not receive the same treatment.

There are also cases in which investigators only become involved following pressure from those with political sway or the media. In Episode 18 of Season 16 of *Law & Order: SVU*, “Devastating Story”, a news show covers the story of ‘Jane Doe’ (Heather Manning). Heather claims to have been gang raped at a fraternity party. The media focus grabs the attention of the mayor’s wife who calls the head of the NYPD to ask why the Special Victims Unit was not investigating the case. It is this political pressure that prompts the detectives to investigate the case despite the victim not making a formal complaint or the investigators being aware of the identity of the victim.

The articles also make reference to police only taking notice of missing and murdered Indigenous women after the media became involved or the numbers of missing

and murdered women reached a number that could not be ignored any longer. There were stories of police waiting up to 2 years to add missing women to missing person's lists because they did not believe they were actually missing (Five more women missing, 2002). Police also failed to collect DNA from family members of missing women who matched descriptions of Jane Does; the DNA was not collected until after a CBC report on missing and murdered Indigenous women exposed the magnitude of the issue (Walker, 2016). There are also accounts of police ignoring the number of women who disappeared from the Highway of Tears until a white woman, Nicole Hoar, also went missing from the same area (McMartin, 2009). The RCMP was painfully aware of this issue as far back as 1994. The RCMP had compiled a list of missing Indigenous women from the western provinces in 1992; by 1994, 470 names were on the list (Roberts, 1994).

Not all of the references to police officers are negative, however. Many provinces and cities have created taskforces in order to investigate these murders and disappearances. One such initiative is Project Kare. Project Kare is an RCMP initiative based in Edmonton, Alberta formed in 2003 to investigate the disappearances and murders of women with 'high-risk' lifestyles (Man accused, 2008). Another similar taskforce is Manitoba's Project Devote. This taskforce is stationed out of Winnipeg, Manitoba and comprises the RCMP and Winnipeg Police Service (Baum, 2015). Project Devote was formed in 2012 in order to investigate open murder and missing person cases (Baum, 2015). These initiatives are a good start to addressing this problem. Interactions between agencies within the news media sample were neither negative nor positive. Within the television sample, interactions between agencies were often constructed to be tumultuous. Other police departments were constructed as corrupt, racist or inept; when

local police had to work with federal investigators, the federal investigators were presented as bureaucrats who had a tendency to commandeer investigations. When the federal agents in *Criminal Minds* had to work with local law enforcement, the local police were constructed as small minded and inept.

Depictions of law enforcement officials within the two samples are multifaceted and complex. ‘High-risk’ and minority victims are often overlooked and made to be invisible. Police officers have been cited to be flippant and uncaring in regard to these cases; the general public is then left with the idea that these victims do not matter, as the arbiters of social norms and values, police officers, have been cited to frequently ignore the violence these victims experience. There are many accounts of police inefficiency and malpractice in regard to victims they deem to be ‘throw aways’ or undeserving of their attention; however, some provinces have formed specialized task forces in order to address these victimization patterns and solve these crimes.

Hierarchy of Victims

Police conduct and interaction in regard to victims, as well as the other themes mentioned above, culminate to produce a hierarchy of victims. This hierarchy places children and white, good, pretty women and girls at the top. These victims are pure and innocent; their victimization is an affront to society’s sensibilities. Victims who are not perceived to be innocent, such as sex workers and, to a large extent, minority victims are blamed for their own victimization. One of the shows within the sample, *Criminal Minds*, addressed this hierarchy of victims, yet this show also falls into the same traps regarding depictions of victims. These issues are discussed in more detail below.

White, young, ‘innocent’ victims inspire more police and media attention than victims who are marginalized, adults, and perceived to live ‘high-risk’ lifestyles (Parrott & Parrott, 2015; Pietsch, 2010). This pattern is highlighted in Episode 5 of Season 6 of *Law & Order: SVU*, “Outcry”. The victim, Tandi McCain, is a young, pretty white girl. The media covers the story and it is front-page news. Detective Elliott Stabler asks a reporter what makes this victim noteworthy considering the amount of girls who go missing in New York City and are ignored. The reporter relates Tandi to Elizabeth Smart and Chandra Levy, stating they gain notoriety due to the fact that they are young, pretty and white. This is reminiscent of Nicole Hoar who many believed was only given attention when she went missing because she was white (McMartin, 2009). There are even reports within the news sample of women who are mistakenly listed as white when their disappearance is made public; the family is then faced with a difficult choice on whether or not to disclose to police the woman’s Indigenous ethnicity (Baum, 2015). It is often cited in the sample that the Indigenous community does not believe Indigenous women receive as much attention as white women. This is consistent with the literature.

An episode of *CSI*, Episode 21 from Season 1 “Justice is Served”, involved two victims: a little girl and a man. The investigators went above and beyond in order to bring the killer of the little girl to justice. She was referred to by name and personalized; the personal life of the man was not mentioned and the investigators did not mention his name until halfway through the episode. Catherine Willows, a senior crime scene investigator with the Las Vegas unit, personalizes the young victim because she is a child and Willows is a mother; this connection with the victim is frowned upon within the unit as the evidence must be the primary focus and any subjectivity can cloud the

investigators' judgment. CSI Willows asks for the coroner to put the girl in a fresh body bag, as a used bag was not sufficient. She even goes so far as to lie to a suspect regarding 'mandatory' drug testing and goes so far as to say she will make sure he is housed with a man who will rape him in jail. CSI Willows does not take extreme measures with other victims; she places this victim above others due to the child's age and innocence.

Children represented in the news media sample were also given more attention and more likely to be personalized than adults. Tamra Keepness was a five-year-old girl who went missing in 2004 (Rhodes, 2005). Following her disappearance, much manpower went into trying to find her. There were massive police investigations, many volunteers, and searches within the area (Rhodes, 2005). Another example is Tina Fontaine, 15. Tina was described as a 'child' and a 'kid', and the police officer working her case emphasized the need to empathize with and care about Tina's death (Barghout, 2015). The examples from the news media and television media samples show that children are likely to garner positive attention; this is because they are perceived to be 'innocent' and 'pure', regardless of race. Sex workers carry an opposite connotation. This difference affects which victims garner attention and which are ignored and forgotten.

In Season 4 of *Criminal Minds*, Episodes 25 and 26, "To Hell ... And Back", reenacted the Pickton murders. These episodes acknowledged the hierarchy of victims portrayed in the media, but also reinforced some of these same stereotypes. Not only were none of the victims Indigenous but the victim who was taken alive and in need of rescue was white. The man who brought the disappearances to the attention of the FBI and RCMP, William Hightower, had to go to extreme measures to gain their attention as the victims were homeless, sex workers, and addicts. These desperate measures also

reinforced the stereotype of the violent Black man as Hightower had to drive his car into a border security booth in order to gain the attention he desired. The only victims who were personalized were the white girl who was taken alive, Kelly Shane, and the sister of William Hightower, Lee. The chosen pictures of the victims were mug shots or taken at unflattering angles; the shots were reminiscent of the Vancouver police department's use of mug shots when publically addressing the missing women. Lee Hightower's photo, on the other hand, was a picture taken of her in her cap and gown at graduation.

To the writers' credit, Special Agent Derek Morgan accused a detective from Detroit of conceptualizing the victims as "throw aways" when addressing the Detroit Police Department's refusal to investigate the disappearances. Also, the Cass Corridor, the area from which the victims were abducted, is a reference to Vancouver's Downtown Eastside; this depiction of a zone of degeneracy highlights law enforcement's view of people who live in these areas. This depiction of the Detroit police force was a glaring critique of the Vancouver police department's inaction regarding Pickton's victims. Despite the acknowledgment of this hierarchy of victims, missing and murdered Indigenous women are invisible in this account of the murders. The victims were mostly racial minorities, but, as stated above, not one victim was Indigenous. Also, the victims were depicted as both male and female; the specific gendered and race dimensions of this case were not fully addressed. Therefore, even when attention is brought to a case involving missing and murdered Indigenous women, they are ignored and made to be invisible.

Criminal Minds does a good job of highlighting this hierarchy of victims, as the above example shows. Another pertinent episode is Episode 9 from Season 2, "The Last

Word”. This episode features two perpetrators working at the same time in the same area. One perpetrator targets middle class white women, while the other targets sex workers. Special Agent Aaron Hotchner as well as a reporter and the mother of a victim, note how sex workers and other victims considered to be living ‘high-risk’ lifestyles are invisible victims because they transgress social mores. Despite noting that all victims deserve respect, this episode still reinforces many of the above-mentioned tropes. For instance, the victims’ bodies are objectified and depersonalized. The pictures used of the sex workers show them splayed in alleys with their underwear around their ankles. One of the perpetrators also participated in necrophilia. Even after death, these women are demoralized and objectified, stripped of their humanity by the violent natures of their deaths.

Surprisingly, based on the nature and subject matter of the show, *Law & Order: SVU* depicts this hierarchy of victims in a very pronounced way. Sex workers are often referred to as ‘whores’ whose victimization is almost expected. In Episode 9 of Season 2, “Pixies”, the body of a girl is found behind a dumpster in a zone of degeneracy. Because of where she was found, the detectives assume she was a sex worker; based on this assumption they also assume she was an addict, asking the medical examiner if ‘track marks’ were present on the body. Detective Olivia Benson goes so far as to say, she “wouldn’t be surprised if some pimp was trying to send a message”. Only after she is revealed to be a gymnast, and not a sex worker, is she personalized and the detectives appear to care about the case. This episode sends a clear message to the audience, although implicit. When the victim is presumed to be a sex worker, she is less deserving

of the detectives' time and energy. When the victim is placed lower in the hierarchy, she is not treated with respect. She is ignored and treated in a flippant, callous manner.

Sex workers and 'promiscuous' women are depicted as living 'high-risk' lifestyles and are defined by these characterizations. Police officers investigating the disappearances of Corrie Ottenbreit and Maggie Burke simply assumed foul play was involved in their disappearances because of their 'lifestyles' (Farrell & Jones, 2005). Also, Karen-Lee Taylor was listed with 39 murdered sex workers (Unsolved murders, 2001). She was added to this list because she lived what police called a "free lifestyle" (Unsolved murders, 2001). This reference to her lifestyle implies sexual promiscuity. This focus on lifestyle, or individual choice, places onus for violence on the victim as opposed to highlighting conceptions of sexuality within society that vilify sexual agency; it is this vilification of female sexual agency that excuses sexual violence committed against women.

References that blame the victim are also quite prevalent. One journalist stated, "Because of the nature of the women found, there maybe little police can do to prevent this type of violence," (Farrell & Traikos, 2005, p. A3). Phrases such as, "the nature of the women found" imply that these women are 'other' than the norm; these women are not chaste or pure. Their 'poor' choices contribute to their victimization and there is little anyone can do to save them. In the above cases, only Maggie Burke was Indigenous (Farrell & Traikos, 2005). Corrie and Karen-Lee were both white and depicted in the same manner as Indigenous victims involved in sex work. This implies puritanical views regarding gender and sexual activity may be more important than racist views in regard to media depictions of violence.

Crime dramas and crime news create a hierarchy of victims; this hierarchy differentiates between victims who are blameless and victims who are to blame for their victimization. Victims placed at the top of this hierarchy are white, young and innocent; in contrast, minority victims and victims who are deemed to be 'high-risk' are at the bottom of this hierarchy. These patterns are evident in both the news article sample and the television sample. Even television shows that are portrayed as progressive fall into these same traps. News articles and television shows reinforce ideas about acceptable behaviour and those who do not conform are denigrated and punished.

Morality Plays

During the course of the coding process, transgression was added to the protocol as many victims were depicted as transgressing in some way; in most cases, this transgression resulted in their victimization. The most frequent transgression committed by victims across the two samples, news articles and crime dramas, was sexual promiscuity such as having many partners or involvement in sex work. Female sexuality is a form of agency that can be used to circumvent patriarchy; therefore, female sexuality must be strictly regulated in order to maintain hegemonic gender relations within Western society, which explains the ubiquity and engrained nature of sex-based morality plays. Some journalists attempted to avoid this trope by referencing police malpractice but they still inevitably participated in victim blaming. Transgression was also loosely defined; any deviation or lapse in judgment, however small was used to blame victims. These patterns are discussed in more detail below.

The majority of the victims who transgress by participating in sex work were female, with a few exceptions. For instance, in two episodes of *CSI: Crime Scene Investigation*,

men were injured or punished due to hiring sex workers. In the pilot episode of *CSI: Crime Scene Investigation*, a man referred to as Mr. Lafferty, was ‘trick rolled’: robbed by a sex worker. Also, in Episode 24 of Season 6, “Way To Go”, a diabetic man, Manny Rupert, dies of diabetic shock following a night of gluttony in many forms: food, drugs, alcohol, and sex with sex workers. Violence is present in most cases within the sample involving sex workers. This implicitly suggests a connection between violence and sex work; this connection reinforces moralistic views of sex, specifically as women are concerned.

Within *Law & Order: SVU*, ‘promiscuous’ people were depicted as contracting HIV or Hepatitis C within more than one episode. One such episode, Episode 15 from Season 6, “Hooked”, depicted a teenage girl, Lisa Downey who was participating in sex work and pornography in order to pay for the expensive clothes she wanted. She contracted HIV as a result of this behaviour. Lisa transgressed traditional ideas of female chastity and was punished by contracting HIV and being violently murdered. The detectives reinforce this idea of punishment for transgression by asserting that Lisa’s murder was inevitable due to her ‘promiscuous’ actions. One of Lisa’s friends was also participating in the same behaviour; the detectives warned her that if she continued participating in sex work, she would meet the same fate as Lisa. The detectives reinforce the idea that ‘sexual impropriety’ and participation in the sex trade result in violence. This violence is treated as commonplace and probable.

This pattern also holds in regard to the news articles. Cases involving sex workers often framed the violence the women experienced within the context of ‘high-risk’ behaviour including sex work, addictions, homelessness and, within this particular

sample, hitchhiking. These murders and disappearances may have been motivated by the nature of sex work, in which perpetrators can get women alone in a car and drive them anywhere against their will, but if victims are framed as taking risks with their lives, it is easy for the public to ignore violence committed against them. This focus also obscures sections of the *Criminal Code* that function to make sex work precarious, such as punishing interactions between sex workers and pushing sex work transactions to underpopulated and dangerous areas in order to avoid detection by police. This is a blatant form of victim blaming; if the women are framed in such a way as to imply they are willing to risk harm to their bodies, it is more difficult to feel empathy for them when they are harmed and makes it easy to ignore society's contributions to this violence.

Some reporters actively countered this pattern by making reference to how Indigenous female victims are ignored by police based on the assumption that Indigenous women participate in 'risky' behaviour (Smith, 2016). These articles are not always perfect, however. In this particular article, the reporter mentions a victim of sexual assault realizing "how close she came to becoming another statistic, another [I]ndigenous woman dead from suicide, drugs or violence," (Smith, 2016, p. A1). There is also reference to a victim's transgressions; she is described to have been addicted to cocaine and abandoning her young son. This characterization works against the reporter's attempts to criticize how missing and murdered Indigenous women are constructed.

Women who did not participate in 'risky' behaviours were framed in much different ways within the television shows and the news articles. However, participation in 'risky' behaviour was loosely defined within the sample of crime dramas. For instance in an episode of *CSI: Crime Scene Investigation*, Episode 21 from Season 1, "Justice is

Served”, a middle-aged male was murdered while jogging in the woods. Crime scene investigator Nick Stokes stated, “Picked the wrong time of day to be running alone. Dusk is when the animals come out”. Within these crime shows, even running by oneself can be characterized as ‘risky’ behaviour.

These morality plays delineate appropriate behaviour and the consequences associated with deviating from this acceptable behaviour. Based on the two samples, the news articles and the television shows, the greatest deviation from appropriate behaviour is promiscuity on the part of women. This behaviour is met with sexual assault, disappearances, murder, and contracting sexually transmitted diseases. Despite sexual promiscuity being the ultimate transgression, transgression was loosely defined.

Perpetrators

The nature of individual perpetrators was cited as an important feature within the studies of media depictions of violence committed against Indigenous women included in the literature review (Amnesty International, 2008; Jiwani & Young, 2006; Moral, 2011). This was also an important theme within the television sample. Within this sample, the shows highlight aspects of the perpetrators that are consistent with the focus of the individual show. Contrary to previous studies regarding media depictions of missing and murdered Indigenous women, perpetrators were not often mentioned within the news sample; when perpetrators were mentioned, little information was provided about them.

Within the television sample, the different television shows focused on different depictions of offenders. *Law & Order: SVU* often used demonizing and individualized language when speaking about perpetrators. This is most likely due to the nature of the crimes this show depicts. The opening line of the show states, “In the criminal justice

system, sexually-based offences are considered especially heinous. In New York, the dedicated detectives who investigate these vicious felonies are members of an elite squad known as the Special Victims Unit”. Sex crimes are reviled within society; however, this revulsion only applies to ‘innocent’ or ‘pure’ victims. As stated above, *Law & Order: SVU* often blames victims for their victimization, regardless of the ‘heinous’ nature of the crime, if they are deemed to have transgressed a social more.

CSI: Crime Scene Investigation focuses on explanations or justifications for the perpetrator’s behaviour and the typification of offenders. The typification of offenders within *CSI: Crime Scene Investigation* focuses on statistics regarding offending. For instance, Episode 15 from Season 3, “Heather’s Box”, made reference to geographic profiling and how strangulations are often crimes of passion. This reliance on statistics is consistent with the nature of the television show. *CSI* is concerned with science, specifically forensic science; knowledge of statistics regarding offending are consistent with this focus. This show also focuses on the theme of law and order. When the show provides explanations or justifications for behaviour, it is based on short-term motive as opposed to more overarching factors such as mental illness or upbringing.

Criminal Minds not surprisingly, focuses on explanations or justifications for offender behaviour and typifying offenders. Again, this is consistent with the premise of the show. The investigators are criminal profilers; therefore, their focus is psychological profiling, specifically typifying offenders. The explanations or justifications for offender behaviour are based on these typifications. For instance, Episode 11 from Season 1, “Hungry”, the ‘unsub’, or unknown subject, suffers from a psychological disorder involving delusions. These delusions are the explanation for his criminal behaviour.

Within the news media sample, 31 articles mention perpetrators, representing 62% of the sample; this is in contrast to the findings of the previous studies in which perpetrators are cited as a significant theme. This could be explained based on the fact that many of the cases within the sample were unsolved and therefore do not have a perpetrator to mention. Of these 31 articles, only 13 articles mentioned aspects of the perpetrator other than basic demographic information such as their name and age. Of these articles, there were three references justifying or explaining the offending behaviour, four typifying the offenders, three referencing positive attributes of the offender, and, surprisingly, only seven employing demonizing language. The unknown offender murdering sex workers in Edmonton was characterized by a police officer as a “serious sexual offender” (Farrell & Traikos, 2005, p. A3). It is interesting to note this is the same article in which a different officer referred to sex workers working on the street as “crack whores” (Farrell & Traikos, 2005, p. A3). These conflicting characterizations demonize the offender while, at the same time, denigrate and blame the victims. In this instance, both offenders and victims are portrayed as contributing to the problem.

Punishment of Transgression

Within both samples, violence against women was depicted as a result of the transgression of the feminine ideal. This includes a family structure that does not meet the criteria of the bourgeois, nuclear family, including single motherhood, teenage pregnancy, and women who work outside the home. The most common, and seemingly most dire, transgression of the feminine ideal involved sexual impropriety. These women did not remain pure; as a result, they were tainted. Tainted women are considered less

than 'real' women; this denigration is a convenient way to justify and dismiss this violence.

As stated above, all of these smaller themes culminate in the idea that transgression, no matter how small, will be punished. For instance in Episode 6 of Season 14 of *Law & Order: SVU*, "Friending Emily", a young girl follows her older sister to a party. She is from a small town and this is her first foray into the world. This small transgression of going to a party culminates in her abduction and forced participation in child pornography. This is the worst-case scenario when attending a party with older people. She is an innocent, white 14-year-old girl; she is naïve to believe the drink she is handed is safe to drink and this naivety results in her victimization. Tandi McCain, referenced above, also went to a party with people older than she, and her night ended in sexual assault. Any transgression will be used against women and girls who do not fit into traditional conceptions of female propriety.

As women of colour are depicted as naturally lascivious, they are considered tainted regardless of their sexual history. This is apparent in the news story that outlined the sexual assault and murder of Helen Betty Osborne (Harris, 1991). Helen is depicted as venerable because she refused to have sex willingly with four white, teenage males. Had she been white, she may not have been praised for refusing to participate in an orgy. In this way, Indigenous women are doubly stigmatized by the intersection of gender and race. Whiteness theory states that the feminine ideal directly relates to white women (Walter & Butler, 2013). In this way, Indigenous women and other women of colour can never meet this ideal; the very nature of their being is a transgression. These morality

plays do not apply to women of colour; violence against women of colour is expected and normalized.

These crime dramas work to indoctrinate women and girls about the seemingly common dangers that accompany 'bad' behaviour. The news articles also blame victims when they reference some form of risky behaviour. Over half, 54%, of the articles portrayed the missing or murdered Indigenous women as participating in some form of 'inappropriate' behaviour. The crime dramas and news articles are enforcing the same messages; these two forms of media work in tandem in order reinforce puritanical views regarding female propriety. This victim blaming removes the onus for violence from those responsible, the perpetrators, and places it on the victim.

Chapter 5: Conclusions and Research Implications

A disproportionate number of Indigenous women have been murdered or have disappeared in Canada over the past three decades. According to official estimates from the RCMP, this number is as high as 1,200 (RCMP, 2014). This sex- and gender-based violence is a serious human rights issue in Canada and the result of Canada's colonial past (Amnesty International, 2008). Even at present there have been many reports of police and the Canadian government ignoring this issue (Amnesty International, 2008; Harper, 2006; Jiwani & Young, 2006). The newly elected Liberal government under the leadership of Justin Trudeau has begun to address this issue in the form of an inquest.

The Current Study

The purpose of the present study was to assess the similarities between how missing and murdered Indigenous women are depicted in news articles with how marginalized victims are portrayed in fictional television crime dramas. The television shows *Law & Order: SVU*, *CSI: Crime Scene Investigation*, and *Criminal Minds* were chosen for the study based on viewership. An ethnographic content analysis (ECA) was employed in order to compare the two forms of media. An ethnographic content analysis involves creating a protocol based on emergent themes within the media examples. Considering the previous studies regarding media depictions of missing and murdered Indigenous women, protocol items were also added based on a review of the literature.

Critical race theory and intersectional feminism were the theoretical lenses through which this issue was analyzed. Critical race was used in order to outline how discrimination against Indigenous women had shifted over time, and how the current form this discrimination has taken is unmitigated violence. Whiteness theory, an offshoot

of critical race theory, was used based on the theory's supposition that within Western society, whiteness is constructed as the 'norm'. This construction of the 'norm' ensures that Indigenous women are intrinsically excluded from society, as their very nature is an aberration. This results in the elevation of whiteness and the omnipotence of white privilege, an element of which is puritanical views regarding sexual propriety. However, Indigenous women who subscribe to these feminine ideals of purity are treated more judiciously than women who do not, regardless of race. Finally, intersectional feminism outlines the culmination of oppressive factors that affect Indigenous women, such as race, gender, socio-economic status, or sexuality.

Based on the review of the literature, four main themes were examined initially: the 'deserving victim', perpetrator pathology, focus on forensics and science, and police malpractice or inefficiency. Following the data collection phase, five main themes emerged: traditional, conservative views regarding family structure, sexism and sex work, lack of racial representation, objectification of bodies, and police malpractice and inefficiency. These themes culminated in two larger themes: hierarchy of victims and morality plays. The overarching message denoted by the news articles and television shows was the idea that the transgression of social mores results in dire consequences. Perpetrator pathology was a prevalent theme within the sample of television shows; however, contradicting previous studies, it was not prevalent within the news sample.

The overarching emergent theme within the sample is that the transgression of social mores will result in dire consequences. One such transgression was being a member of a family that does not represent the bourgeois, nuclear family. Children raised in 'unifit' homes were involved in criminal activity, victimized, or both. Referencing teen

moms who had addiction issues and were eventually murdered, implies their children will also be a part of this cycle of violence and transgression. Women who participated in the sex trade were constructed as placing themselves in danger within the previous studies and both media samples. These women are depicted as participating in 'risky' behaviour, specifically 'risky' sexual behaviour, and the heinous violence committed against them is depicted as a result of this transgression.

Within the news media sample, some articles outlining violence against sex workers also mentioned white victims. White sex workers and Indigenous sex workers, in contrast to the previous studies, were depicted in the same way. This suggests that the denigration of some victims may be based more on the transgression of socially acceptable behaviour than race. As sex workers are perceived to be 'less than' human, it is not surprising that they were likely to have their bodies denigrated by gruesome accounts of the violence they encountered. However, some of the most gruesome accounts of the violence committed against Indigenous women were regarding non-sex workers. It is possible the transgression that leads to the objectification of Indigenous women, in the form of graphic references to the injuries they sustained, is the intersection of race and gender. Their very being is a transgression, deviating from the 'norm' of whiteness. Police officers, the people charged with protecting citizens, were cited within the news articles as using racist stereotypes as excuses not to investigate disappearances of Indigenous women. Race is prominent with the news samples; however, it is not prevalent within the crime drama sample. This could be due to crime drama's role as morality plays for white women (Parrott & Parrott, 2015). White women are worth the effort in order to protect their virtue; this is the white, male privilege outlined by

whiteness theory. As stated above, female sexual agency is threatening to the social order and, as such, female sexuality must be reined in and sanctioned; Indigenous women experience this discrimination and control in a more pronounced way than white women as they are dominated based on their sex and their race.

All of these themes, sex work, race, objectification and police conduct and attitudes culminate in producing a hierarchy of victims and the production of morality plays. The primary message denoted by these morality plays and the ranking of victims is the transgression of social norms; stepping outside the veil of socially acceptable behaviour results in negative consequences. These consequences are abduction or a brutal death at the hands of a violent predator. The use of these morality plays works to both engrain and enforce hegemony; these morality plays depict people who transgress social norms and are unceremoniously and often brutally punished. In this way, news media and entertainment media work in tandem to enforce these social norms and hegemonic power structures.

Challenges and Limitations

There were two main challenges in regard to this study: accessing articles written more than twenty years ago and finding shows other than *Law & Order: SVU* that are distinctly related to this study.

Articles

Accessing older articles was difficult due to accessibility. Many articles before 1990 have not been uploaded to the Internet. This makes it difficult to have a truly representative sample regarding trends over time. Further, not all articles covering stories of missing and murdered Indigenous women note that the victim is Indigenous. Finally,

many of these women do not have articles written about them as many are not reported missing and the media ignores many of the women who are reported missing. I was able to overcome some of these challenges by accessing a list of missing and murdered Indigenous women compiled by CBC. Once I had a list of women, I was able to search individual cases within Lexis Nexis and Canadian Newsstand.

Television Shows

Criminal Minds and *CSI: Crime Scene Investigation* were excellent in regard to gaining data regarding police procedure and perpetrators. However, the focus of this study was the victims. *Criminal Minds* and *CSI* did not spend much time addressing who the victims were as human beings. This has been noted within this study and is an important note. Despite this, shows that depict victims in a more thorough way, such as *Law & Order: SVU*, would have produced richer data regarding depictions of victims, marginalized or otherwise.

Areas for Future Research

A theme that emerged within the sample of news articles was violence committed against sex workers. A future study could investigate this theme and determine to what extent factors such as race affect depictions of sex workers who have disappeared or been murdered. Having a larger sample of articles that outline violence against sex workers in general would shed more light on the role race plays in these depictions. Further, a study investigating whether geography also plays a role in depictions of missing and murdered sex workers would contribute to the literature as many of the articles outlining violence against sex workers were printed in news sources from Alberta and British Columbia.

Another possible study would be to investigate whether depictions of missing and murdered sex workers vary by province. Do provinces with specialized task forces for investigating crimes against sex workers depict these women in a different light? Or are these task forces necessary due to the predominant image of sex workers and the resulting apathy to their victimization?

Another possible study could investigate whether certain populations are more likely to have their bodies objectified, depersonalized, or eroticized post mortem. Are women more likely to experience objectification of their bodies than men? Are white women more or less likely to be objectified than women of colour? To what extent do the victims' lifestyle choices affect whether they will be objectified?

Another theme that emerged during this study was the idea of the bourgeois, nuclear family. Single mothers in particular were framed in a negative light. The exception to this rule was Jarita Naistus who was cited to have sworn off men in order to spend more time with her children. Would a white, single mother be depicted in this way? Are single mothers depicted as unfit or bad parents if they are involved with a man? How often are single mothers depicted as choosing men over their children?

Contributions to the Literature

This thesis contributes to the literature regarding depictions of missing and murdered Indigenous women as some of the research findings resulting from this study contradict previous studies; this may be due to the inclusion of news articles from all over the country as opposed to focusing on stories from one geographical area, such as Vancouver's Downtown Eastside. Further, the infotainment nature of these news media depictions have not been compared to depictions of victims in crime procedurals. In these

ways, this study fills a void in the literature regarding missing and murdered Indigenous women.

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Appendix A: Protocols**Preliminary Protocol:**

1. Case Number
2. Title
3. Date
4. Location (news sources)
5. Page, Section/Episode Number
6. Length
7. Author (news sources)
8. Source
9. Topic (news sources)

10. Theme: Political References
 - a) Sexism/sexist language
 - b) Racism/racist language

11. Theme: Victims
 - a) Sex work
 - b) Drug addiction/use
 - c) Homelessness/transience
 - d) Positive attributes of victim
 - e) Backstory/demographics
 - f) Socio-economic status
 - g) Objectifying/eroticizing victims' bodies
 - h) Reports of prior police contact
 - i) Police comments regarding victim

12. Theme: Space
 - a) Zones of degeneracy

13. Theme: Police
 - a) Police malpractice
 - b) Focus on forensics/science/technology

14. Theme: Perpetrators
 - a) Explanations/justifications for behaviour
 - b) References: positive attributes of perpetrator
 - c) Demographics
 - d) Individualized/demonizing language
 - e) Typifying offenders

Final Protocol: Newspapers

1. Case Number:
2. Title:
3. Subheading:
4. Date:
5. Location:
6. Page, Section:
7. Length:
8. Author:
9. Source:
10. Topic:

11. Theme: Political References
 - a) Sexism/sexist language
 - b) Racism/racist language
 - c) Violence against women
 - d) Victimization
 - e) Missing and murdered Indigenous women

12. Theme: Victims
 - a) Sex work
 - b) Drug addiction/use
 - c) Homelessness/transience
 - d) Positive attributes of victims
 - e) Backstory/demographics
 - f) SES
 - g) Objectifying/eroticizing victim's bodies
 - h) Reports of prior police contact
 - i) Police/reporter comments regarding victim (distancing language?)
 - j) Transgression

13. Theme: Space
 - a) Zones of degeneracy

14. Theme: Police
 - a) Police malpractice/abuse of power
 - b) Interactions between agencies
 - c) Focus on science/forensics/technology
 - d) Initiatives to help
 - e) Courts
 - f) Government agencies

15. Theme: Perpetrators/Suspects
 - a) Explanations/justifications for behaviour
 - b) References: Positive attributes of perpetrator

- c) Demographics
- d) Individualized/demonizing language
- e) Typifying offenders

Final Protocol: Television Shows

1. Case Number:
2. Title:
3. Episode Number:
4. Length:
5. Source:
6. Date:

7. Theme: Political References
 - a) Sexism/sexist language
 - b) Racism/racist language
 - c) Violence against women
 - d) Victimization

8. Theme: Victims
 - a) Sex work
 - b) Drug addiction/use
 - c) Homelessness/transience
 - d) Positive attributes of victims
 - e) Backstory/demographics
 - f) SES
 - g) Objectifying/eroticizing victim's bodies
 - h) Reports of prior police contact
 - i) Police comments regarding victim (distancing language?)
 - j) Transgression

9. Theme: Space
 - a) Zones of degeneracy

10. Theme: Police
 - a) Police malpractice/abuse of power
 - b) Interactions between agencies
 - c) Focus on forensics/science/technology

11. Theme: Perpetrators/suspects
 - a) Explanations/justifications for behaviour
 - b) References: positive attributes of perpetrator
 - c) Demographics
 - d) Individualized/demonizing language
 - e) Typifying offenders

12. Reference to real case?

Summary:

Appendix B: Coding Sheets³

Coding Sheets: Newspapers (alphabetical order by author)

1. Case Number: D-12
2. Title: Tina Fontaine's body was wrapped in duvet cover, police reveal
3. Subheading: Winnipeg investigators tracked down close to 1,000 customers who made similar purchases
4. Date: December 17, 2015
5. Location:
6. Page, Section: Online resource
7. Length: 882 words
8. Author: Caroline Barghout
9. Source: CBC News
10. Topic:

11. Theme: Political References
 - a) Sexism/sexist language
 - b) Racism/racist language
 - c) Violence against women
 - d) Victimization
 - e) Missing and murdered Indigenous women
 - Death sparked a new call for an inquiry

12. Theme: Victims
 - a) Sex work
 - b) Drug addiction/use
 - c) Homelessness/transience
 - d) Positive attributes of victims
 - e) Backstory/demographics
 - Tina Fontaine, 15
 - f) SES
 - g) Objectifying/eroticizing victim's bodies
 - Body was found wrapped in a duvet from Costco
 - h) Reports of prior police contact
 - i) Police/reporter comments regarding victim (distancing language?)
 - Sgt. John O'Donovan (Winnipeg police homicide unit): said the cost of the investigation "was not as much as that little girl's life was worth"
 - O'Donovan: "She's a child. This is a child that's been murdered. I think society, we would be horrified if we found a litter of kittens or pups in this condition. This is a child. Society should be horrified"
 - O'Donovan: "It was outrageous thing to find this kid the way she was, and I know it outraged us as a unit working together"

³ Only coding sheets for articles and episodes directly referenced are included. Further coding sheets available upon request.

- O'Donovan: "They all [homicide victims] mean something to us, every one of them, but this one, because it was a child and because of the way that she was found – you know, we saw more of the pictures before she died, and it certainly hit home that this was not good"
 - j) Transgression
13. Theme: Space
- a) Zones of degeneracy
14. Theme: Police
- a) Police malpractice/abuse of power
 - b) Interactions between agencies
 - c) Focus on science/forensics/technology
 - d) Initiatives to help
 - e) Courts
 - f) Government agencies
 - In the care of the province's Child and Family Services
15. Theme: Perpetrators/Suspects
- a) Explanations/justifications for behaviour
 - b) References: Positive attributes of perpetrator
 - c) Demographics
 - Raymond Cormier, 53
 - d) Individualized/demonizing language
 - e) Typifying offenders

1. Case Number: D-05
 2. Title: The Taken: Canada's latest known serial killer preyed on indigenous women
 3. Subheading:
 4. Date: November 25, 2015
 5. Location: Winnipeg
 6. Page, Section: Online resource
 7. Length: 1109 words
 8. Author: Kathryn Blaze Baum
 9. Source: The Globe and Mail
 10. Topic: Missing and murdered
-
11. Theme: Political References
 - a) Sexism/sexist language
 - b) Racism/racist language
 - Spell Indigenous with a lowercase I; Indigenous with a lowercase A
 - c) Violence against women
 - Andretti and McPherson's relationship moved fast; he isolated her from her family
 - d) Victimization
 - e) Missing and murdered Indigenous women
 - Police listed her as Caucasian in report, family wondered whether or not they should correct them – did not think they would care as much if they knew she was Indigenous
 - Lack of interest in finding Indigenous women
 - Globe and Mail finding: Indigenous women are roughly 7 times more likely to be slain by serial killers than non-Indigenous women
 - At least 18 Indigenous women died at the hands of serial killers since 1980
 - Kim McPherson (Jennifer's sister): "The thought is, that nobody is going to miss them"
 12. Theme: Victims
 - a) Sex work
 - b) Drug addiction/use
 - c) Homelessness/transience
 - d) Positive attributes of victims
 - e) Backstory/demographics
 - Jennifer McPherson, 41. Worked as a caretaker at a fishing lodge when she and Andretti moved to BC. Two adult daughters
 - Myrna Letandre, 37
 - f) SES
 - Impoverished
 - g) Objectifying/eroticizing victim's bodies
 - Reporter highlights how Letandre had leg braces and screws in her spine due to a failed suicide attempt

- Letandre: strangled, decapitated, remains set on fire in a dumpster. Head buried in his (Andretti) basement – note how he married McPherson a few months later and they lived in the same home
- McPherson: Andretti placed some of her body parts in lobster traps
- h) Reports of prior police contact
- i) Police/reporter comments regarding victim (distancing language?)
- j) Transgression
- Letandre's sister used a free voicemail service. Used by women in poverty – Andretti exploited this

13. Theme: Space

- a) Zones of degeneracy

14. Theme: Police

- a) Police malpractice/abuse of power
 - Winnipeg Police did not pay Andretti a visit after Letandre's sister suggested he should be questioned regarding her disappearance
- b) Interactions between agencies
 - The McPherson and Letandre families credit the BC RCMP for the arrest of Andretti, not Project Devote
 - Fire department did not search the dumpster Letandre's remains were burned in after putting out the fire
- c) Focus on science/forensics/technology
- d) Initiatives to help
 - Manitoba's Project Devote – joint RCMP and Winnipeg Police Service task force. Came together in 2012, investigating more than two dozen homicide and long-term missing person cases, many of which are Indigenous women
- e) Courts

15. Theme: Perpetrators/Suspects

- a) Explanations/justifications for behaviour
- b) References: Positive attributes of perpetrator
- c) Demographics
 - Traigo Andretti (Jennifer's husband). Born Dylan Harold Grubb, Ontario, 1975
- d) Individualized/demonizing language
- e) Typifying offenders
 - Killers pick Indigenous women because there is less of a response – confidence that they will get away w/ it

1. Case Number: D-26
 2. Title: ‘Our women are in danger’: Native group compares Edmonton-area’s murdered prostitutes to serial killings in B.C.
 3. Subheading:
 4. Date: July 8, 2004
 5. Location: Edmonton
 6. Page, Section: News; pg. A1
 7. Length: 663 words
 8. Author: Ryan Cormier
 9. Source: The Edmonton Journal
 10. Topic: Crime
-
11. Theme: Political References
 - a) Sexism/sexist language
 - b) Racism/racist language
 - No capitalization on terms like Native
 - c) Violence against women
 - In the past 16 years, 10 murdered women, at least half of them Indigenous, have been found in rural areas around Edmonton. None of those murders have been solved. Police say all were sex-trade workers
 - d) Victimization
 - e) Missing and murdered Indigenous women
 - The federal gov’t and police must take violence against Indigenous women more seriously, says the Native Women’s Association of Canada, pointing to 10 unsolved murders in the Edmonton-area as the most immediate concern
 - Association’s president, Kukdookaa Terri Brown – a crisis that police, gov’ts and the justice system have been unresponsive to because of underlying racism in the country
 - Brenda Jones, researcher for the Alberta chapter of the association: “they are our forgotten sisters, they are forgotten voices and they need to be heard”
 - The association started the Sisters in Spirit campaign in March
 - Joanne Ahenakew stressed that not all Indigenous women who go missing or are murdered are part of the sex trade
 - Kukdookaa Terri Brown – said more investigative efforts are given to the non-native victims, not because of racism specifically among police, but in Canada in general
 - Not all victims should be burdened with the ‘high-risk’ lifestyle tag, said Brown. “We need to remember that these women were someone’s mother, someone’s auntie, someone’s daughter or niece. It is sad that some of these women were marginalized in their lives and we must not make the same mistake in their deaths”
 12. Theme: Victims
 - a) Sex work
 - All of the women were sex workers
 - Bernadette – working as a sex worker

- b) Drug addiction/use
 - c) Homelessness/transience
 - d) Positive attributes of victims
 - Bernadette – mother of 3
 - e) Backstory/demographics
 - Bernadette Ahenakew, 22s
 - f) SES
 - Bernadette – born into a poor family of 13 children, history of living in foster homes
 - g) Objectifying/eroticizing victim's bodies
 - h) Reports of prior police contact
 - i) Police/reporter comments regarding victim (distancing language?)
 - j) Transgression
13. Theme: Space
- a) Zones of degeneracy
14. Theme: Police
- a) Police malpractice/abuse of power
 - Joanne Ahenakew – believes the police haven't done enough to find her aunt's killer
 - b) Interactions between agencies
 - Strathcona County RCMP task force worked with Project Kare
 - c) Focus on science/forensics/technology
 - d) Initiatives to help
 - Strathcona County RCMP formed a 30-member task force
 - e) Courts
 - f) Government agencies
15. Theme: Perpetrators/Suspects
- a) Explanations/justifications for behaviour
 - b) References: Positive attributes of perpetrator
 - c) Demographics
 - Make association to Pickton – believe the Edmonton murders may also be the work of a serial killer
 - d) Individualized/demonizing language
 - e) Typifying offenders

1. Case Number: D-41
2. Title: Dobson case stymies cops
3. Subheading:
4. Date: February 15, 2000
5. Location: Windsor, ON
6. Page, Section: Pg. A16; Local News
7. Length: 631 words
8. Author: Blair Crawford
9. Source: The Windsor Star
10. Topic:

11. Theme: Political References
 - a) Sexism/sexist language
 - b) Racism/racist language
 - c) Violence against women
 - d) Victimization
 - e) Missing and murdered Indigenous women

12. Theme: Victims
 - a) Sex work
 - Worked as a sex worker when the money ran out
 - b) Drug addiction/use
 - Troubles with alcohol and drugs
 - c) Homelessness/transience
 - d) Positive attributes of victims
 - Mother of three
 - e) Backstory/demographics
 - Diane Dobson, 36
 - Born on Saugeen Reserve
 - Third of 10 children
 - f) SES
 - Adopted by wealthy Toronto family
 - g) Objectifying/eroticizing victim's bodies
 - Found in a muddy ditch in Brighton Beach – police call Dog Patch
 - A pathologist estimated she lost three liters of blood from her massive wounds
 - ... smashed Dobson's face with a violence that shocked even hardened investigators
 - Wearing jeans and a pink bra
 - She died from multiple blows across her face, perhaps from a steel bar. She never saw it coming. There were no defensive wounds, indicating she didn't try to fight back. There was no indication she had been restrained
 - Det. Menard: "I think what bothers me the most about this case is the degree of violence. It was sickening"
 - h) Reports of prior police contact
 - i) Police/reporter comments regarding victim (distancing language?)

- Det. Menard: “She lived what we call a ‘vulnerable lifestyle’. It put her in a dangerous position”
- j) Transgression
- Police don’t think she was planning to come home that night
 - A rumor that linked the killing with a plan to smuggle heroin into the Windsor Jail
 - Ran away from adopted home at 13
 - Connection to sex work
13. Theme: Space
- a) Zones of degeneracy
- In 1997, police thought they found the murder scene in a ramshackle flophouse
 - Another theory led police to a bloodstain found in the back of a cube van
14. Theme: Police
- a) Police malpractice/abuse of power
- b) Interactions between agencies
- c) Focus on science/forensics/technology
- DNA testing on blood stains – ruled out possible crime scenes
 - “If she was killed inside, the evidence is protected from the elements and would still be there. We could still work with it” – DET. Menard
- d) Initiatives to help
- e) Courts
- f) Government agencies
15. Theme: Perpetrators/Suspects
- f) Explanations/justifications for behaviour
- a) References: Positive attributes of perpetrator
- b) Demographics
- c) Individualized/demonizing language
- d) Windsor police Det. Brian Menard: “He must have hated her. He killed her seven times over. He killed her with the first blow, but he didn’t stop”
- e) Typifying offenders

1. Case Number: D-19
 2. Title: Second body in 3 weeks
 3. Subheading: Farmer plowing field makes late-night discovery of badly decomposed corpse
 4. Date: May 8, 2005
 5. Location: Edmonton
 6. Page, Section: News; Pg. A3
 7. Length: 1095 words
 8. Author: Jim Farrell & Vernon Clement Jones
 9. Source: The Edmonton Journal
 10. Topic: Crime
-
11. Theme: Political References
 - a) Sexism/sexist language
 - b) Racism/racist language
 - c) Violence against women
 - d) Victimization
 - e) Missing and murdered Indigenous women
 - List of 14 women murdered in Edmonton area since 1988 and two women (listed as sex workers) project KARE missing, 6 were Indigenous. Indigenous status not listed
 - Indigenous status not mentioned
-
12. Theme: Victims
 - a) Sex work
 - Many of the women found murdered were sex trade workers
 - b) Drug addiction/use
 - Many had addiction issues
 - c) Homelessness/transience
 - d) Positive attributes of victims
 - e) Backstory/demographics
 - Maggie Burke, 21
 - Edna Bernard, 28
 - Katie Ballantyne, 40
 - Caralyn King, 22
 - Bernadette Ahenakew, 22
 - Rachel Quinney, 19
 - Corrie Ottenbreit (non-Indigenous), 27
 - Charlene Marie Gauld, 20 (non-Indigenous_
 - f) SES
 - g) Objectifying/eroticizing victim's bodies
 - ... an area where five other dead women have been dumped in the past eight years
 - The body was so badly decomposed that police initially weren't sure if it was male or female

- Twelve women have now been found dead in fields, forests and rural ditches around Edmonton in the past 16 years. Before Friday, the most recent was the burned body of 20-year-old Charlene Marie Gauld
 - Rachel Quinney, whose battered body
 - Charlene – burned body
 - h) Reports of prior police contact
 - Many of the women had previous records
 - i) Police/reporter comments regarding victim (distancing language?)
 - Ottenbreit – treating case as “a missing person where foul play is suspected” because her lifestyle and the circumstances under which she went missing are similar
 - Burke put on list for the same reason
 - j) Transgression
 - Most led “at-risk” lifestyles, meaning they were involved with drugs, prostitution or criminal activities
 - “They took unnecessary risk, they were crack addicts,” ‘Jesse’ (sex worker working the same area). “They knew it could happen sooner or later”
 - Sex work
 - Drug use
13. Theme: Space
- a) Zones of degeneracy
 - The sex workers worked 118th Ave and 95th Street
14. Theme: Police
- a) Police malpractice/abuse of power
 - b) Interactions between agencies
 - Members of the Strathcona County RCMP, the RCMP Forensic Identification Unit, RCMP Major Crimes and Project KARE swarmed over the latest site on Saturday
 - c) Focus on science/forensics/technology
 - Many of the investigators in the half-tilled field wore disposable coveralls so they wouldn’t contaminate the crime scene
 - A blue tent covered the body of the woman
 - d) Initiatives to help
 - Project KARE on the scene
 - e) Courts
 - f) Government agencies
15. Theme: Perpetrators/Suspects
- a) Explanations/justifications for behaviour
 - b) References: Positive attributes of perpetrator
 - c) Demographics
 - d) Individualized/demonizing language
 - “They’ve got to catch this sicko” – Vic Archer (local resident)

e) Typifying offenders

1. Case Number: D-17
2. Title: Serial killer fears rise in Edmonton: Another body found
3. Subheading: Police suspect 'john' murdering street prostitutes
4. Date: May 9, 2005
5. Location: Edmonton, AB
6. Page, Section: News; Pg. A3
7. Length: 697 words
8. Author: Jim Farrell & Michael Traikos
9. Source: National Post
10. Topic: News; Crime

11. Theme: Political References
 - a) Sexism/sexist language
 - b) Racism/racist language
 - c) Violence against women
 - d) Victimization
 - e) Missing and murdered Indigenous women
 - Indigenous status not mentioned

12. Theme: Victims
 - a) Sex work
 - 'Street prostitutes' in title
 - b) Drug addiction/use
 - Addicted to crack cocaine
 - c) Homelessness/transience
 - d) Positive attributes of victims
 - Katie – mother of four
 - e) Backstory/demographics
 - Rachel Quinney
 - Katie Ballantyne, 40
 - f) SES
 - g) Objectifying/eroticizing victim's bodies
 - found [her] body in a ditch ... [police] believed an angry john had beaten and killed the prostitute, then dumped her
 - By the time she was discovered, her body had decomposed to the point where you couldn't tell if she was male or female
 - She was one of 11 women found dead over the past 16 years, in fields, forests and rural ditches around Edmonton
 - Found another body of a woman who led a 'high-risk' lifestyle – name never mentioned
 - An autopsy for the body found on Friday is scheduled for today (still have not mentioned her name – must know it if they know she lived a 'high-risk' lifestyle)
 - Katie's body was so decomposed it would be impossible to pinpoint the cause of death
 - h) Reports of prior police contact
 - i) Police/reporter comments regarding victim (distancing language?)

- Detective Jack Kraus: “Street prostitution is a parasitic relationship. You try not to kill the host because you are still living off its blood”
 - “We have their numbers,” Det. Morrisey, “We call them up. We will never stop, because in that pool of men there is a serious sex offender who is killing girls”
 - Reporter: Still, because of the nature of the women being found, there may be little police can do to prevent this type of violence
 - “Street prostitution has devolved,” Det Tom Jensen. “ There used to be a certain amount of class on the street. It’s now only crack whores”
 - “They get ripped off, they rip each other off, the rob johns, they rob each other, they do enforcement for the gangs, they do break and enters,” said Det. Morrisey. “They have a chemical master an he has to be served”
- j) Transgression
- led what police call a ‘high-risk’ lifestyle
 - At 19, she was already a mother of two young children and heavily addicted to crack cocaine
 - Working in the sex trade
 - Since 1988, police have found 11 bodies in the Edmonton area. Most were in their 20s when they disappeared unnoticed from their underground life on the streets
 - Police said it is often the prostitutes who are battling with drug addiction who are the victims of such crimes. They cannot work in escort agencies and message parlors, so instead walk the streets, the bottom-rung of the industry
13. Theme: Space
- a) Zones of degeneracy
14. Theme: Police
- a) Police malpractice/abuse of power
- b) Interactions between agencies
- c) Focus on science/forensics/technology
- d) Initiatives to help
- Edmonton-based RCMP Project – task force investigating the disappearances of 78 women from the Prairies and the territories
- e) Courts
- f) Government agencies
15. Theme: Perpetrators/Suspects
- a) Explanations/justifications for behaviour
- b) References: Positive attributes of perpetrator
- c) Demographics
- Police believe the killer will be found among the 350 men who have been arrested on prostitution-related charges in Edmonton
- d) Individualized/demonizing language
- “serious sex offender”
- e) Typifying offenders

1. Case Number: D-21
2. Title: Five more women missing: New names added to 50 other prostitutes missing from east Vancouver
3. Subheading:
4. Date: March 29, 2002
5. Location: Vancouver
6. Page, Section: Canada; Pg. A13
7. Length: 553 words
8. Author:
9. Source: Vancouver Sun (printed in the Edmonton Journal)
10. Topic: Crime

11. Theme: Political References
 - a) Sexism/sexist language
 - b) Racism/racist language
 - c) Violence against women
 - d) Victimization
 - e) Missing and murdered Indigenous women

12. Theme: Victims
 - a) Sex work
 - b) Drug addiction/use
 - Boen – crack cocaine use
 - c) Homelessness/transience
 - d) Positive attributes of victims
 - Allen: [Drew] was a “sweet, beautiful girl who took good care of herself”
 - e) Backstory/demographics
 - Tiffany Louise Drew, DOB Jan 1975, 4’11”, 95 pounds
 - Anne Elizabeth Wolsey, non-Indigenous, 5’1”, 128 pounds, black hair, brown eyes, South African origin
 - Yvonne Marie Boen, 33, 5’10”, white, blonde, blue eyes, previous last name England
 - Marie Laura LaLiberte, 5’6”, brown hair and eyes, Indigenous, DOB Nov 7, 1949; reported missing that past month, missing since 1997
 - Ruby Anne Hardy, DOB March 23, 1965, missing since 1998 but not reported until that week (do not mention that she is Indigenous)
 - f) SES
 - g) Objectifying/eroticizing victim’s bodies
 - h) Reports of prior police contact
 - i) Police/reporter comments regarding victim (distancing language?)
 - j) Transgression
 - Sex work

13. Theme: Space
 - a) Zones of degeneracy

- Boen frequented a Surrey crack house dubbed the “House of Horrors” – two previous murders – one of which was also a sex worker

14. Theme: Police

- a) Police malpractice/abuse of power
 - Elane Allen, a former coordinator at a downtown eastside drop-in center for prostitutes, informed the police about one of the women more than two years ago (white woman). “Disgusted” to learn that police are only now considering adding to list of 50
 - Det. Scott Driemel could not answer why the police didn’t release details of the Wolsey case to the media earlier
- b) Interactions between agencies
- c) Focus on science/forensics/technology
- d) Initiatives to help
- e) Courts
- f) Government agencies

15. Theme: Perpetrators/Suspects

- a) Explanations/justifications for behaviour
- b) References: Positive attributes of perpetrator
- c) Demographics
 - Reference to Pickton’s farm but only cursory – no details
- d) Individualized/demonizing language
- e) Typifying offenders

1. Case Number: D-13
2. Title: CJ Fowler found dead with concrete block on her chest, B.C. jury hears
3. Subheading:
4. Date: October 1, 2015
5. Location:
6. Page, Section:
7. Length: 384 words
8. Author: Cam Fortems
9. Source: Kamloops This Week
10. Topic:

11. Theme: Political References
 - a) Sexism/sexist language
 - b) Racism/racist language
 - c) Violence against women
 - d) Victimization
 - e) Missing and murdered Indigenous women

12. Theme: Victims
 - a) Sex work
 - b) Drug addiction/use
 - Crystal meth user
 - c) Homelessness/transience
 - d) Positive attributes of victims
 - e) Backstory/demographics
 - CJ Fowler, 16
 - Pregnant
 - f) SES
 - g) Objectifying/eroticizing victim's bodies
 - Concrete block on her chest
 - Severe injuries to her head and face
 - Skull was caved in on the right side and her jaw was smashed
 - 25 kilo block had blood on it – probably the weapon used
 - Describe the mechanic's tool (breaker bar)
 - Debate whether it was the breaker bar or the concrete block that caused the facial injury
 - Believe she died of asphyxiation after her tongue was pushed and trapped in her airway
 - Found near a trail with her legs crossed, "odd position" Dr. Molgat
 - h) Reports of prior police contact
 - i) Police/reporter comments regarding victim (distancing language?)
 - j) Transgression
 - Teenage pregnancy
 - Drug use

13. Theme: Space

a) Zones of degeneracy

14. Theme: Police

a) Police malpractice/abuse of power

b) Interactions between agencies

c) Focus on science/forensics/technology

- Linear tearing of the skin and tissue on Fowler

- 's face

- Dr. Gilles Molgat: "That implies a long object with a bit of an edge, without being sharp"

- DNA found on a mechanic's tool

d) Initiatives to help

e) Courts

f) Government agencies

15. Theme: Perpetrators/Suspects

a) Explanations/justifications for behaviour

b) References: Positive attributes of perpetrator

c) Demographics

- Damien Taylor, 24

d) Individualized/demonizing language

e) Typifying offenders

1. Case Number: D-49
2. Title: Police make arrest in Lloydminster murder
3. Subheading:
4. Date: November 22, 2005
5. Location: Saskatoon, SK
6. Page, Section: Pg. A4
7. Length: 644 words
8. Author: Janet French
9. Source: The Star Pheonix
10. Topic:

11. Theme: Political References
 - a) Sexism/sexist language
 - b) Racism/racist language
 - c) Violence against women
 - d) Victimization
 - e) Missing and murdered Indigenous women

12. Theme: Victims
 - a) Sex work
 - b) Drug addiction/use
 - c) Homelessness/transience
 - d) Positive attributes of victims
 - College student, tourism
 - Mother to two
 - Spent most of her spare time with her children
 - “She didn’t want to have any boyfriends because her children and her education were more important than her social life” - mother
 - e) Backstory/demographics
 - Jarita Naistus, 20, Onion Lake First Nation, Cree
 - f) SES
 - g) Objectifying/eroticizing victim’s bodies
 - h) Reports of prior police contact
 - i) Police/reporter comments regarding victim (distancing language?)
 - j) Transgression
 - Single mom
 - Last seen at a bar

13. Theme: Space
 - a) Zones of degeneracy

14. Theme: Police
 - a) Police malpractice/abuse of power
 - b) Interactions between agencies
 - c) Focus on science/forensics/technology
 - d) Initiatives to help

- e) Courts
- f) Government agencies

15. Theme: Perpetrators/Suspects

- a) Explanations/justifications for behaviour
- b) References: Positive attributes of perpetrator
- c) Demographics
 - Gordon Dwight Hurley, 41
 - From Beaverlodge, AB
- d) Individualized/demonizing language
- e) Typifying offenders

1. Case Number: D-31
2. Title: Murders are always mysteries
3. Subheading:
4. Date: November 30, 1991
5. Location: Toronto, ON
6. Page, Section:
7. Length: 1219 words
8. Author: Christopher Harris
9. Source: The Globe and Mail
10. Topic: Crime

11. Theme: Political References
 - a) Sexism/sexist language
 - b) Racism/racist language
 - Prolonged cover-up of the killers' identities by white residents
 - Four drunken youths driving around The Pas one cold November night, looking for a "squaw"
 - Zuckerman (producer): I look for a wonderful story on two levels. One, is the plot compelling, and two, does it say something about this country and its people? ... Conspiracy of Silence has an important message about racism. There's plenty of racism in Canada, but this example was more flagrant than most"
 - Couture: "Canadian racism is subtle and very insidious, and so people allow themselves to pretend it doesn't exist ... Somebody says in the book that The Pas is not any more racist than anywhere else in Canada"
 - c) Violence against women
 - d) Victimization
 - e) Missing and murdered Indigenous women
 - Provincial inquiry into Native justice: "Betty Osborne would be alive today had she not been an [A]boriginal woman"
 - The murder was a "racist and sexist act"
 - Rooted deep in the Canadian psyche – a toxic combination of racism and sexism

12. Theme: Victims
 - a) Sex work
 - b) Drug addiction/use
 - c) Homelessness/transience
 - d) Positive attributes of victims
 - A bright teenager
 - "struggled and refused to acquiesce to sex"
 - e) Backstory/demographics
 - Helen Betty Osborne, 1971
 - The Pas, MB
 - f) SES
 - g) Objectifying/eroticizing victim's bodies
 - Beaten, stabbed repeatedly and left naked in the snow

- CBC press release (quoted in the article): “Helen Betty Osborne died of shock and hemorrhaging due to multiple injuries. She had 50 stab wounds from a screwdriver, a torn kidney, a punctured brain and her face was cracked in half”
- h) Reports of prior police contact
- i) Police/reporter comments regarding victim (distancing language?)
- Couture (screenwriter): “I really think the victim’s story isn’t the most interesting – although it’s tragic. What really fascinates me is the people who are ‘normal’, who think they are as good as their neighbours but also think there’s nothing wrong in impeding justice forever”
- j) Transgression

13. Theme: Space

- a) Zones of degeneracy

14. Theme: Police

- a) Police malpractice/abuse of power
- b) Interactions between agencies
 - CBC mini-series – Conspiracy of Silence (forthcoming)
- c) Focus on science/forensics/technology
- d) Initiatives to help
- e) Courts
 - Her body was found the day after her murder, but nobody went on trial until 1987
 - Only two of the four were charged. One was convicted
- f) Government agencies

15. Theme: Perpetrators/Suspects

- a) Explanations/justifications for behaviour
- b) References: Positive attributes of perpetrator
- c) Demographics
 - Lee Colgan
- d) Individualized/demonizing language
 - Colgan – youngest and most guilt-ridden of them
- e) Typifying offenders

1. Case Number: D-10
2. Title: Katelynn Sampson inquest: Institutions too slow to assess case, says Children's Aid lawyer
3. Subheading: Coroner's jury will issue recommendations with the aim of preventing future tragedies
4. Date: February 29, 2016
5. Location:
6. Page, Section: Online resource
7. Length: 1,110 words
8. Author:
9. Source: CBC News
10. Topic:

11. Theme: Political References
 - a) Sexism/sexist language
 - b) Racism/racist language
 - c) Violence against women
 - d) Victimization
 - e) Missing and murdered Indigenous women

12. Theme: Victims
 - a) Sex work
 - b) Drug addiction/use
 - Mother lost custody due to drug addiction
 - c) Homelessness/transience
 - d) Positive attributes of victims
 - e) Backstory/demographics
 - Katelynn Sampson, 7
 - Abused, beaten to death by caregivers
 - f) SES
 - g) Objectifying/eroticizing victim's bodies
 - h) Reports of prior police contact
 - i) Police/reporter comments regarding victim (distancing language?)
 - j) Transgression

13. Theme: Space
 - a) Zones of degeneracy

14. Theme: Police
 - a) Police malpractice/abuse of power
 - b) Interactions between agencies
 - Children's Aid Society and Native Child and Family Services contacted about Katelynn, oversight taken by latter due to Indigenous heritage
 - c) Focus on science/forensics/technology
 - d) Initiatives to help
 - e) Courts

- f) Government agencies
 - Lawyer for the Children's Aid Society of Toronto told a coroner's jury ... all the institutions that were involved in the seven-year-old's life were too slow in revising their opinions about the child's guardians
 - Coroner's counsel: Katelynn was "unseen and unheard" by those whose job it was to ensure her safety
 - Irving called to say she no longer wanted Katelynn. Took 16 days for a caseworker to contact Irving
 - Multiple calls regarding Katelynn – no action
 - Irving and Johnson were granted custody despite having criminal convictions and a history with child welfare agencies
 - School called child welfare 5 times

15. Theme: Perpetrators/Suspects

- a) Explanations/justifications for behaviour
- b) References: Positive attributes of perpetrator
- c) Demographics
 - Donna Irving and Warren Johnson, Katelynn's caregivers
- d) Individualized/demonizing language
- e) Typifying offenders

1. Case Number: D-14
2. Title: 'I'm trying hard to change my life,' says teen who killed Brandy Vittrekwa
3. Subheading: Youth's sentencing hearing taking place in Whitehorse this week
4. Date: June 8, 2016
5. Location: Not listed
6. Page, Section: Online resource
7. Length: 406 words
8. Author: Not listed
9. Source: CBC News
10. Topic: Crime

11. Theme: Political References
 - a) Sexism/sexist language
 - b) Racism/racist language
 - c) Violence against women
 - d) Victimization
 - e) Missing and murdered Indigenous women

12. Theme: Victims
 - a) Sex work
 - b) Drug addiction/use
 - c) Homelessness/transience
 - d) Positive attributes of victims
 - e) Backstory/demographics
 - Brandy Vittrekwa, 17
 - f) SES
 - g) Objectifying/eroticizing victim's bodies
 - She was beaten and left in the snow to die
 - h) Reports of prior police contact
 - i) Police/reporter comments regarding victim (distancing language?)
 - j) Transgression

13. Theme: Space
 - a) Zones of degeneracy

14. Theme: Police
 - a) Police malpractice/abuse of power
 - b) Interactions between agencies
 - c) Focus on science/forensics/technology
 - d) Initiatives to help
 - e) Courts
 -
 - f) Government agencies

15. Theme: Perpetrators/Suspects
 - a) Explanations/justifications for behaviour

- “Extremely wasted” on alcohol and drugs at the time
- Chaotic, dysfunctional home life that made him an angry person
- b) References: Positive attributes of perpetrator
- c) Demographics
 - 25-year-old youth, cannot be named under the YCJA
 - Serving a community sentence for an equally violent assault at the time
- d) Individualized/demonizing language
- e) Typifying offenders
 - Dr. Anne Pleydon, Psychologist: “Hope is not lost”

1. Case Number: D-23
 2. Title: Highway 16 road of death for Indian teenagers: A serial killer is considered a possibility in three slayings and two disappearances
 3. Subheading: Killings thought to be work of a stranger
 4. Date: December 5, 1995
 5. Location: Smithers
 6. Page, Section: News; Pg. B1
 7. Length: 1406 words
 8. Author: Lindsay Kines
 9. Source: The Vancouver Sun
 10. Topic: Crime
-
11. Theme: Political References
 - a) Sexism/sexist language
 - b) Racism/racist language
 - Indian
 - Melanie was rallied behind, but the other girls weren't – she was white
 - c) Violence against women
 - d) Victimization
 - e) Missing and murdered Indigenous women
 - Five female native Indian teenagers have disappeared in the past five years from towns and cities along Highway 16 in Northern BC
 - Three have been found murdered; two have simply vanished
 - All of the files remain unsolved and RCMP investigators are looking at the possibility a serial killer is at work
 - Family and friends contend that stories have received scant media coverage because the victims are native Indians
 - In some cases families say they have difficulty convincing their own communities to take the disappearances seriously
 - Prevalent attitude in town: "Oh it's just another native girl who's run away down south to live on the streets"
 - The files date back to 1990, but four of the cases have occurred in the past two years
 - A dozen officers examined the possibility a serial killer is roaming the area
-
12. Theme: Victims
 - a) Sex work
 - Roxanne worked as a sex worker
 - Alishia – worked as sex worker up until two weeks before her murder
 - b) Drug addiction/use
 - c) Homelessness/transience
 - Alishia - homeless
 - d) Positive attributes of victims
 - e) Backstory/demographics
 - Ramona Wilson, 16
 - Delphine Nikal, 15

- Roxanne Thiara, 15
 - Alishia Germain, 15
 - Lana Derrick, 19, college student
 - Melanie Carpenter, white
- f) SES
- g) Objectifying/eroticizing victim's bodies
- Ramona – skeletal remains found in a wooded area
 - Roxanne – body found dumped in the bush
 - Alishia – died of multiple stab wounds behind an elementary school in Prince George
 - Mention that Alishia was found fully clothed and there was no sign of sexual assault
 - Melinda was raped and murdered
- h) Reports of prior police contact
- i) Police/reporter comments regarding victim (distancing language?)
- j) Transgression
- Ramona and Delphine – hitchhiking
 - Roxanne – sex work
 - Alishia – sex work
13. Theme: Space
- a) Zones of degeneracy
14. Theme: Police
- a) Police malpractice/abuse of power
- Police would not say there was a definite link between any of the cases
- b) Interactions between agencies
- RCMP investigators, violent crime analysts and psychological profilers met in Prince George to go over unsolved files
- c) Focus on science/forensics/technology
- d) Initiatives to help
- e) Courts
- f) Government agencies
15. Theme: Perpetrators/Suspects
- a) Explanations/justifications for behaviour
- b) References: Positive attributes of perpetrator
- c) Demographics
- d) Individualized/demonizing language
- e) Typifying offenders

1. Case Number: D-39
2. Title: Murdered prostitute cases the toughest
3. Subheading:
4. Date: September 21, 1999
5. Location: Vancouver, BC
6. Page, Section: A1; Front
7. Length: 1436
8. Author: Lindsay Kines
9. Source: The Vancouver Sun
10. Topic:

11. Theme: Political References
 - a) Sexism/sexist language
 - b) Racism/racist language
 - c) Violence against women
 - Disappearance of 31 women from the city's poorest neighbourhood since 1978
 - Newspaper and police reports show there have been at least 60 homicides of women working in BC's sex trade or living a similar lifestyle in the past two decades
 - At least 40 of the 60 cases are unsolved
 - d) Victimization
 - Women in the sex trade are at high risk of being harmed by strangers
 - e) Missing and murdered Indigenous women

12. Theme: Victims
 - a) Sex work
 - Kari – sex worker
 - b) Drug addiction/use
 - Drug addiction
 - c) Homelessness/transience
 - d) Positive attributes of victims
 - Mother to a young son
 - “Trying to get her life together”
 - Mother: “She was a very, very warm person. She would do anything to help anybody, whether she knew them or not”
 - e) Backstory/demographics
 - Kari Ann Gordon, 26
 - f) SES
 - On welfare
 - g) Objectifying/eroticizing victim's bodies
 - Found on the shores of Little Lillooet Lake; she had been there for some time, her body likely dumped in the water and then deposited at the high-water mark during spring flooding
 - h) Reports of prior police contact
 - i) Police/reporter comments regarding victim (distancing language?)

- RCMP Sergeant Bob Paulson: “But we certainly have to be open to the possibility that because of her lifestyle, because of her trade, that she could be a victim [in] a group of many”
 - Potential witnesses, who are involved in drugs and crime, often stonewall investigators, or if they do talk, their recollection of times and dates is hazy at best
- j) Transgression
- Sex work
 - Gordon: ran away from her home in Prince George at 13
 - Lost her son to her ex-husband
 - Drug use
 - On welfare
13. Theme: Space
- a) Zones of degeneracy
- Downtown Eastside
14. Theme: Police
- a) Police malpractice/abuse of power
- b) Interactions between agencies
- Vancouver detectives working on the missing women files have met with RCMP investigators, as well as members of BC’s unsolved homicide unit, to review the cases and check for common threads
- c) Focus on science/forensics/technology
- d) Initiatives to help
- e) Courts
- f) Government agencies
15. Theme: Perpetrators/Suspects
- a) Explanations/justifications for behaviour
- b) References: Positive attributes of perpetrator
- c) Demographics
- d) Individualized/demonizing language
- e) Typifying offenders

1. Case Number: D-02
2. Title: Man accused of killing prostitutes
3. Subheading:
4. Date: February 19, 2008
5. Location: Edmonton, AB
6. Page, Section: Province/Canada; page 14
7. Length: 452 words
8. Author: Canadian Press
9. Source: Prince George Citizen
10. Topic: Crime

11. Theme: Political References
 - a) Sexism/sexist language
 - b) Racism/racist language
 - Indigenous spelled with a lower case 'A'
 - c) Violence against women
 - d) Victimization
 - Reference violence against sex workers often
 - e) Missing and murdered Indigenous women
 - Muriel Stanley Venne, Institute for the Advancement of Indigenous Women: "There is an underlying, insidious hatred toward Indigenous women. We have been, and are, extremely concerned about the deaths of the women. It is very hard to take. These are our sisters and cousins. These are people that we know or know of"
 - Venne (not verbatim): for a few years, it seemed that melting snow every spring revealed more bodies of murdered Indigenous women

12. Theme: Victims
 - a) Sex work
 - Sex workers
 - RCMP investigating 35 missing, 18 killings of 'prostitutes'
 - "violence that accompanies life on the streets"
 - b) Drug addiction/use
 - c) Homelessness/transience
 - d) Positive attributes of victims
 - e) Backstory/demographics
 - Rachel Quinney, 19
 - Theresa Innes, 36
 - Indigenous
 - f) SES
 - g) Objectifying/eroticizing victim's bodies
 - Reference to finding Quinney's 'body'
 - Reference to finding Innes' body wrapped in plastic and stuffed inside a hockey bag in Svekla's truck
 - h) Reports of prior police contact
 - i) Police/reporter comments regarding victim (distancing language?)

- Referred to as ‘prostitute(s)’ : 4
- Referred to by name: 1
- “women who work the Alberta capital’s streets”
- Did not mention that the victims were Indigenous until the end of the article
- j) Transgression
- Sex workers referred to as living high-risk lifestyles

13. Theme: Space

- a) Zones of degeneracy

14. Theme: Police

- a) Police malpractice/abuse of power
- b) Interactions between agencies
- c) Focus on science/forensics/technology
- d) Initiatives to help:
 - Project Kare: RCMP investigation since 2003 – dozens of missing and murdered cases, dating back decades – “people with high-risk lifestyles”
- e) Courts

15. Theme: Perpetrators/Suspects

- a) Explanations/justifications for behaviour
- b) References: Positive attributes of perpetrator
- c) Demographics
 - Thomas Svekla, 39
- d) Individualized/demonizing language
- e) Typifying offenders

1. Case Number: D-15
2. Title: Murder and racism along the Highway of Tears
3. Subheading:
4. Date: August 29, 2009
5. Location:
6. Page, Section: Westcoast news, pg. A5
7. Length: 878 words
8. Author: Pete McMartin
9. Source: The Vancouver Sun
10. Topic: Crime

11. Theme: Political References
 - a) Sexism/sexist language
 - b) Racism/racist language
 - Indigenous spelled with a lowercase 'A'
 - c) Violence against women
 - d) Victimization
 - e) Missing and murdered Indigenous women
 - Mentions systemic racism that has added to the lack of interest on the part of law enforcement for this issue
 - References the database of the Native Women's Association of Canada – 520 known cases at the time, half since 2000
 - Disinterest of society to pursue these cases
 - 2006 report – Highway of Tears Symposium – “Many are saying the number of missing women, combined with the number of confirmed murdered women, exceeds 30”, “the exact number of missing women has yet to be determined” – unintended dispassion
 - Possibility of 30 or more missing women in Dunbar – no ‘polite’ debate about numbers ... There would be immediate and wholesale alarm

12. Theme: Victims
 - a) Sex work
 - b) Drug addiction/use
 - c) Homelessness/transience
 - d) Positive attributes of victims
 - e) Backstory/demographics
 - Nicole Hoar, 25, white, Alberta native, working as a tree planter in Prince George
 - List of missing women: expanded to 18; 4 of the original 9 were 15, 8 were Indigenous
 - Aileah Saric-Auger, 14, 2006
 - Gloria Moody, 1969
 - Delphine Nikal, 16, 1990, went missing hitchhiking to a friends house
 - Cecilia Anne Nikal
 - f) SES
 - g) Objectifying/eroticizing victim's bodies
 - Found Aileah's body in a ditch

- h) Reports of prior police contact
 - i) Police/reporter comments regarding victim (distancing language?)
 - j) Transgression
 - Delphine Nikal – hitchhiking
 - Hitchhiking common
13. Theme: Space
- a) Zones of degeneracy
 - Highway 16 – Highway of Tears
14. Theme: Police
- a) Police malpractice/abuse of power
 - Searched for Nicole Hoar, had a list of nine missing women. Indigenous community complained that the interest in finding Nicole was based on the fact that she's white
 - Investigations lapsed – (meager resources?)
 - RCMP officer comment to family member reporting her sister missing: “[the RCMP officer] just said something like, “She’s just found a party or something, so give her a couple of days”
 - Case file for women missing/murdered around Highway 16 reached such a critical mass in 2006 – police, gov’t and media had to take notice
 - b) Interactions between agencies
 - c) Focus on science/forensics/technology
 - d) Initiatives to help
 - e) Courts
 - f) Government agencies
15. Theme: Perpetrators/Suspects
- a) Explanations/justifications for behaviour
 - b) References: Positive attributes of perpetrator
 - c) Demographics
 - d) Individualized/demonizing language
 - e) Typifying offenders

1. Case Number: D-07
 2. Title: Dead teen Patricia Lee 'Indigo' Evoy lacked support, say friends
 3. Subheading: Friend says Evoy was 'headstrong, rebellious and beautiful in every way a person could be beautiful'
 4. Date: March 14, 2016
 5. Location: Burnaby, BC
 6. Page, Section: Online resource
 7. Length: 901 words
 8. Author: Eric Rankin
 9. Source: CBC News
 10. Topic:
11. Theme: Political References
 - a) Sexism/sexist language
 - b) Racism/racist language
 - Spell Indigenous with a lowercase A
 - c) Violence against women
 - d) Victimization
 - e) Missing and murdered Indigenous women
 - Mary Ellen Turpel-Lafond, BC's Representative for Children and Youth: "I am reminded again of the frailty of the lives of some young people in our province, especially Indigenous youth as they make the transition from child welfare to adulthood"
 12. Theme: Victims
 - a) Sex work
 - Worked as a stripper
 - b) Drug addiction/use
 - Paige died from a drug overdose
 - c) Homelessness/transience
 - Living in an apartment run by the Vancouver Native Housing Society – for youth at risk
 - d) Positive attributes of victims
 - Friend: 'headstrong, rebellious and beautiful in every way a person could be beautiful'
 - Dan Reimer: "She was filled with an incandescence"
 - e) Backstory/demographics
 - Patricia Lee 'Indigo' Evoy, 19
 - Receiving help from the BC Ministry of Children and Family Development
 - Mother had addiction issues
 - Paige, 19
 - f) SES
 - Facing eviction
 - g) Objectifying/eroticizing victim's bodies
 - h) Reports of prior police contact
 - i) Police/reporter comments regarding victim (distancing language?)

- j) Transgression
 - Worked as a stripper
 - Friend cited as saying he thinks her desperation forced her into a risky situation that resulted in her death
 - Addiction (Paige)

13. Theme: Space

- a) Zones of degeneracy
 - Vancouver's Downtown Eastside

14. Theme: Police

- a) Police malpractice/abuse of power
- a) Interactions between agencies
- b) Focus on science/forensics/technology
- c) Initiatives to help
- d) Courts

15. Theme: Perpetrators/Suspects

- a) Explanations/justifications for behaviour
- b) References: Positive attributes of perpetrator
- c) Demographics
- d) Individualized/demonizing language
- e) Typifying offenders

1. Case Number: D-16
2. Title: Police expect arrest soon in killing of Dauphinais
3. Subheading: Detective says 'it's only a matter of time'
4. Date: June 3, 2002
5. Location: Calgary
6. Page, Section: City & Region; Pg. B2
7. Length: 395 words
8. Author: Jason van Rassel
9. Source: Calgary Herald
10. Topic: Crime

11. Theme: Political References
 - a) Sexism/sexist language
 - b) Racism/racist language
 - c) Violence against women
 - d) Victimization
 - e) Missing and murdered Indigenous women

12. Theme: Victims
 - a) Sex work
 - b) Drug addiction/use
 - c) Homelessness/transience
 - d) Positive attributes of victims
 - Mother
 - "She was a beautiful young lady brutally taken from us" – Tony Martin (father)
 - Popular and active member of Victory Cornerstone Church
 - e) Backstory/demographics
 - Terrie Ann Dauphinais, 24
 - f) SES
 - g) Objectifying/eroticizing victim's bodies
 - h) Reports of prior police contact
 - i) Police/reporter comments regarding victim (distancing language?)
 - j) Transgression

13. Theme: Space
 - a) Zones of degeneracy

14. Theme: Police
 - a) Police malpractice/abuse of power
 - b) Interactions between agencies
 - c) Focus on science/forensics/technology
 - The crime scene yielded important DNA evidence – being analyzed by the RCMP's crime lab in Edmonton
 - SPECIALISTS collected blood, saliva and fingerprint samples that could aid the investigation
 - d) Initiatives to help

- e) Courts
- f) Government agencies
- Three children in the custody of foster parents following the murder

15. Theme: Perpetrators/Suspects

- a) Explanations/justifications for behaviour
- b) References: Positive attributes of perpetrator
- c) Demographics
- Ex-husband Ken Dauphinais – ‘person of interest’
- d) Individualized/demonizing language
- e) Typifying offenders

1. Case Number: D-27
 2. Title: Mother grieves for missing child: One year later, Regina police still search for Tamra Keepness
 3. Subheading:
 4. Date: July 4, 2005
 5. Location: Regina
 6. Page, Section: Pg. A3
 7. Length: 940 words
 8. Author: Veronica Rhodes
 9. Source: The Star Pheonix
 10. Topic: Crime
-
11. Theme: Political References
 - a) Sexism/sexist language
 - b) Racism/racist language
 - c) Violence against women
 - d) Victimization
 - e) Missing and murdered Indigenous women
 - Guy Lonechild, vice-chief of the Federation of Saskatchewan Indian Nations (FSIN): “Any of those comments or suggestions that have been made are absolutely false. The Regina Police Service has shown that it doesn’t matter what race or origin that this child or any child missing is, they’ve shown the commitment that (they) would do this for anybody”
-
12. Theme: Victims
 - a) Sex work
 - b) Drug addiction/use
 - c) Homelessness/transience
 - d) Positive attributes of victims
 - e) Backstory/demographics
 - Tamra Jewel Keepness, 5
 - f) SES
 - g) Objectifying/eroticizing victim’s bodies
 - h) Reports of prior police contact
 - i) Police/reporter comments regarding victim (distancing language?)
 - j) Transgression
-
13. Theme: Space
 - a) Zones of degeneracy
-
14. Theme: Police
 - a) Police malpractice/abuse of power
 - Lorena, Tamra’s mother, has been critical of the police work – too focused on the Keepness family (many contradictions within their stories)
 - b) Interactions between agencies

- The FSIN was invited to meet the new team of investigators on the case and have been kept updated on the investigation
- Child Find Saskatchewan hosting a march on the one year anniversary of the day Tamra was last seen
- c) Focus on science/forensics/technology
- d) Initiatives to help
- Extensive police man-hours, numerous volunteers; air, ground and water searches in the city and two First Nations communities
- e) Courts
- f) Government agencies

15. Theme: Perpetrators/Suspects

- a) Explanations/justifications for behaviour
- b) References: Positive attributes of perpetrator
- c) Demographics
- d) Individualized/demonizing language
- e) Typifying offenders

1. Case Number: D-36
 2. Title: Number of missing Native women alarms police in Western Canada
 3. Subheading: Murder investigation reveals 470 vanished in 3 years
 4. Date: December 20, 1994
 5. Location: Saskatoon, SK
 6. Page, Section:
 7. Length: 1173 words
 8. Author: David Roberts
 9. Source: The Globe and Mail
 10. Topic: News
-
11. Theme: Political References
 - a) Sexism/sexist language
 - b) Racism/racist language
 - c) Violence against women
 - d) Victimization
 - Kim Rossmo, criminologist and experts on serial killers at Simon Fraser University, said the cluster of three bodies in one location points to the likelihood of a serial killer
 - Rossmo: “Serial killers almost invariably strike the disenfranchised, and if these women were prostitutes, that makes them 100 times more vulnerable”
 - e) Missing and murdered Indigenous women
 - RCMP investigators realized that nearly 500 Indigenous women aged 16 to 30 vanished in Western Canada since 1992
 - Police and native organizations have been shocked that they did not notice before now that their computerized list of young native women who had disappeared without a trace in Western Canada and the North had climbed to 470 in the past three years
 - The number is undoubtedly higher, considering that there may be others who, like two of the victims so far identified, have not been reported as missing
 - Bernard Schissel, a sociologist at the University of Saskatchewan, “It’s quite remarkable that 500 people could be free-floating and disappear and no one knows anything about it . I think to a large extent it’s a reflection of our indifference toward the marginalized. We tend to blame the victim”
 - Schissel: “My sense is that it is an issue of classism rather than racism”
-
12. Theme: Victims
 - a) Sex work
 - Eva – sex work
 - Laura
 - b) Drug addiction/use
 - c) Homelessness/transience
 - d) Positive attributes of victims
 - e) Backstory/demographics
 - Shelly Napope, 16, Duke Lake, SK
 - Janet Sylvestre, 36, LaLoche

- Eva Taysup, 28, of Yellow Quill Reserve
- Laura Ann Ahenakew, Saskatoon
- f) SES
- Poor
- g) Objectifying/eroticizing victim's bodies
 - Discovery of one native woman's body southwest of the city. Then, at a rate of one a week, the skeletal remains of three more women, all young Indigenous, were found
 - Janet was found nude with a plastic bag over her head
 - The three others were found near a secluded golf course and party area known as "Bare Ass Beach"
 - A farmer stumbled on the body not more than eight hours after she died
 - The cause of death of the three remains unknown. The remains were badly decomposed after so long on the ground, and the bones may have been scattered by animals
- h) Reports of prior police contact
- i) Police/reporter comments regarding victim (distancing language?)
 - The Mounties refuse to say the cases may never be solved
- j) Transgression
 - Janet was known to frequent some of Saskatoon's seedier bars and taverns
 - Eva – known on the Saskatoon hotel strip

13. Theme: Space

- a) Zones of degeneracy
 - Saskatoon hotel strip
 - Saskatoon's seedier bars and taverns

14. Theme: Police

- a) Police malpractice/abuse of power
 - Police believed Taysup and Napope may have died from alcohol or drug poisoning
 - Names of the victims were on local RCMP missing lists but not added to a larger database
 - Speculation that the women worked as prostitutes
- b) Interactions between agencies
- c) Focus on science/forensics/technology
 - Anthropologist has determined that the others, including Ms. Taysup and Ms. Napope, were deposited at different times
- d) Initiatives to help
- e) Courts
- f) Government agencies

15. Theme: Perpetrators/Suspects

- a) Explanations/justifications for behaviour
- b) References: Positive attributes of perpetrator

- c) Demographics
- d) Individualized/demonizing language
- e) Typifying offenders
 - A lone assailant, having got away with it once, will return to a remote site to commit other murders or dispose of bodies
 - 75% of the time a multiple murderer is a local resident
 - Location of the bodies – likely person knows the area well

1. Case Number: D-28
2. Title: 'A dangerous place for our women'
3. Subheading: Fort St. John, B.C., is a resource-driven city, often filled with young men flush with money, where policing and other services face challenges. Its social strains put indigenous women at high risk, advocates say. They fear it's getting worse
4. Date: April 3, 2016
5. Location: Fort St. John, B. C.
6. Page, Section: News; Pg. A1
7. Length: 1531 words
8. Author: Joanna Smith
9. Source: The Toronto Star
10. Topic: Crime

11. Theme: Political References
 - a) Sexism/sexist language
 - b) Racism/racist language
 - Indigenous spelled with a lowercase 'I'
 - Ashley Watson, 25, hearing coworkers start singing "one little, two little, three little Indians" when they passed by her and two other female indigenous coworkers
 - c) Violence against women
 - Helen: "My body, my choices, my rights, my voice, taken that night" – not her first sexual assault
 - "Many of the social strains created by the regional resource economy, such as the shortage of affordable housing and the large wage gap between women and men, are among the established risk factors for violence against women and girls" Amnesty International
 - The Peace Project, a three-year initiative funded by the Status of Women Canada to end violence against women in Fort St. John, conducted local research on possible contributing factors. These included income disparity between men and women, an increase in substance abuse, the high cost of living, a lack of affordable housing and, perhaps most importantly, social services that are forced to provide for a much bigger population than might be officially recognized by their sources of funding
 - d) Victimization
 - e) Missing and murdered Indigenous women
 - How close she came to becoming another statistic, another indigenous woman dead from suicide, drugs or violence
 - The annual Sisters in Spirit vigils for missing and murdered indigenous women and girls in Fort St. John always feature an astonishingly long list of names for a city with only about 21,000 people

12. Theme: Victims
 - a) Sex work
 - b) Drug addiction/use

- Cocaine addiction
 - c) Homelessness/transience
 - d) Positive attributes of victims
 - e) Backstory/demographics
 - Helen Knott, 28 (sexually assaulted)
 - Ramona Jean Shular, 37, reported missing 2003
 - Abigail Andrews, 28, missing in 2010
 - Shirley Cletheroe, 45, missing in 2006
 - Stacey Rogers, a teenager who disappeared in the mid-1980s
 - Suspicious death of Pamela Napoleon, 42
 - f) SES
 - g) Objectifying/eroticizing victim's bodies
 - Sexual assault was so violent that she feared losing the ability to have more children
 - h) Reports of prior police contact
 - i) Police/reporter comments regarding victim (distancing language?)
 - j) Transgression
 - Use of cocaine
 - Left her young son in order to get away from Fort St. John
13. Theme: Space
- a) Zones of degeneracy
 - Reference to Vancouver's Downtown Eastside and the infamous Highway of Tears
14. Theme: Police
- a) Police malpractice/abuse of power
 - Many families have felt that the RCMP did not take their investigations seriously
 - Connie Greyeyes (organizes the vigils): "Stories of families who were told they had to wait a certain amount of time, who were told, 'She'll be back. She took off. She was drinking. She was partying. You know how she is.' The list is endless of excuses as to why they didn't want to go and look for this person, right now"
 - There is a perception in the community that Fort St. John is a training ground for Mounties at the beginning of their careers, a concern that was raised in a 2011 report by the B.C. Civil Liberties Association
 - Cpl. Dave Tyreman, spokesman from Prince George, acknowledged "many" of the 60 police officers working out of the Fort St. John detachment come straight from training at the RCMP's "Depot" Division in Regina, but noted "there is a wide range of experience to help monitor and train new officers"
 - b) Interactions between agencies
 - c) Focus on science/forensics/technology
 - d) Initiatives to help
 - e) Courts
 - f) Government agencies
15. Theme: Perpetrators/Suspects

- a) Explanations/justifications for behaviour
- b) References: Positive attributes of perpetrator
- c) Demographics
- d) Individualized/demonizing language
- e) Typifying offenders
 - Sexual violence in and around Fort St. John, which she believes is linked to the fluctuating resource-based economy – and the transient, mostly male, workforce that comes with it – in this small city in northeast B. C.
 - Nature of the extraction industry – with its high-paying jobs, transient workforce, isolating shift work, culture of hypermasculinity and boom-and-bust cycles – research to see if this plays a role in violence against women in the area
 - “it is normal for 24-year-old oil workers to be at high school parties, essentially going after young girls” Adrienne Greyeyes

1. Case Number: D-24
2. Title: Unsolved murders
3. Subheading:
4. Date: November 23, 2001
5. Location: Vancouver
6. Page, Section: News; Pg. A11
7. Length: 1609 words
8. Author:
9. Source: The Vancouver Sun
10. Topic: Crime

11. Theme: Political References
 - a) Sexism/sexist language
 - b) Racism/racist language
 - c) Violence against women
 - List name, age, transgression, where found/disappeared, how killed*****
 - d) Victimization
 - e) Missing and murdered Indigenous women
 - 7 of the 40 murder victims were Indigenous

12. Theme: Victims
 - a) Sex work
 - Rachel – had once worked as a sex worker
 - Laura – sex worker
 - Melissa – sex worker
 - Carla – sex worker
 - Roxanne – sex worker
 - Alishia – worked as sex worker – stopped two weeks before her death
 - Kari – sex worker
 - Victoria
 - Cheri
 - Kristie – before becoming a born-again Christian
 - Chantal
 - Donna
 - Kimberley
 - Tracy
 - Tina
 - Naiomi – did not usually work in the sex trade
 - Bonnie
 - Mary
 - Heather – went by the name of Wanda
 - Umi
 - Cassandra
 - Anita
 - Linda

- Rose
- Marjorie
- Lisa
- Connie
- Glenna – used the street name Dusty
- Tracey
- Bernadine
- Vicki
- Carol
- Katherine, street name Nicky
- Pauline – exotic dancer
- Donna
- Kelly
- b) Drug addiction/use
 - Carla – drug addiction
 - Naiomi – used drugs
 - Linda
 - Carol
- c) Homelessness/transience
 - Rachel known as ‘street person’
- d) Positive attributes of victims
 - Cassandra – mother
 - Marjorie – mother of four
 - Glenna – mother of an infant
 - Carol – mother of two
- e) Backstory/demographics
 - Rachel Turley, 20, non-Indigenous
 - Laura Lee Banman, 23
 - Melissa Maureen Nicholson, 17, non-Indigenous
 - Carla Slots, 29, non-Indigenous
 - Roxanne Thiara, 15
 - Alishia Germaine, 15
 - Maureen Elizabeth Mosie, 33, non-Indigenous
 - Kari Anne Gordon, 26
 - Victoria Younker, 35, non-Indigenous
 - Cherie Lynn Smith, 18, non-Indigenous
 - Kristie Kathleen Fowlie, 18, non-Indigenous
 - Chantal Marie Venne, 21, non-Indigenous
 - Donna Mitchell, 31, non-Indigenous
 - Kimberley Gallup, 17, non-Indigenous
 - Tracy Olajide, 30, non-Indigenous
 - Tammy Lee Pipe, 24, non-Indigenous
 - Tina Louise Parr, 25, non-Indigenous
 - Naiomi Skye, 25, non-Indigenous

- Cindy Burk, 21, from the Yukon
- Bonnie Kate Whalen, 32, non-Indigenous
- Mary Lidguerre, 30
- Heather Gloria Nelson, 19, non-Indigenous
- Umi Omar O'Brien, 34, non-Indigenous
- Cassandra Lailoni Antone, 20
- Anita Threlfall, 24, non-Indigenous
- Linda Joyce Tatrai, 18, non-Indigenous
- Rose Minnie Peters, 28, non-Indigenous
- Marjorie Madeline Vedan, 41, non-Indigenous
- Lisa Marie Gavin, 21, non-Indigenous
- Connie Christenson, 27, non-Indigenous
- Glenna Marie Sowan, 25, non-Indigenous
- Tracey Leigh Chartrand, 25, non-Indigenous
- Karen-Lee Violet Taylor, 19, non-Indigenous
- Bernadine Standingready, 26, non-Indigenous
- Vicki Rosalind Black, 23, non-Indigenous
- Carol Ruby Davis, 29
- Katherine Mary Lou Daignault, 40, non-Indigenous
- Pauline Eliza Johnson, 30, non-Indigenous
- Donna Rose Kiss, 25, non-Indigenous
- Kelly Elizabeth Parsons, 30, non-Indigenous
- f) SES
- g) Objectifying/eroticizing victim's bodies
 - Rachel – sexually assaulted, beaten and strangled
 - Laura – skeletal remains discovered
 - Melissa – body found beside a gravel road
 - Carla – found murdered on a logging road, beaten to death
 - Alishia – multiple stab wounds, found behind an elementary school
 - Maureen – battered body found beside a road
 - Kari – found on the lake shore
 - Victoria – decomposed body found beside logging road
 - Cheri – decomposed body found in a regional park, beaten to death
 - Kristie – found partly clad next to logging ground, sexually assaulted and strangled
 - Chantal – strangled with the belt of her coat, hands bound, tortured and sexually assaulted
 - Donna – buried in a shallow grave, police believe she was strangled
 - Kimberley – strangled
 - Tracy – found in the woods
 - Tina – found partially clad
 - Heather – decomposed body found in bush area
 - Umi – found in a rain filled ditch
 - Cassandra – charred body found by hiker

- Anita – strangled
 - Linda – stabbed
 - Rose – strangled, beaten and sexually assaulted
 - Marjorie – stabbed numerous times in her apartment
 - Lisa – beaten, sexually assaulted, and strangled. Body found in a lane
 - Connie – severely beaten and stabbed
 - Glenna – beaten and strangled
 - Tracey – skeletal remains found in a shallow grave
 - Karen-Lee – body found on a plastic sheet, strangled
 - Bernadine – body found in an auto-wrecking yard
 - Vicki – body found in a dumpster wrapped in a grey sheet with patterned squares
 - Carol – stabbed numerous times in the neck and chest, partly clad body found in a bush
 - Katherine – beaten body found at a construction site
 - Pauline – stabbed in the heart, partly clad body left lying near a gravel road; sexually assaulted, mutilated with a knife, body cleaned up and then dumped from a car
 - Donna – strangled with a tie, body dumped
 - Kelly – found unconscious in a pool of blood, died of head injuries
- h) Reports of prior police contact
- Rachel – known to police
 - Donna – soliciting conviction banned her from Vancouver’s West End – popular stroll
- i) Police/reporter comments regarding victim (distancing language?)
- Karen-Lee – no evidence she had worked as a sex worker, but police described her a living a ‘free lifestyle’
- j) Transgression
- Since 1980 in B.C., there have been 40 unsolved murders of women who either worked in the sex trade or were vulnerable to predators because they used drugs, lived on the street, hitched rides with strangers, or earned their living as exotic dancers
 - Hitchhiking – Maureen, Cindy
 - Sex work – 36/40; Karen – ‘free lifestyle’ – i.e., sexually promiscuous
 - Drugs – 4/40
 - Exotic dancer – Pauline

13. Theme: Space

- a) Zones of degeneracy

14. Theme: Police

- a) Police malpractice/abuse of power
- b) Interactions between agencies
- c) Focus on science/forensics/technology
- Tracy – prime suspect in the case was cleared with DNA
- d) Initiatives to help

- e) Courts
- f) Government agencies

15. Theme: Perpetrators/Suspects

- a) Explanations/justifications for behaviour
- b) References: Positive attributes of perpetrator
- c) Demographics
- d) Individualized/demonizing language
- e) Typifying offenders

1. Case Number: D-06
2. Title: Missing and murdered women: A look at 5 cases not included in official RCMP tally
3. Subheading: A 2014 RCMP report documented 1,181 cases, but Indigenous Affairs minister says number is ‘way, way bigger’
4. Date: February 18, 2016
5. Location: N/A
6. Page, Section: Online resource
7. Length: 932 words
8. Author: Connie Walker
9. Source: CBC News
10. Topic: N/A

11. Theme: Political References
 - a) Sexism/sexist language
 - b) Racism/racist language
 - c) Violence against women
 - d) Victimization
 - e) Missing and murdered Indigenous women
 - 1,181 accepted after RCMP report, not a complete picture
 - Audrey Huntley, co-founder of No More Silence: “it is the continuity of societal indifference; it translates to ‘she didn’t matter’”

12. Theme: Victims
 - a) Sex work
 - Nadine – sex worker
 - b) Drug addiction/use
 - Nadine: ‘struggled w/ addictions’
 - c) Homelessness/transience
 - d) Positive attributes of victims
 - Nadine – mother of four
 - Trudy: described by mother as beautiful and young, someone who took care of herself. Mother – five-month-old baby
 - Bella: Studying fashion design in Toronto
 - Rocelyn: wished to go to nursing school
 - Audrey: mother
 - e) Backstory/demographics
 - Nadine Machiskinic, 29
 - Trudy Gopher, 19. Cree, from Sunchild First Nation in Alberta.
 - Bella Laboucan-McLean, 25. Cree from Alberta
 - Rocelyn Gabriel, 20
 - Audrey Marie Desjarlais,
 - f) SES
 - g) Objectifying/eroticizing victim’s bodies
 - Nadine: died violently, plunging 10 stories down a laundry chute at the Delta Hotel

- Trudy: Body found hanging from a tree
- Bella: Fell 31 storeys from downtown Toronto condo
- Rocelyn: found frozen outside a recycling depot in Portage la Prairie, MB
- Audrey: remains pulled from the Red River
- h) Reports of prior police contact
- i) Police/reporter comments regarding victim (distancing language?)
- j) Transgression
- Nadine: sex trade; described by aunt to have lived a “high-risk lifestyle)

13. Theme: Space

- a) Zones of degeneracy

14. Theme: Police

- a) Police malpractice/abuse of power
 - Families of women cite deaths that were not properly investigated or deemed suicides – not included in RCMP numbers
 - Nadine: Regina police: “The investigation into the death of Nadine Machiskinic has revealed no indication of foul play”
 - Automatically assumed Trudy’s death was a suicide
 - Despite the resemblance btw Audrey and the Jane Doe pulled from the Red River, police did not collect DNA from her daughter because she was not considered missing
- b) Interactions between agencies
 - DNA was not requested from Audrey’s daughter by the Winnipeg Police Service until a CBC News report aired
- c) Focus on science/forensics/technology
 - DNA taken from Audrey’s daughter confirmed she was the Jane Doe pulled from the Red River
- d) Initiatives to help
 - Report only counted police-documented homicide cases btw 1980 and 2012, not suspected homicides or deaths deemed suspicious. Missing cases only included if woman missing 30 days or more
- e) Courts

15. Theme: Perpetrators/Suspects

- a) Explanations/justifications for behaviour
- b) References: Positive attributes of perpetrator
- c) Demographics
- d) Individualized/demonizing language

Coding Sheets: Television Shows (in chronological order, grouped by program)**Criminal Minds:**

1. Case Number: C-02
2. Title: Blood Hungry
3. Episode Number: 01x11
4. Length: 43:00
5. Source: Criminal Minds
6. Date: December 14, 2005

7. Theme: Political References
 - a) Sexism/sexist language
 - b) Racism/racist language
 - c) Violence against women
 - d) Victimization

8. Theme: Victims
 - a) Sex work
 - b) Drug addiction/use
 - c) Homelessness/transience
 - d) Positive attributes of victims
 - e) Backstory/demographics
 - Middle-aged woman, white, blonde
 - Thompson, 54 y/o man, widowed
 - Annie Stewart, 39
 - f) SES
 - g) Objectifying/eroticizing victim's bodies
 - Gideon: What's that? Prentiss: Autopsy report. Her body was ... I can't say it. Gideon: Missing her liver and stomach
 - Talk about how the perp is taking the victims' blood and organs – anthropophagy (cannibalism)
 - Reid: Another eviseration. Her throat was slashed. Hotch: That's why nobody heard her scream. Reid: He split her ribcage open. Hotch: With these. [Hotch picks up a pair of bloody bolt cutters]. Reid: It looks like this time the target was the heart. Hotch: Did he take it? Reid: Yes
 - h) Reports of prior police contact
 - i) Police comments regarding victim (distancing language?)
 - Gideon: Blitz attack. No effort to remove the body, left evidence
 - j) Transgression

9. Theme: Space
 - a) Zones of degeneracy

10. Theme: Police
 - a) Police malpractice/abuse of power

- Dr: I gave him that injection because he needed it. Not so you could agitate him with an interrogation. Hotch: Well, a jury might agree with you but right now he needs to answer some questions because there's a little boy we need to find
 - b) Interactions between agencies
 - c) Focus on forensics/science/technology
11. Theme: Perpetrators/suspects
- a) Explanations/justifications for behaviour
 - b) References: positive attributes of perpetrator
 - Cop: I can't believe a boy like Eddy would do something like this. He was the nicest kid you ever saw
 - c) Demographics
 - Eddy Mays, 21 y/o, white male
 - d) Individualized/demonizing language
 - Hotch: Two different Mos. Elle: Two different killers? Gideon: Or one very psychotic individual
 - Cop: So you think these guys were junkies?
 - Cop2: The guy that Wally described def sounds like a tweaker
 - Cop: I know Domino. He's bad news. A tweaker, cooks his own stuff. Elle: Does he live close to the crime scenes? Cop: Almost directly between them. Morgan: Robbery, armed robbery, possession, possession with intent. This guy's been hospitalized for overdoses and attempted suicide. Cop: What do you think? Elle: I think we need to find Domino
 - Morgan: How do you think that's going to hold up in court? Tweaker with a record, blood all over him. Think about that
 - Officer: So I have two monsters out there?
 - Hotch: Anthropophagy suggests such an extreme level of psychosis and disorganization that he couldn't have ventured very far from home to commit these crimes.
 - Cop2: Do you think this lunatic was after Wally?
 - Mother: Mr. Hotchner, do you have children? Hotch: Yes, I do. Mother: Is there anything you wouldn't do for them? Hotch: I wouldn't clean the blood of their victims off the floor
 - e) Typifying offenders
 - Hotch: With organized killers, we see a pattern. We're able to predict their behaviour but with psychotic killers, they're guided by a given delusion. Morgan: Okay, so until we understand the nature of the delusion, we can't predict his next move. Hotch: And that's nearly impossible to do
 - Hotch: Psychotic killers are usually not that difficult to catch because they don't try to hide. JJ: Does that make your job easier? Gideon: No, because until we do catch him, he'll keep doing that
 - Reid: We should narrow the suspect list down based on the guys' residence. Crimes like these are always crimes of opportunity. Gideon: So the first guy on our suspect list lives in the closest proximity to the victim

- Hotch: Even in the most extreme psychotic episodes, there are variations in lucidity. Degrees of insightfulness

12. Reference to real case?

Summary:

People in a small town are murdered and their organs and blood are taken – the unsub is participating in anthropophagy – cannibalism. He is a young white man experiencing a psychotic break as the result of methamphetamine use. He has an overbearing mother who cleans up after his crimes.

1. Case Number: C-03***
2. Title: The Last Word
3. Episode Number:
4. Length: 02x09
5. Source: Criminal Minds
6. Date: November 15, 2006

7. Theme: Political References
 - a) Sexism/sexist language
 - b) Racism/racist language
 - c) Violence against women
 - d) Victimization
 - Hotch: Look who he's chosen. Hundreds of victims go unnoticed b/c they're social outcasts who never make the front page ***
 - Marci's mother: Nobody writes about prostitutes being shot. B/c they won't admit they think they're cleaning up the place***
 - Hotch: Doesn't mean that she was any less important
 - Agent: You know these cases don't generate much evidence [JJ comments on how there are boxes of evidence for the Mill Creek killer but only a skinny folder on the Hollow Man]
 - Meyers: Don't those victims deserve just as much ink as those other women?
 - Meyers: All I know is you told me to ignore him and he takes two lives. If I dismiss this double homicide what happens tomorrow? JJ: We won't know until then

8. Theme: Victims
 - a) Sex work
 - All eight victims were sex workers
 - b) Drug addiction/use
 - c) Homelessness/transience
 - d) Positive attributes of victims
 - Morgan [reading the headline for the following day that focuses on the Hollow Man's victims]: They were daughters, sisters, mothers and friends
 - Marci's mother: She made bad choices but she was a good person. She loved those boys
 - e) Backstory/demographics
 - Ellen Carol, white woman, brunette, middle-aged, mother, lawyer
 - Marci Mitchell, white woman, brunette, late 20s/early 30s, two kids
 - Mill Creek targets middle class, educated women – brunettes
 - Meredith Dale, 25, white brunette
 - Other targets sex workers
 - Two shootings – African American and white women, sex workers
 - f) SES
 - g) Objectifying/eroticizing victim's bodies

- Crime scene photo: she is laying on a mattress, covered in blood, short-shorts – show her legs; close up on her face – eyes open, blood spattered on face
 - All crime scene photos show the women in a similar fashion – surrounded by refuse, slumped in sexualized poses, eyes open
 - Mill Creek keeps his victims buried w/ their heads exposed and eyes open. Brushes their hair, puts make-up on them, kisses them
 - Necrophilia
- h) Reports of prior police contact
- i) Police comments regarding victim (distancing language?)
- Refer to the victims as ‘prostitutes’
 - Refer to victims as victims, bodies, ‘her’ – don’t use names
 - Gideon: They have every right to be remembered and memorialized
- j) Transgression
9. Theme: Space
- a) Zones of degeneracy
- Hollow Man’s victims are found in garbage-filled alleys etc.
 - Marci’s neighborhood is rough – guns go off frequently
10. Theme: Police
- a) Police malpractice/abuse of power
- b) Interactions between agencies
- c) Focus on forensics/science/technology
- Analyze letters to the media for handwriting and ‘psycho-linguistics’
 - Writing shows he’s depressed, uptight, easily overreacts
11. Theme: Perpetrators/suspects
- Explanations/justifications for behaviour
- a) References: positive attributes of perpetrator
- b) Demographics
- Mill Creek – white, 30s, attractive, intelligent, middle-class
 - Hollow Man – cab driver, white, 30s
 - Don’t name the perps [on purpose?]
- c) Individualized/demonizing language
- [About Hollow Man] Gideon: He’s a wannabe tough guy. JJ: It’s not hard to be tough holding a .44
 - Marci’s mother: Whoever shot her should pay for what they did
 - Gideon: If he doesn’t find a victim soon he’ll become more dangerous. Agent: How is that possible? Morgan: He’ll drop the ruse entirely and just start dropping women at random
 - Gideon: The only thing we do know is you’re an intelligent, good looking man w/ an inflated ego who happens to like killing women [Mill Creek]
 - Hotch: He was a nobody who wanted to be somebody by killing people
- d) Typifying offenders

- JJ: He's contacted Jim Meyers, a reporter at the Missouri Herald. Hotch: So he's not getting the attention he thinks he deserves
- Reid: You know there are roughly 30 serial killers at large in the US at any given time, it is an incredibly rare occurrence to have them operating in the same city
- Hotch: Serial shooters are typically loners ... His victims are prostitutes so he may lack confidence w/ women or have poor social skills
- Morgan: No rape. Could be impotent
- Reid: This guy doesn't want to touch the bodies w/ his hands
- [Mill Creek] Reid: This guy wants to be close. He wants to feel the life leave their bodies
- Gideon: He wants to be alone w/ her. He needs his privacy [Mill Creek]
- Morgan: Sex acts w/ dead bodies are rare occurrences however Bundy did it regularly
- Gideon: He needs to defile the bodies
- Hollow Man works a menial job – feels voiceless, wants attention – external forces
- Mill Creek – handsome, social skills, intelligent, ritualized murders, internal forces drive him
- Reid: They say serial killers make the best profilers

12. Reference to real case?

- References to serial killers working at the same time in the same area: serial killer working at the same time as Son of Sam; New Orleans; and Phoenix
- Ted Bundy

Summary:

Two serial killers are working in the same city at the same time. Hollow Man: shoots sex workers and writes to the media in order to accrue fame. The Mill Creek killer attacks and kills middle-aged, white, educated brunettes – necrophilia.

1. Case Number: C-04
2. Title: To Hell ... And Back
3. Episode Number: 04x25/04x26
4. Length: 1:24:37
5. Source: Criminal Minds
6. Date: May 20, 2009

7. Theme: Political References
 - a) Sexism/sexist language
 - b) Racism/racist language
 - c) Violence against women
 - d) Victimization
 - Hightower [testing Hotch]: No one cares about those people, why should I?
 - Find over 100 pairs of shoes on the farm – presumably from victims
 - Detroit has 35 open missing persons cases – approximately 89 pairs of shoes
 - Morgan [to cop from Detroit]: Well, these are all just throw-away people to you, anyway, right?

8. Theme: Victims
 - a) Sex work
 - Targets sex workers
 - Reid: A prostitute will get into a car w/ an unsub. It's a victim you can isolate easily w/ no witnesses
 - b) Drug addiction/use
 - Targets addicts
 - Morgan: And they're looking to score. If they thought someone was a dealer they'd walk right up to them
 - c) Homelessness/transience
 - JJ: Two were reported missing by family months ago but they all appear to be transient. We're having a hard time finding any information on them
 - Man: A lot of people have been disappearing these days. And when they do, they don't come back. Morgan: That's gotta happen all the time out here, no?
 - Targets homeless/transient populations
 - d) Positive attributes of victims
 - e) Backstory/demographics
 - Lee Hightower, African American woman, 20s, working as a sex worker in Detroit. Sister of William Hightower (only victim who is personalized)
 - Based on the photos they have of the 11 suspected victims – majority are African American
 - Kelly Shane, white, homeless woman, late teens/early 20s
 - f) SES
 - g) Objectifying/eroticizing victim's bodies
 - Most of the pictures of the victims are unflattering and the victims look 'rough', Hightower's sister looks nice – in her cap and gown from graduation
 - Show the unsub feeding his pigs the bodies of his victims

- The unsub has polaroid's of the victims – postmortem
 - Talk about how long it would take for the pigs to eat the victims
 - h) Reports of prior police contact
 - i) Police comments regarding victim (distancing language?)
 - Refer to sex workers as prostitutes or working girls; addicts as junkies
 - Hotch refers to 'dumping' bodies and 'dumpsites'
 - Hightower [referring to cops in Detroit]: They told me the kind of people I was looking for disappeared. They said that's the way life on the street works
 - Morgan: But you didn't look into it? Detroit cop: Families don't want to see what we do. They'd rather believe someone is dead than she's off turning tricks in Chicago or Toronto
 - Reid: Most of these people's families probably gave up on seeing them long ago
 - j) Transgression
 - 'High-risk' lifestyles – sex work, homelessness, addictions
9. Theme: Space
- a) Zones of degeneracy
 - Hightower is scouring homeless encampments in Detroit. Homelessness, drug use, sex workers, refuse strewn about
 - Motel (Greyburn Lodge) where homeless people can cash out their welfare cheques; decrepit, run down, dirty – den of iniquity
 - Victims taken from the Cass Corridor – high rates of drugs, sex work – 'high-risk beh'
 - [Driving through the intercity of Detroit] Prentiss: I don't think the bail-out's gonna cover all this
 - Homeless camps
 - Dealers are in the open, sex workers work in groups
10. Theme: Police
- a) Police malpractice/abuse of power
 - Hightower went to the police in Detroit 3 times trying to get them to investigate the disappearances
 - b) Interactions between agencies
 - US-Canada – BAU works w/ the RCMP
 - Reid: And the Royal Canadian Mounted Police are requesting our help? Hotch: They don't have a lot of choice [b/c it's cross border or is Hotch implying the RCMP cannot solve this type of case?]
 - Mountie: Don't thank me, thank the unsub. He's the one who put you in charge
 - Imply it's too easy to cross the border into Canada – Reid: So he pretty much has free passage
 - Mountie: He almost killed 5 border agents. Rossi: You can't personalize this, Jeff
 - Hotch: You're getting pressure from above
 - Ask for help from Detroit cops – they comply
 - Every available cop in Ontario is responding to the farm

- Lucas gets scared when the police have him surrounded – he looks aggressive. The OPP/RCMP shoot him – Morgan is in the background yelling “No!” and “Stop!”
- c) Focus on forensics/science/technology
 - When focus on science/forensics/tech – Garcia tracking people/places and psychological profiling – little reference to using CSU units
 - Mason uses the computer in order to speak – records saved to hard drive – need forensic recovery
 - Hotch: Morgan I want you to supervise the evidence collection. I don’t think the techs have seen a scene like this before
- 11. Theme: Perpetrators/suspects
 - a) Explanations/justifications for behaviour
 - Intellectual limitations – Mason preys on this and manipulates him into committing these acts
 - Rossi: They were human beings. Mason: They were transients and drug users and prostitutes. They were useless to society. I gave them the chance to be part of a cure
 - Mason: That’s science
 - b) References: positive attributes of perpetrator
 - c) Demographics
 - Lucas Turner. Large, white male. Intellectually handicapped (manipulated by older brother). Pig farmer, low SES
 - Dr. Mason Turner, brother of the unsub, pulling the strings. He is the organized, intelligent half to this team. Paralyzed - quadriplegic. 39. MD.
 - d) Individualized/demonizing language
 - Rossi: No, what you need is something to make you look less like the monster that we both know you really are
 - Mason: I should warn you. He’s crazy and very big. Inhumanly strong. When you find him, you should warn everyone, that if they don’t kill him first, he’ll kill all of you
 - Rossi: Either way, this is some family
 - Prentiss: These are the unsub’s coveralls. Looks like they haven’t been washed in some time so it should be a scent source [portray him as unclean]
 - Mason: One time I saw my brother strangle a man so forcefully, blood dripped from his eye sockets
 - Mason: He can be very volatile
 - e) Typifying offenders
 - Profile the unsub as smart, mobile, physically capable
 - Believe he’s a sexual sadist, think he may be conducting experiments on them – medical thefts, believe he has medical experience, organized
 - Rossi: For sexual sadists, male or female isn’t important. The torture itself is the sex
 - Sees the victims as disposable

12. Reference to real case?

- Robert Pickton

Summary:

A quadriplegic from Sarnia convinces his brother to abduct homeless/addicts/sex workers from the Cass Corridor in Detroit in order to conduct experiments – stem cells. The bodies are fed to the pigs on the farm.

CSI: Crime Scene Investigation

1. Case Number: B-01
2. Title: Pilot
3. Episode Number: 01x01
4. Length: 43:20
5. Source: CSI: Crime Scene Investigation
6. Date: October 6, 2000

7. Theme: Political References
 - a) Sexism/sexist language
 - ME [referring to Holly]: She is cute
 - Nick: Was she hot? [referring to the sex worker]
 - b) Racism/racist language
 - Brown: That's why I took this job. I can always tell when whitey's talking out his ass. It's a gift
 - Cop: Sorry, judge. We got a call from a neighbor about a black man outside your house. We responded
 - c) Violence against women
 - d) Victimization

8. Theme: Victims
 - a) Sex work
 - Mr. Lafferty, hired a sex worker and she robbed him ('trick roll')
 - ER doctor explains how he's had six 'pros' come in that week who have been knocked out the same way Lafferty was
 - b) Drug addiction/use
 - Alcoholic (referred to as the wife's 'drunk friend')
 - c) Homelessness/transience
 - d) Positive attributes of victims
 - e) Backstory/demographics
 - Mr. Lafferty, married, in town for work. White, middle-aged
 - Man, homicide that looks like a suicide. White. Middle-aged
 - Little girl, white, brown hair
 - Wife's drunk friend, male, white, middle-aged
 - f) SES
 - g) Objectifying/eroticizing victim's bodies
 - ME: First dead body, ma'am? Holly: Yes, sir. But I'll be okay. To tell you the truth he looks fake
 - h) Reports of prior police contact
 - i) Police comments regarding victim (distancing language?)
 - Use words like the deceased or the victim instead of names, except for Lafferty when introduced
 - j) Transgression
 - Mr. Lafferty – hired a sex worker and cheated on his wife

9. Theme: Space

a) Zones of degeneracy

10. Theme: Police

a) Police malpractice/abuse of power

b) Interactions between agencies

- Cop: Here comes the nerd squad
 - Willows: The cops forget it. They wouldn't know fingerprints from paw prints. And the detectives, chase the lie. We solve. We restore peace of mind and when you're a victim that's everything
 - Judge tells Warrick if he places a bet for him he'll give him a blank warrant
- c) Focus on forensics/science/technology
- Base TOD on a pupa found on the body
 - Grissom: We scrutinize the crime scene, collect the evidence, recreate what happened w/o ever having been there. Pretty cool, actually
 - Holly: I thought the key to being a lucid crime scene investigator was to reserve judgment until the evidence vindicates or eliminates a assumption
 - Print a shoe tread
 - Take fiber samples
 - Can see that the shoes are tied differently
 - Based on the size of the wound – can tell that the victim was murdered instead of committing suicide
 - Dusting for prints
 - Can tell that hair from the home invasion was pulled out instead of shedding
 - Brown: I understand that but the evidence is telling us something different
 - Chemical break-down of q-tip used to swab robbery victim's mouth – see what knocked him out
 - Hit a fake head with a golf club to demonstrate blood spatter patterns
 - Grissom: Concentrate on what cannot lie. The evidence
 - Warrick finds the husband's toenail in the deceased's shoe
 - Grissom: There is always a clue. I'll find it
 - Grissom: There is no room for subjectivity in this dept. Warrick
 - Uses black light to find toenail clippings
 - Describes striations – use to match the toe nail in the shoe to the clippings found in the bathroom

11. Theme: Perpetrators/suspects

a) Explanations/justifications for behaviour

- Brass: So there was a struggle. Who gives a coin cock(??). He was protecting his wife and kid
- b) References: positive attributes of perpetrator
- c) Demographics
- Paul Milander, white, middle aged, makes horror masks etc. for a living
- d) Individualized/demonizing language
- e) Typifying offenders

12. Reference to real case?

Summary:

Pilot episode. Murder staged as a home invasion. Murder disguised as a suicide. A robbery by a sex worker (trick roll).

1. Case Number: B-02
2. Title: Justice is Served
3. Episode Number: 01x21
4. Length: 41:31
5. Source: CSI: Crime Scene Investigation
6. Date: April 26, 2001

7. Theme: Political References
 - a) Sexism/sexist language
 - Carnival manager: How am I supposed to know she's 16 and a half? From the neck down she's all grown up
 - b) Racism/racist language
 - c) Violence against women
 - d) Victimization

8. Theme: Victims
 - a) Sex work
 - b) Drug addiction/use
 - c) Homelessness/transience
 - d) Positive attributes of victims
 - e) Backstory/demographics
 - White male, Terry Manning, 30s, attacked while running
 - 6 y/o girl, Sandy Dantini, died on a carnival ride, white
 - f) SES
 - g) Objectifying/eroticizing victim's bodies
 - Male victim is laying on the slab. Top half of body is exposed, see the wounds, face shot – eyes are wide open
 - Laying on the ground, eyes are wide open when you see her face
 - h) Reports of prior police contact
 - i) Police comments regarding victim (distancing language?)
 - Willows: What are you doing? Stop. That bag's been used a hundred times. Get her a new one [referring to the body bag the 6 y/o girl would be placed in]
 - Willows: She looks scared. No 6 y/o should have to go through that
 - The first victim, Terry Manning, is not named until 13 minutes in and even then it is in conversation w/ a suspect – only use his name twice
 - Willows: He did the only thing he could. He hid the evidence [referring to Pickens drowning Sandy]
 - Only use Sandy's name twice, rest of the time 'girl' or 'child' or 'little girl'
 - j) Transgression
 - Stokes: Picked the wrong time of day to be running alone. Dusk is when the animals come out

9. Theme: Space
 - a) Zones of degeneracy

10. Theme: Police

- a) Police malpractice/abuse of power
 - Willows lies to the carnival manager about mandatory drug testing
 - Willows: If you so much as look at me the wrong way I will personally lock you in a cell w/ someone who's going to do the same thing to you as you've been doing to all those little girls
 - Willows: You got the warrant? Brass: Yeah but it's limited in scope. They bf's a lawyer, so we can't toss the place
- b) Interactions between agencies
 - Willows: That uni was too green to look for it
- c) Focus on forensics/science/technology
 - Grissom: What? Stokes: Most people don't admit when they're wrong. Grissom: I'm wrong all the time. That's how I eventually get to right
 - [Collecting dog scat] Warrick: But it's evidence, right? Stokes: Hair and fiber is evidence, Warrick. This is combat duty
 - Department had attended a seminar on identifying animal scat
 - Found that the dog is missing a tooth from the impressions they lifted from the body – discover the breed based on the bite; estimate the size of the dog based on the paw prints left behind
 - Use a dog registry to narrow down where the dog could be
 - Grissom: Sometimes we deal w/ bugs, worms, waste or worse. But as scientist we look beyond the possibly offensive qualities of these things to what they might tell us about the puzzle we're trying to solve
 - Willows: If you so much as breathed on this child the evidence will tell me
 - Found dry ice at the crime scene – discovered that the organs that were removed were probably preserved
 - ME found a fractured forearm on the little girl – spiral fracture – discovered she was abused
 - Use reactive agents to discover if there was blood on the scalpel found at the doctor's house. Explain which reactants are used and why the swab turns blue with the presence of blood
 - Recreate the scene at the carnival to discover what happened
 - Describes how someone's eyes are pointed when lying/remembering

11. Theme: Perpetrators/suspects

- a) Explanations/justifications for behaviour
 - Hillridge: I don't hold onto things. I accept the evolution of change. We live, we die, we replenish the earth
 - Hillridge: If we treat our bodies like a temple, we can cheat time
 - Hillridge: They'd die if they didn't have bodies to feed off [referring to bugs], and so would I
 - She has porphyria
 - Grissom: You could have tried intravenous hematin. Hillridge: Human blood is the richest form of hem
- b) References: positive attributes of perpetrator

- c) Demographics
 - Dr. Susan Hillridge, specializes in nutrition
- d) Individualized/demonizing language
 - Willows: So you keep the belts loose on purpose? Loose enough for adults to get close, or 6 y/o kids to slide through
 - Willows: I don't have to wait for results to know that that guy's coked out of his brain
 - Willows refers to the carnival manager as a 'carni'
 - Willows: Come on, that creep tested clean?
 - Willows: Pickens is a drug addict and sex offender operating a two ton kid magnet
 - Warrick: She gives me the willies
 - Willows: He was trapped like a rat
 - Stokes: So she's not selling the organs on the black market, she's eating them?
Grissom: Possibly drinking them
 - Grissom: You've been killing people, doctor. Hillridge: I'll die in prison.
Grissom: Yes, but the people you'd be feeding off will be alive
 - Cop: She is nuts, right? Grissom: She's a cold-blooded killer
 - Willows: What did you actually think? That you and your bf would run off like newly weds? No kid, no cares?
- e) Typifying offenders
 - Willows [speaking about people who work at carnivals]: These people come to town, they commit crimes and they leave
 - Many of the workers at the carnival have rap sheets and the manager is a registered sex offender

12. Reference to real case?

Summary:

A little girl is murdered by her mother so she could be carefree w/ her new bf. A jogger is mauled by a dog and some of his organs are removed. A doctor w/ porphyria has been harvesting organs and drinking them in order to stave off her disease. Hierarchy of victims.

1. Case Number: B-04
2. Title: Lady Heather's Box
3. Episode Number: 03x15
4. Length: 1:04:03
5. Source: CSI: Crime Scene Investigation
6. Date: February 13, 2003

7. Theme: Political References
 - a) Sexism/sexist language
 - b) Racism/racist language
 - c) Violence against women
 - Rebecca McCormick's husband hired Croix to dominate his wife, get past her lack of experience. She appears to be completely submissive and meek in his presence. The sessions involved whipping; she appeared scared during these scenes
 - d) Victimization

8. Theme: Victims
 - a) Sex work
 - Both deceased men are sex workers
 - b) Drug addiction/use
 - Buckman's tox screen showed he was sober (drugs and alcohol) much to the surprise of Grissom
 - c) Homelessness/transience
 - d) Positive attributes of victims
 - e) Backstory/demographics
 - Trey Buckman, 21, brunette, white
 - Croix Richards, 33, white
 - Rebecca McCormick, white, brunette, 30s
 - f) SES
 - g) Objectifying/eroticizing victim's bodies
 - No shots of Buckman's face – just body
 - Rebecca is found strangled on the stairs – eyes open
 - h) Reports of prior police contact
 - i) Police comments regarding victim (distancing language?)
 - [while processing Buckman's hotel room there are a pair of handcuffs attached to the wall] Sidle: These people are freaks
 - Stokes: Nice little cocaine fingernail
 - Stokes: How you doin'? Willows: Cash and a very busy passport. Designer threads. 10 to 1 Croix Richards is a drug dealer
 - Stokes: I thought I'd come get an update on stinky here
 - Stokes: We thought he was selling drugs, he was selling himself. Grissom: Gigolo. Stokes: Paid to get laid
 - Grissom: What about the needle you found in the decomp? [referring to Croix's body]
 - j) Transgression

- Sex workers
9. Theme: Space
 - a) Zones of degeneracy
 - Warrick: Foam at the sinner's den [the body of Buckman is found in a club that was having a foam party]
 - Brass: I've got a daughter who's 20. She hangs out. I don't want her to die in a place like this
 - Sidle: Is this a dance club or a sex club?
 - While processing the scene find lingerie that was lost in the foam
 - Grissom: It was a den of iniquity
 10. Theme: Police
 - a) Police malpractice/abuse of power
 - b) Interactions between agencies
 - c) Focus on forensics/science/technology
 - While processing the scene: find seminal fluid everywhere
 - Describe the wounds to the victim's body
 - Takes her hair as a sample of DNA
 - Looking at hair samples – can tell the hair has been treated; hair sample looks like a match to McCormick
 - Found a thread in Rebecca's wound, traces of ostrich feather traced the thread back to Lady Heather
 - Describes what epithelial cells are and how they extracted DNA
 11. Theme: Perpetrators/suspects
 - a) Explanations/justifications for behaviour
 - She committed the murders for Stephen, she believes she belongs to him
 - Grissom: Chloe thought killing your wife's lovers would please you. And it did please you
 - a) References: positive attributes of perpetrator
 - b) Demographics
 - Chloe, red head, white, works for Lady Heather
 - c) Individualized/demonizing language
 - d) Typifying offenders
 - Warrick: Killers don't usually stray too far from home
 - Willows: Strangling's are intimate. Crime of passion
 12. Reference to real case?

Summary:

BDSM. Two male sex workers are murdered by a client's husband. Explore the world of BDSM and dominate/submissive relationships.

1. Case Number: B-08
2. Title: Way to Go
3. Episode Number: 06x24
4. Length: 43:20
5. Source: CSI: Crime Scene Investigation
6. Date: May 18, 2006

7. Theme: Political References
 - a) Sexism/sexist language
 - Sidle: That's a man in a corset. Grissom: Corset training. A venerable practice. Sidle: Maybe for Scarlet O'Hara. Since when was it equal opportunity? Grissom: In Victorian times it was considered a staple of masculine attire
 - Sidle: I guess I should feel comforted that sadistic ideas of beauty aren't restricted to women
 - Willows: Don't take it personally, but you are not a ten thousand a night girl
 - Civil war reenactor: He's a male nurse
 - b) Racism/racist language
 - c) Violence against women
 - d) Victimization

8. Theme: Victims
 - a) Sex work
 - b) Drug addiction/use
 - Manny was not only extremely intoxicated, he was on many drugs: cocaine, MDMA, amphetamines, etc.
 - c) Homelessness/transience
 - d) Positive attributes of victims
 - e) Backstory/demographics
 - Manny Rupert, 40, diabetic, white
 - Caleb Carson, 40s, white
 - f) SES
 - g) Objectifying/eroticizing victim's bodies
 - Caleb Carson, found the body on the train tracks; decapitated by the train
 - Manny Rupert
 - Found pubic hair in the victim's throat (Manny)
 - ME: There's evidence of sexual activity in every orifice including his ears
 - Clerk: Do you have a picture? Sidle: I have a head shot
 - h) Reports of prior police contact
 - i) Police comments regarding victim (distancing language?)
 - Grissom: DB in Henderson on the train tracks
 - Grissom: Where's the head? Stokes: I'll find it
 - [upon seeing how small the vic's waist is] Grissom: What a waist(waste)
 - Sidle: Suicide? Guy loses his shirt at the tables, decides to take a permanent nap on the tracks
 - Warrick: This guy was rolling on all cylinders. He was bound to throw a rock

- Lab tech: Mr. Party-til-I-drop. His blood alcohol was .28
- Warrick: If it was illegal, fun or nasty, this guy was into it
- Grissom: The victim was shot, body dumped, clothes burned
- Rarely use their names
- Grissom: He was into discipline and self-denial
- Sophia: So you dressed him in rebel drag
- Lab tech: I got the DNA results for your decapitated, civil war, corset victim
- j) Transgression
- Partying too hard, hired a sex worker

9. Theme: Space

- a) Zones of degeneracy
- Apartment building Manny was found in. Lots of partying. Place is a mess
- Willows: Which of the seven deadly sins are not represented here

10. Theme: Police

- a) Police malpractice/abuse of power
- b) Interactions between agencies
- c) Focus on forensics/science/technology
- Try to distinguish TOD – liver temp
- TOD for second vic based on rigor
- Peticeal(sp?) hemorrhaging
- Displacement of organs, consistent pressure on waist
- Traces of topical cortisone and cortisone in his blood
- Found wool fibers and pomegranate used to dye wool in the 1800s

11. Theme: Perpetrators/suspects

- a) Explanations/justifications for behaviour
- b) References: positive attributes of perpetrator
- c) Demographics
- Mr. Caremel(?), white, Carson's driver/dresser
- d) Individualized/demonizing language
- e) Typifying offenders

12. Reference to real case?

Summary:

A man is found dead on train tracks, decapitated. He was killed in an accidental shooting and his driver/dresser placed him on the tracks. A diabetic man ate/drank/used himself to death in a weekend after turning 40 and being diagnosed as pre-diabetic.

Law & Order: SVU

1. Case Number: A-02
2. Title: Nocturne
3. Episode Number: 1x21
4. Length: 44:04
5. Source: Law & Order: SVU
6. Date: May 12, 2000

7. Theme: Political References
 - a) Sexism/sexist language
 - Cap: Unless you're in a beauty pageant. Ell: It's a boy. How many boys you know go Jean Benet?
 - b) Racism/racist language
 - c) Violence against women
 - d) Victimization
 - Evan, a boy who was victimized by Holt began victimizing children as well
 - Cap: He gets abused and then he turns around and does it. Ell: Excuse. Cap: What? You think that's all it is, an excuse? Ell: I think it relieves him of an awful lot of responsibility. Cap: The idea that abuse begets abuse begets abuse is a rationalization that has been used by countless defense lawyers, but in this case it also happens to be true

8. Theme: Victims
 - a) Sex work
 - b) Drug addiction/use
 - Evan: That's Ricky. He's a junkie
 - c) Homelessness/transience
 - Evan: And, uh, that's Tony. Know where he is? Nobody does
 - d) Positive attributes of victims
 - e) Backstory/demographics
 - Young kids
 - African American, Hispanic
 - f) SES
 - Disadvantaged
 - g) Objectifying/eroticizing victim's bodies
 - h) Reports of prior police contact
 - Evan: That's Cesar. Know where he is? Jail. His gun 'accidentally' went off when a dry cleaner was opening his cash register
 - i) Police comments regarding victim (distancing language?)
 - Cap: So we'll talk to the kids that Evan knows. Ell: Cesar the lifer, Ricky the junkie
 - Ell: He is. Emotionally, sexually. This kid shut down at eight years of age
 - Ben: It is okay, if he's [Evan] the victim and not the abuser. Munch: He's both. Cap: Well, who's next? Evan hurts another kid and we are responsible. Ben: Give

- it a few years, we'll have another Holt on our hands. Cap: Well, the same laws that hold Holt bind Evan too
- j) Transgression
9. Theme: Space
- a) Zones of degeneracy
- The victims are disadvantaged – imbalance of power. Visit one of the victim's houses (Evan). His house is run down, his mother is sitting at the table with an open bottle of liquor, pill bottles and chain smoking cigarettes
10. Theme: Police
- a) Police malpractice/abuse of power
- Keeping the perpetrator's keys from his lawyer – afraid he will destroy evidence so they want to hold the keys until they can get a warrant
 - The police need a complainant in order to charge him w/ more than possession and promoting. Ray doesn't know he was filmed when he was being abused – the captain wants to show him the tape in order to get him to turn on Holt – regardless of the consequences for Ray
- b) Interactions between agencies
- c) Focus on forensics/science/technology
11. Theme: Perpetrators/suspects
- a) Explanations/justifications for behaviour
- Munch: Some people say our frontal lobe is our body's armor against impulses
 - You think he was abused?
- b) References: positive attributes of perpetrator
- Video rental clerk: Look, I'll tell you right now, he's one of the most decent guys I know. He gave my kids piano lessons for free
 - Cesar: Holt's place was always warm. Door was always open, never locked. Ben: Never? C: If it was, come back, go inside, get warm. Eat a meal. Sugar cookie. Miss that part
 - Ray Guzimano: Holt was the only person who told me I could do something
- c) Demographics
- Larry Holt, 50s, white, educated, wealthy
 - Piano teacher
- d) Individualized/demonizing language
- Ell: Yeah, rich white guy movies into this neighborhood, not by accident. Ben: Think it's an accident that he lives across from an elementary school?
 - Lawyer: I understand that the court is under tremendous political pressure to punish child abusers to the fullest extent of the law ... Judge: Somehow it never seems enough
 - Cap: What happened on this tape is wrong and the man who did it deserves to be punished
 - Munch: You think it's a conscious choice? Ell: What? Holt? What are you talking about? Munch: Yeah, Holt. What makes a perp a perp? Ell: Who cares? Munch: Some people say that our frontal lobe is our body's armor against impulses. Ell:

Okay, Holt has a bad lobe. Munch: You think he was abused? Ell: You know, John, I really don't care. It's just another excuse as far as I'm concerned. This guy hurt a lot of kids, that's what I care about

- Judge: I've read the pre-sentence report. Nothing in it indicates that I should be lenient. Mr. Holt, note by note you eroded the hope of every child in your charge. You stole from them. You stole from this community
- e) Typifying offenders
 - Cap: B/c where there's one photo, there's a hundred more
 - Ell: The kind of guy who takes these pictures is going to keep these. He's going to cherish them. Collect them
 - Ell: Pedophiles keep evidence of their sexual acts

12. Reference to real case?

- Cap: This is post-McMorton, people

Summary:

A wealthy piano teacher in a disadvantaged area is molesting children as well as recording the abuse. The episode follows the results of this abuse in regard to the victims. One victim has become an abuser himself.

1. Case Number: A-03
2. Title: Pixies
3. Episode Number: 02x09
4. Length: 43:38
5. Source: Law & Order: SVU
6. Date: January 12, 2001

7. Theme: Political References
 - a) Sexism/sexist language
 - Resident: I heard someone yell whore
 - Finn: A whore in church? Madame: If you studied the Bible you'd know that Mary Magdalene was a whore. Finn: She repented
 - Coach: The girls are always coming to me w/ their petty complaints
 - Coach: She wanted a second chance so I took the little whore own the street for a run. Ben: The girl was hysterical and you made her go run. Coach: I'm not paid to teach weakness
 - Vendor: Gotta tell ya, it worries me. I always thought they were too young to be out at night
 - b) Racism/racist language
 - c) Violence against women
 - Ben: Wouldn't be surprised if some pimp was trying to send a message
 - d) Victimization

8. Theme: Victims
 - a) Sex work
 - ME: You thinking she's a pro? Ell: Got called in on a case like this last week girl was in the trade, still had braces on
 - Munch: The only time I've seen a working girl run is to pick up a trick or get high
 - Munch: A girl was murdered last night outside your window. Resident: Another prostitute. Who cares?
 - b) Drug addiction/use
 - Ell: Track marks? ME: Not yet. Could be hidden btw her toes or btw her thighs
 - c) Homelessness/transience
 - d) Positive attributes of victims
 - Coach: To win a gold medal requires absolute dedication. Christy had that
 - Coach: She could have been a champion
 - Mother: She was so pretty
 - Father: An angel
 - e) Backstory/demographics
 - Christy Meyerson. 19 y/o, white. Gymnast
 - f) SES
 - Middle class
 - g) Objectifying/eroticizing victim's bodies
 - Trash collectors find her body stuffed behind a dumpster in a 'bad' neighborhood

- ME: Fluids are present. Marked bruising to the thighs, pelvic and vaginal area. Hand print on the hip and upper right buttock. Ell: Spanked and raped. Guess this one's ours
 - Finn: She could be an actress. Ell: She's flat, no implants
 - Ben: ME finished cutting
 - h) Reports of prior police contact
 - i) Police comments regarding victim (distancing language?)
 - Ell: Listen, we're trying to pass this off to homicide. Fourteen other rape cases are ahead of this one
 - Madame: Pretty young thing. What a shame. Fin: Just the kind of girl your customers would like, huh?
 - j) Transgression
 - Snuck out to meet her boyfriend on her nightly runs – against wishes of coach
 - Lied about her age so she could be accepted into the program
9. Theme: Space
- a) Zones of degeneracy
 - Ell: Find anything? CSU: Used condoms, syringes, a couple crack pipes. We'll be sifting for a while
 - [In local resident's apartment. Squalid, window broken]
 - Munch: Nice view. You like living here? Woman: Used to. Now there's cheap whores everywhere
 - Munch: Very nice. Nothing like the fecund scent of dead animals
10. Theme: Police
- a) Police malpractice/abuse of power
 - Ben: Okay. Here's what we're gonna do. We're not going to house you in general population and announce that a pedophile is coming through
 - b) Interactions between agencies
 - c) Focus on forensics/science/technology
 - ME describes her injuries, uses jargon such as post-mortem, blunt trauma
 - Found prints at the scene – no ID
 - ME: Massive subdural hematoma causing herniation of the brain
 - Fluids present
 - Matched the fluids found in Christy's body to fluids found on bed sheets
11. Theme: Perpetrators/suspects
- a) Explanations/justifications for behaviour
 - Laurie: I didn't have some rich bf, okay? I didn't have some pretty little face. Nobody cared about me. Ben: So Christy got all the attention. L: She got everything so easy. I do it all on my own. My parents don't love me. The only one who does is Corsca, and he lied to me
 - Laurie: The brick just flew out of my hand, I didn't ... I didn't mean for it to hit her. She made me do it
 - b) References: positive attributes of perpetrator

- c) Demographics
 - Laurie (?). White, teenager
 - Rival gymnast
- d) Individualized/demonizing language
- e) Typifying offenders

12. Reference to real case?

Summary:

When the body of a young girl is found behind a dumpster in a 'bad' area of the city, the SVU detectives assume she is a sex worker or addict, or both. She is a 19 y/o gymnast working in an elite gym in the city. She was murdered by a fellow gymnast due to jealousy.

1. Case Number: A-09
2. Title: Soulless
3. Episode Number: 4x25
4. Length: 42:25
5. Source: Law & Order: SVU
6. Date: May 16, 2003

7. Theme: Political References
 - a) Sexism/sexist language
 - Rapper (referring to groupie): Skank; hoe; little honey
 - Businessman (Stark): cow (referring to wife); ball and chain; “titty bar”
 - Mitch: bitch (to Benson)
 - Mitch: old girl (referring to mother)
 - b) Racism/racist language
 - c) Violence against women
 - Finn references “double-teaming” a “groupie”; rapper: “Manager gets 10% of everything”
 - Davis: Max had just done a girl in the bathroom and she was open for more
 - Ben: We heard that you started the ‘party’
 - d) Victimization
 - Benson – drinking does not = right to violate
 - Date rape – more likely to drop charges

8. Theme: Victims
 - a) Sex work
 - b) Drug addiction/use
 - “Chloe” references smoking drugs/denying she was raped
 - c) Homelessness/transience
 - d) Positive attributes of victims
 - e) Backstory/demographics
 - Chloe Dutton, teenager (9th grade/15 y/o), white
 - Truant
 - Loner
 - f) SES
 - Wealthy NY family (Central Park West)
 - g) Objectifying/eroticizing victim’s bodies
 - Body found on beach. White sheet covering her, but can see her arms and legs sprawled out from underneath
 - Det. Benson’s business card was shoved in her mouth
 - Shots of Chloe on slab, her chest and head have been cut open and sewn crudely
 - Drowned in a toilet
 - Gang raped
 - Ben: Before he **dumped** her body into the river, he shoved her face into the toilet and he held it there until she was dead
 - h) Reports of prior police contact

- i) Police comments regarding victim (distancing language?)
 - Cops – refer as victim (not name) in beginning; change to Chloe when they find out how old she is
 - Nurses – “ “
 - Benson – not sure if she should believe “Chloe” b/c she was drinking
 - Munch suggests “Chloe” may have called the rapist and told him where she was
 - Benson implies Chloe’s parents “don’t give a crap about their daughter”
 - Ell: “when they’re working an angle, teenagers are very slippery” Ben: So now she deserved what she got?”
 - Ben angry that family didn’t notice she was raped and kidnapped
 - When parents arrive to make the ID: Coroner: “Stall them, I’ll try to clean her up”
 - Benson: “little girl”
- j) Transgression

9. Theme: Space

- a) Zones of degeneracy
 - Club – Air Bar; let the patrons over-drink, Benson implies a lot of girls are roofied there, has their own personal ambulance service

10. Theme: Police

- a) Police malpractice/abuse of power
 - Seth goes to Virginia, a state where you can collect DNA on arrest, discussion around civil liberties, Ell: What are the odds Seth commits a felony in Virginia? Cap: Let me make a phone call
 - Seth taken to police station based on description of bank thief – obvious reach
 - Ell pushes Mitch after he calls Benson a bitch
- b) Interactions between agencies
 - Benson angry that trauma nurse put the victim in isolation
 - After think Andrew was instigator – Cabot: That’s why I don’t like to make deals until everyone’s done their job
- c) Focus on forensics/science/technology
 - Conducted a rape kit
 - Surveillance photos
 - Coroner uses distancing/scientific language when describing her injuries “contusions”; hypoxia; overly specific when describing what happens to the body during drowning, etc.
 - Ran a diatom test on water in Chloe’s lungs
 - Body ID conducted using closed circuit TV
 - Take DNA from suspect (Stark), not a match for the rape kit
 - DNA from 4 donors
 - Seth match for one of Chloe’s rapists
 - Phone logs
 - Traces of blood in Seth’s bathroom

11. Theme: Perpetrators/suspects

- a) Explanations/justifications for behaviour
 - Mitch's mom: tries hard to impress people; easily influenced
- b) References: positive attributes of perpetrator
- c) Demographics
 - Andrew Kenworthy, Seth Wolfford III, Davis Harrington, Max Van Horn (Mitch Wilkins?/Eric Wayne Proctor?)
 - Wealthy, white, prep boys
 - Mitch not wealthy; murdered a 3 y/o boy before at 10 y/o
- d) Individualized/demonizing language
 - Benson (to suspect): "That how you like it, you little freak?"
 - Ell: "nice guy like you" (sarcastic)
 - Ben: Oh, what is it w/ you people? What is wrong w/ you? Do you have a conscience?
 - Ben: These are not the kind of guys who will go out on a limb for each other
 - Ell: trust fund babies; everything handed to them; no character; no conscience
 - Ben: Born w/ conscience or not Ell: all about how you're raised
 - Munch: Pretty boy defendant
 - Ben: Idiot
 - Ell: arrogance
 - Ell: Most gruesome murder in Bedford, NH history
 - Ben: psycho; sociopath
 - Ell: Your son is sick
 - Ell: That's how much regard he has for human life. And when he gets out he's going to kill somebody else
 - Mother: He's sick; no fixing him; born bad and going to die bad; nothing anyone can do
 - Ell: Everyone incl your own mother believes you're beyond redemption
- e) Typifying offenders
 - Ben: Sociopath
 - Ben – referring to Mitch manipulating the staff at the juvenile facility and mother – show what they want to see

12. Reference to real case?

Summary:

15 y/o Chloe Dutton is gang-raped at a bar in the men's bathroom. She is later kidnapped from the hospital and drowned in a toilet bowl. Four wealthy boys are responsible for the rape. She is murdered by a 20-something 'sociopath', Mitch Wilkins, who has murdered in the past.

1. Case Number: A-12
2. Title: Outcry
3. Episode Number: 6x5
4. Length: 43:30
5. Source: Law & Order: SVU
6. Date: October 26, 2004

7. Theme: Political References
 - a) Sexism/sexist language
 - Cadet: [She] acted like she was 21
 - Father: Slut
 - b) Racism/racist language
 - c) Violence against women
 - Cap: Are you sure she wasn't there? Ben: Even if she was there, it doesn't give anyone the right to rape her
 - Video of the party – Tandi is drinking and dancing. Reporter 2: From the looks of this, I wouldn't call her a victim
 - Father: You'll do anything to get an arrest even if it means turning my daughter into a slut
 - Ell: You know the most common reason women make false rape allegations? To explain away a consensual sexual encounter when confronted by a bf or a parent
 - Ell: Come on, man. She is a peach. She's only your stepdaughter, what's the big deal? [trying to bait stepfather]
 - Ben: You arrested a rape victim? Cap: She said she wasn't raped. Tandi McCain has done nothing but lie and she nearly got an innocent kid killed in the process. We have to send a message
 - Hard case to prosecute – bring up all her lies
 - Tandi: He told me that I wanted it
 - d) Victimization
 - Ell: You know the most common reason women make false rape allegations? To explain away a consensual sexual encounter when confronted by a bf or a parent
 - Tandi charged w/ filing a false report following her recant
 - Ell: Every false allegation of rape makes it harder for the real victims of rape to be believed
 - Benson – a lot of rape victims recant after finding out how hard the process is, it's easier than dealing with the legal etc.
 - Benson: I've never met one whose regretted it [referring to rape victims who go to court]
 - Defense lawyer: According to FBI crime statistics, nearly 10% of all rapes turn out to be false allegations. Some sources put it even higher than that

8. Theme: Victims
 - a) Sex work
 - b) Drug addiction/use
 - c) Homelessness/transience

- d) Positive attributes of victims
 - Mom: she's bright, works real hard, never causes any trouble
 - e) Backstory/demographics
 - Tandi McCain
 - White, blonde
 - Taking college credits at Hudson University
 - 16 y/o
 - f) SES
 - g) Objectifying/eroticizing victim's bodies
 - Found under a work bench, tied w/ duct tape
 - Clothes on
 - h) Reports of prior police contact
 - i) Police comments regarding victim (distancing language?)
 - Benson: That girl is too young and too scared to think for herself
 - Cap: Can we prove it was rape?
 - Ben: Her thighs are heavily bruised, her hymen is torn, she definitely had sex. And she's a virgin
 - Ell: Think that little detail just happened to slip Tandi's mind?
 - Refer to her by name
 - Ell: Poor kid has been through enough already, why do you have to make her life more miserable? Reporter: B/c she's news. Ell: Tens of thousands go missing every year. What makes Tandi big news? Rep: Same reason Chandra Levy and Elizabeth Smart were big news. They're young, cute and white
 - Cap: You and Elliott ask Tandi about her performance
 - Ell: It's crap, Liv. He's covering for her
 - After seeing a news report where Tandi recants – Cap orders Ell to arrest her for filing a false report. Ell: Captain, how does that help anything? Cap: It'll stop her lies.
 - j) Transgression
 - Walking to bus stop, men asked if she wanted to go to a party. Abducted her when she said no [Tandi's story]
 - Working late in the library
 - At party in the dorm w/ military cadets – 'invited herself'
 - Cadet 2: Drinking, dancing, having a good time
9. Theme: Space
- a) Zones of degeneracy
10. Theme: Police
- a) Police malpractice/abuse of power
 - Benson lies to stepfather who would like to take Tandi home before taking her for medical treatment – wants her evidence
 - Ell: Liv just did what she had to do to make sure we have a case
 - Captain tries to get an injunction against the reporter from publishing the video from the party – in the name of protecting a rape victim

- b) Interactions between agencies
 - Benson talks about how college procedures involving rape cases are bad – victims are intimidated and persuaded to drop charges
 - Dean asks det.s to leave private property
 - Ell: The cadets' lawyers? They're just trying to dirty up our victim
 - IAB: Personally, detective, I'd dump you back into uniform but that would look like we're admitting guilt. So we have to back you up
 - Ell: All I know is we're not running this case, the media is
 - c) Focus on forensics/science/technology
 - Ell: We do rape kits on every victim. If you don't give us permission to use it, the chances of ID'ing the assailant are pretty slim. You do want us to find him, don't you?
 - Rape kit negative for fluids but positive for spermicide
 - Cap: Any trace evidence of the perps?
 - After hearing she cleaned herself up; Cap: Destroying most of the forensics in the process
 - Munch: Nada from CSU
 - Elimination prints
 - Looking for food containers and drinks at scene that Tandi may have bought on the Saturday (when considered missing)
 - Duct tape – end tear matches Tandi's binds, run for prints
 - Her prints were on the duct tape
 - TARU finds an image of the guy who recorded the video – can see his reflection in a mirror
 - Found latent prints using iodine vapor – stepfather's print
11. Theme: Perpetrators/suspects
- a) Explanations/justifications for behaviour
 - b) References: positive attributes of perpetrator
 - c) Demographics
 - Mike Tucker – Tandi's stepdad's boss
 - White, middle-aged, wealthy
 - Owner – development company
 - d) Individualized/demonizing language
 - Benson: That's Luke Delveccio, I interviewed him. Real bottom-feeder
 - Cap: Munch and Finn will bring in the bottom-feeder
 - Finn: That word too big for you?
 - Munch: That's courageous [sarcastic]
 - e) Typifying offenders
12. Reference to real case?
- Chandra Levy and Elizabeth Smart

Summary:

Sixteen year old Tandi McCain is raped following a party at Hudson University by her stepfather's boss Mike Tucker. He threatens to fire her stepfather if she tells. She hides at a construction site for 2 days and stages a kidnapping in order to hide what happened to her. False accusations – shows how this can affect a jury.

1. Case Number: A-13
2. Title: Hooked
3. Episode Number: 6x15
4. Length: 42:59
5. Source: Law & Order: SVU
6. Date: February 15, 2005

7. Theme: Political References
 - a) Sexism/sexist language
 - Cop: More like peeping at other heavenly bodies [referring to the kids w/ telescopes who discovered the body]
 - Girl: Practically every cute guy in school. That girl was on a mission [referring to who Lisa was hooking up w/]
 - Ell: You dress like that just to do your homework? [referring to Lisa's friend's outfit, not all that risqué]
 - Friend (Angela): I didn't want you guys to think she was a slut and tell her dad
 - Father: Are you saying my little girl was a whore?
 - Ell: How did this happen? Six months ago she was just another 15 y/o. Ben: Until she started hooking up w/ half of Queens. After that it's no big deal to have sex for designer clothes or prostitute yourself in a hotel. Cap: She ends up as Trudy Struts, porn star. Ell: She ends up dead on a roof
 - b) Racism/racist language
 - c) Violence against women
 - Lisa's friend says she thinks her bf punched her in the face – jealous about other guys
 - Ell: We hear that you got so worked up when you found out about all the guys she was doing that you smacked her around
 - Ell: About how whenever Lisa complained you slapped her around to shut her up (Long)
 - d) Victimization

8. Theme: Victims
 - a) Sex work
 - Lisa and Angela were trading sexual favors w/ manager of boutique for expensive clothes
 - Lisa began going to a hotel in order to trade favors for goods
 - Angela and Lisa were paid \$500 each for their role in the sex tape
 - Lisa made a lot of other videos – hard core
 - b) Drug addiction/use
 - c) Homelessness/transience
 - d) Positive attributes of victims
 - Never got in trouble
 - Teacher: Last kid you'd think something like this would happen to
 - Took over the household after her mother passed
 - Father: Lisa was a good girl

- e) Backstory/demographics
 - White, blonde, 15 y/o
 - Mother died 9 months ago
 - f) SES
 - Wearing an 800\$ dress
 - Her father is a truck driver
 - Closet filled w/ thousands of dollars worth of clothes
 - No medical insurance - meds
 - g) Objectifying/eroticizing victim's bodies
 - Wearing a skimpy dress, shot to her underwear that are around her ankles. No straight shot of her face other than pictures
 - h) Reports of prior police contact
 - i) Police comments regarding victim (distancing language?)
 - Ben: Out on the town, picked up the wrong guy
 - Ell: She's 15 y/o. What kind of parents let their kid go out clubbing on a school night?
 - Ell: How many teenage girls you know are too busy to have bfs? Ben: None.
 - Ben: She wasn't scared of having sex with people she didn't know?
 - Ell: Lisa was hooking up w/ guys she met on the internet. Killer could be anywhere
 - Ben: Maybe she had a sugar daddy
 - Ell [to Angela]: You want to wind up like Lisa?
 - Ell: She was hookin' at the mall with you, right?
 - Ell: turning tricks
 - j) Transgression
 - Dating college guy, gets older cousin's license so she could get into clubs w/ him
 - Wore 'sex bracelets'
 - On dating site. Revealing pictures on page. Lots of messages meeting guys for sex
 - Friend: She was really into him until he started getting jealous. Ben: About what? Friend: Her hooking up w/ other guys. He got so mad he hit her once
 - HIV positive (moralistic view of sex? Anyone who has multiple partners ends up w/ HIV?)
 - Lisa, Angela and Dr Tanner made a sex tape
 - Ell: She ends up dead on a roof (referring to how it isn't a surprise that she is dead)
9. Theme: Space
- a) Zones of degeneracy
 - Porn shoot
10. Theme: Police
- a) Police malpractice/abuse of power
 - b) Interactions between agencies
 - Doctor will only give info about HIV to cops if he gets a consent form from her father – must protect his patients

- c) Focus on forensics/science/technology
 - Coroner describes her head trauma, trauma to vaginal area
 - Uses body temp to estimate t.o.d.
 - Sent sample of metal in wound to metallurgist in order to narrow down substance
 - TARU got flash memory card from cellphone – find dating site
 - Coroner gives stats on STI rates amongst sexually active teens
 - Look at model of HIV w/I US from CDC
 - Lab found anti-retrovirals in her blood – knew she was positive
 - Fingerprints from Dr's apartment
 - Forensic metallurgist – found traces of aluminum – tied to Long's (producer's) tripod
 - Prints in Dr's apartment tie Angela to his murder

11. Theme: Perpetrators/suspects

- a) Explanations/justifications for behaviour
 - Dr: I couldn't stop seeing her. I was addicted
 - DR: I loved her
- b) References: positive attributes of perpetrator
- c) Demographics
 - Max Long, porn producer
 - White, middle-aged
- d) Individualized/demonizing language
 - Ell: You're pathetic
 - Ell: Sleazebag (referring to the porn producer)
- e) Typifying offenders

12. Reference to real case?

Summary:

15 y/o Lisa is found murdered on a rooftop. As the investigation proceeds, it is discovered that she is HIV+, and participated in porn and sex work.

1. Case Number: A-22
2. Title: Selfish
3. Episode Number: 10x19
4. Length: 41:43
5. Source: Law & Order: SVU
6. Date: April 28, 2009

7. Theme: Political References
 - a) Sexism/sexist language
 - Amish father: You had to see one of those harlots? [referring to an English girl – i.e. not Amish] Is that why you went to the hospital? For a venereal disease?
 - Ruth: Come on out and get your beating, skank!
 - b) Racism/racist language
 - c) Violence against women
 - d) Victimization

8. Theme: Victims
 - a) Sex work
 - b) Drug addiction/use
 - c) Homelessness/transience
 - d) Positive attributes of victims
 - e) Backstory/demographics
 - 11 month old Sierra Walker
 - f) SES
 - g) Objectifying/eroticizing victim's bodies
 - h) Reports of prior police contact
 - i) Police comments regarding victim (distancing language?)
 - Refer to her by name or 'baby'
 - j) Transgression

9. Theme: Space
 - a) Zones of degeneracy

10. Theme: Police
 - a) Police malpractice/abuse of power
 - b) Interactions between agencies
 - c) Focus on forensics/science/technology
 - Found surveillance tape of Ashley buying a shovel and tarp the day Sierra went missing w/ Maria's stolen credit card
 - No DNA or hair or tissue from Sierra on the shovel
 - Found hydrocarbons in the soil on the shovel – believe she was buried somewhere w/ an underground gas tank
 - Looking up gas stations – registered w/ the Department of Energy
 - Grid search at gas station for body
 - Tracking the measles outbreak
 - ME explains measles outbreaks

11. Theme: Perpetrators/suspects

a) Explanations/justifications for behaviour

- Monica: I won't put my son at risk b/c big pharma and their lackeys in the media try to jam vaccination down our throats

b) References: positive attributes of perpetrator

c) Demographics

- Ashley Walker, young (20s), white, blonde
- Sierra's mother
- Monica Stewart – anti-vax mom

d) Individualized/demonizing language

- Cap: What kind of mom goes out to party and leaves her kid w/ a woman she barely knows and doesn't bother to write down her last name or phone number?
Ben: One who's young and irresponsible
 - Mom: She's been lying since the day she could talk. About her grades, her friends, where she'd go when she snuck out. Ben: So she's always been a handful
 - Ell: Good mom, huh? Well your FaceSpace tells a different story. Here you are drunk and partying it up in Cabo, gonna crown you mother of the year, huh?
 - Ell: Here you are down at the shore grabbing some guy's crotch while Sierra stays at home. And that's you at a nightclub in AC
 - Ashley: She means everything to me! Ell: Then why didn't I find one single photo online of this child that you love so much?
 - Ell: It's too risky even for a kid as dumb as Ashley
 - ADA: You were only thinking of yourself, Ashley. You were afraid you would be blamed
 - Ell: That lady is a lunatic. What she's doing is a danger to society
 - Ell: All of a sudden my little boy's at risk b/c of some nutcase mom?
 - Munch: Well she's not the only nutcase mom. Ashley takes that prize
 - ADA: Sierra Walker would be alive today if it were not for Monica Stewart's choice
 - ME: Not being immunized is irresponsible
 - Ben: I think Monica has a point. Ashley was a bad mother who did everything wrong while Monica was trying to do everything right
- e) Typifying offenders
- ADA: Why would people choose not to vaccinate their children against something so dangerous? ME: The most common reasons are for religious beliefs or suspicion about the science behind immunization.

12. Reference to real case?

13. Casey/Caylee Anthony

Summary:

A young child contracts the measles and dies as a result. The mother is suspected in the beginning (Anthony-esque). Then it is determined that Sierra contracted the measles from an unvaccinated child. The mother of the child (Monica) is charged w/ homicide.

1. Case Number: A-30
2. Title: Friending Emily
3. Episode Number: 14x06
4. Length: 43:02
5. Source: Law & Order: SVU
6. Date: October 31, 2012

7. Theme: Political References
 - a) Sexism/sexist language
 - Fin: How much you think he paid his broker for her? She's his slave
 - Wendi: Peter says our society treats girls like objects. They're disposable
 - P: I don't want my Emily to wind up like those girls on the street. Drugs. Disease
 - b) Racism/racist language
 - c) Violence against women
 - Barba: All we have are the girls. Odds are, when he's done they go into drugs or prostitution. They're probably in the system
 - Katrine's husband: After they were done defiling her, they tried to sell her
 - d) Victimization
 - Roll: Warrants for what? They're all victims. Barba: You'll think of something. We've got to get Emily. Fast. Those other girls, it's too late for them
 - Ben: After all these years? She's fused with Peter

8. Theme: Victims
 - a) Sex work
 - Beth became a stripper once Peter was done w/ her
 - b) Drug addiction/use
 - Liza turned to drugs and died of an overdose
 - c) Homelessness/transience
 - d) Positive attributes of victims
 - Ben: Emily likes baking, loves lenka, the Tar Heels
 - Dad: She is. She's perfect. She always does what she's told, you know?
 - e) Backstory/demographics
 - Victim: Young girl (Emily Culpher, 14 y/o), in the big city away from home. Older sister (Taylor) wants to party
 - Emily is the sixth girl Peter has abducted in 6 years – one a year
 - Beth Marks (Misty Day), once she was turned out and left by Peter she turned to stripping
 - Liza
 - Katerine Kearns
 - f) SES
 - g) Objectifying/eroticizing victim's bodies
 - h) Reports of prior police contact
 - i) Police comments regarding victim (distancing language?)
 - Roll: That little girl didn't stand a chance

- Ben: Well, he picked the right victim. She's a people pleaser. She's not gonna fight back. Amaro: Well, it might keep her alive
- j) Transgression
- Went to a frat party – under age, strange city
 - Emily drinks from a cup Wendi gave her
9. Theme: Space
- a) Zones of degeneracy
10. Theme: Police
- a) Police malpractice/abuse of power
- b) Interactions between agencies
- c) Focus on forensics/science/technology
- TARU traces the girls' cell phones
 - Found malware on Taylor's phone – get access to all of her information
 - Run her face through the National Center for Missing and Exploited Children – facial recognition – see if she's been uploaded to a child porn site
 - [Watching a live video of Emily] Cap: Are we tracing that? Roll: Yeah, I'm hitting brick walls. This is coming from nowhere
 - Entered Wendi's (Jane) photo into every database they could think to see if they found a match
 - Run Wendi's plates
 - Try to trace the video feed
11. Theme: Perpetrators/suspects
- a) Explanations/justifications for behaviour
- Amaro: I just want her safe. P: Safe? Why do you think that I rescued her? She's 14 years old, she's at a frat party, at night in New York City?
- b) References: positive attributes of perpetrator
- c) Demographics
- Peter. Late 20s(?), white. Presents as harmless. Child sexual offender. Highly organized
 - Wendi (Jane Kalreiss), 20s. One of Peter's victims who helps him kidnap new girls
- d) Individualized/demonizing language
- Cap: Our guy's a pro, moves fast
- e) Typifying offenders
- Roll: It gets worse. Someone installed malware on Taylor's phone. It accesses everything on the user's cell. Um, Facebook, email, photos, playlists. The user can completely profile his target
 - Ben: The predator uses this information to form a bond with the target
12. Reference to real case?

Summary:

A 14 y/o girl and her older sister are visiting New York from a small town. The older sister wants to party – get invited to a frat party. Emily is abducted from the party and held by a man who kidnaps a different girl every year. He assaults them and posts the videos on the internet. One of the girls he abducted helps him take new victims.

1. Case Number: A-36
2. Title: Devastating Story
3. Episode Number: 16x18
4. Length: 42:48
5. Source: Law & Order: SVU
6. Date:
7. Theme: Political References
 - a) Sexism/sexist language
 - HM: When I tried to get myself together and leave, the other guys in the frat threw beer cans at me and they yelled at me to go to church. They said that I should call my dad and apologize for ruining his life
 - Roll: Had Brian been dating H for a while? Lance: H has wanted the business with B since rush week. He finally threw her a bone. Connor: Eight inches of it, brah
 - Lance: Middle of the night, she does her walk of shame. She kind of had to run the gauntlet. Roll: What are we talking about? L: You call her a whore, you throw things. We didn't hurt her. C: Can't take the heat, don't be a thot. Fin: You have sex with her? C: [scoffs] And pick up Mackey's scraps? I don't think so
 - BM: For her to be acting all prim and proper now? She wants to act the whore on Saturday and play the virgin on Sunday
 - b) Racism/racist language
 - c) Violence against women
 - J: They called me a whore. They called me a slut. They shoved me out of the door like I was garbage. SP: Did you call the police or campus security? J: When I was up to it I went to the school. They asked me if I had been drinking, if anyone could corroborate. J: They made me feel like I'd made a bad decision that night, and it was my fault
 - Son: Look, whatever happened between the victim ... Professor Dillon: Survivor
 - Son: Rape advocate. I don't even know what that is. I mean, there's no burglary advocate. There's no carjacking advocates. Roll: Well, when was the last time a carjacking victim was asked, 'are you sure you didn't want you car to be stolen?' Son: Okay, I get that
 - Pres: What she described was regrettable drunken sex. Not rape. Ben: With four men holding her down? Pres: She mentioned one student only. She admitted she was intoxicated. She went willingly back to the fraternity with her date. I asked her if she was sure the sex wasn't consensual. She proceeded to become defensive, and then she left my office
 - Girl at rally: I was told that if my rapist made me feel uncomfortable, I could switch classes or move to another dorm. I kept my mouth shut, and he graduated with honors last June.
 - Barba: H knows what she's in for?
 - SP: Because most other stories are more complicated. They're he-said, she-said. H's story checked every box. Callous administration. Entitled, white frat boy jocks. The pack mentality gang-bang aspect. It's the stpry I've been looking for. If we hadn't grabbed it, someone else wpuld have. Son: Damn the consequences,

- right? SP: Don't blame the messenger, blame the audience. Campus rape is so common-place it doesn't even rise to the level of news. Look what it took to get anyone to even care
- d) Victimization
- Ben: Ben: Once you tell your story, it can be empowering. The floodgates open
8. Theme: Victims
- a) Sex work
 - b) Drug addiction/use
 - c) Homelessness/transience
 - d) Positive attributes of victims
 - e) Backstory/demographics
 - Heather Manning, university student, white
 - f) SES
 - g) Objectifying/eroticizing victim's bodies
 - h) Reports of prior police contact
 - i) Police comments regarding victim (distancing language?)
 - Barba: Why is H even giving an interview? She's gone from reluctant witness to being on every news show in 48 hours
 - j) Transgression
 - Went to a frat house
 - Lied about aspects of the rape
9. Theme: Space
- a) Zones of degeneracy
10. Theme: Police
- a) Police malpractice/abuse of power
 - Ben: Guys, this isn't LMZ. It is a legitimate national news magazine. They interviewed her, she disclosed, and I got a call from Dodds, who got a call from the mayor. So, we are going to investigate (only investigating b/c of pressure from above?)
 - Barba: Good. Arraign them. The deeper into the system they get, the harder it is to pull them out. Fin: All right, we'll load them up now. Ben: Wait, hold up a half hour. C's a handsome boy with a smug smile. Barba: You get to get that face on the 11 o'clock news
 - b) Interactions between agencies
 - Son: This is what you do on your Sundays off? Ben: Me and Gracie mansion apparently. Now 1PP is pissed off that we got caught flat-footed on national tv. Fin: America's Worst Crimes has a huge following. This is going to go viral
 - c) Focus on forensics/science/technology
 - Ben: Is there any other physical evidence? Like, maybe clothes you were wearing? Anything like that?
 - Collect DNA from the boys
 - TARU finds a video from that night on Connor's phone

11. Theme: Perpetrators/suspects
 - a) Explanations/justifications for behaviour
 - b) References: positive attributes of perpetrator
 - University president: He seemed credible, he's well regarded and has no prior complaints
 - c) Demographics
 - Brian Mackey, captain of the hockey team
 - Connor Howell
 - Lance Masconi
 - Zack Franklin, 20, white, scholar-athlete
 - All hockey players
 - d) Individualized/demonizing language
 - e) Typifying offenders

12. Reference to real case?
 - America's Worst Crimes breaks the case – reference to how media and crime are linked; LMZ

Summary:

A young woman, Heather Manning, goes on a television program and accuses 4 classmates of gang raping her. Her story falls apart and she is no longer taken seriously – even though she was raped.

Appendix C: News Articles

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Appendix D: Television Shows**Law & Order: SVU**

Wolf, D. (Writer), & de Segonzac, J. (Director). (1999). Payback [Television series episode]. In D. DeClerque (Producer), *Law & Order: SVU*.

Wolf, D., & West, W. (Writers), & de Segonzac, J. (Director). (2000). Nocturne [Television series episode]. In D. DeClerque (Producer), *Law & Order: SVU*.

Wolf, D., Stern, T., Campbell, C., & Eckerle, J., (Writers), & de Segonzac, J. (Director). (2001). Pixies [Television series episode]. In D. DeClerque, J. Eckerle, & J. Lazarov (Producers), *Law & Order: SVU*.

Wolf, D., & Weiss, M. (Writers), & Platt, D. (Director). (2001). Parasites [Television series episode]. In D. DeClerque, J. Eckerle, J. Lazarov (Producers), *Law & Order: SVU*.

Wolf, D., Ebel, K., Fazekas, M., Butters, T., & Ebel, K. (Writers), & Campanella, J.J. (Director). (2001). Inheritance [Television series episode]. In D. DeClerque, D. DeNoon, L.M. Peterson, & R. Weinman (Producers), *Law & Order: SVU*.

Wolf, D., Butters, T., & Fazekas, M. (Writers), & Platt, D. (Director). (2002). Guilt [Television series episode]. In D. DeClerque, D. DeNoon, L.M. Peterson, & R. Weinman (Producers), *Law & Order: SVU*.

Wolf, D., & McCreary, J. (Writers), & Zakrzewski (Director). (2002). Disappearing acts [Television series episode]. In R.F. Campbell, D. DeClerque, J. Greene, & R. Roberts (Producers), *Law & Order: SVU*.

Wolf, D., Butters, T., & Fazekas, M., (Writers), & Zakrzewski, A. (Director). (2003).

- Pandora [Television series episode]. In R.F. Campbell, D. DeClerque, J. Greene, & R. Roberts (Producers), *Law & Order: SVU*.
- Wolf, W., DeNoon, D., & Petersen, L.M., (Writers), & Lowe, C. (Director). (2003).
Soulless [Television series episode]. In R.F. Campbell, D. DeClerque, J. Greene, & R. Roberts (Producers), *Law & Order: SVU*.
- Wolf, D., & Green, A., (Writers), & Makris, C. (Director). (2003). Shaken [Television series episode]. In P. Leto (Producer), *Law & Order: SVU*.
- Wolf, D., & Nathan, R., (Writers), & Taylor, J. (Director). (2004). Lowdown [Television series episode]. In D. DeClerque & P. Leto (Producers), *Law & Order: SVU*.
- Wolf, D., & Harbinson, P. (Writers), Makris, C. (Director). (2004). Outcry [Television series episode]. In D. DeClerque, & P. Leto (Producers), *Law & Order: SVU*.
- Wolf, D., & Kotcheff, J. (Writers), & de Segonzac, J. (Director). (2005). Hooked [Television series episode]. In D. DeClerque, A. Green, & P. Leto (Producers), *Law & Order: SVU*.
- Wolf, D., & Petersen, L.M., (Writers), & Platt, D., (Director). (2005). Design [Television series episode]. In G. Barringer, D. DeClerque, P. Leto, & J. Molina (Producers), *Law & Order: SVU*.
- Wolf, D., Fazekas, M., & Butters, T., (Writers), & MacLaren, M., (Director). (2006).
Infected [Television series episode]. In G. Barringer, D. DeClerque, & J. Molina (Producers), *Law & Order: SVU*.
- Wolf, D., & Biederman, I., (Writers), & Barba, N. (Director). (2006). Influence

- [Television series episode]. In G. Barringer, D. DeClerque, P. Leto, & J. Molina (Producers), *Law & Order: SVU*.
- Wolf, D., & Green, A., (Writers), & Platt, D., (Director). (2007). Scheherazade [Television series episode]. In G. Barringer & D. DeClerque (Producers), *Law & Order: SVU*.
- Wolf, D., & Green, A., (Writers), & Leto, P., (Director). (2007). Annihilated [Television series episode]. In G. Barringer & D. DeClerque (Producers), *Law & Order: SVU*.
- Wolf, D., & Betancourt, M. (Writers), & Campanella, J.J. (Director). (2007). Fight [Television series episode]. In G. Barringer, D. DeClerque, & J. Singer (Producers), *Law & Order: SVU*.
- Wolf, D., & Greene, J. (Writers), & Leto, P. (Director). (2008). Trade [Television series episode]. In G. Barringer, D. DeClerque, & J. Singer (Producers), *Law & Order: SVU*.
- Wolf, D., & McCreary, J. (Writers), & La Salle, E. (Director). (2008). PTSD [Television series episode]. In G. Barringer & D. DeClerque (Producers), *Law & Order: SVU*.
- Wolf, D., & Betancourt, M. (Writers), & Platt, D. (Director). (2009). Selfish [Television series episode]. In G. Barringer & D. DeClerque (Producers), *Law & Order: SVU*.
- Wolf, D., & Angeli, M. (Writers), & Platt, D. (Director). (2009). Users [Television series episode]. In G. Barringer & D. DeClerque (Producers), *Law & Order: SVU*.
- Wolf, D., & McCreary, J. (Writers) & Black, P. (Director). (2010). Disabled [Television series episode]. In G. Barringer & D. DeClerque (Producers), *Law & Order: SVU*.
- Wolf, D., & Greene, J. (Writers), & Shaver, H. (Director). (2010). Behave [Television series episode]. In G. Barringer & D. DeClerque (Producers), *Law & Order: SVU*.

- Wolf, D., & Weed, S. (Writers), & Deitch, D. (Director). (2011). Mask [Television series episode]. In G. Barringer & D. DeClerque (Producers), *Law & Order: SVU*.
- Wolf, D., & DeNoon, D. (Writers), & Dale, H. (Director). (2011). Delinquent [Television series episode]. In G. Barringer & D. DeClerque (Producers), *Law & Order: SVU*.
- Wolf, D., Martin, J., & Matthews, D. (Writers), & de Segonzac, J (Director). (2011). Lost traveller [Television series episode]. In G. Barringer, D. DeClerque, & R. Veith (Producers), *Law & Order: SVU*.
- Wolf, D., Matthews, D., & Martin, J. (Writers), & Forney, A.W. (Director). (2012). Street revenge [Television series episode]. In G. Barringer, D. DeClerque, & R. Veith (Producers), *Law & Order: SVU*.
- Wolf, D., & Fox, K. (Writers), & McKay, J. (Director). (2012). Friending Emily [Television series episode]. In J. Starch (Producer), *Law & Order: SVU*.
- Wolf, D., & Parker, G.M. (Writers), & de Segonzac, J. (Director). (2013). Funny valentine [Television series episode]. In J. Starch (Producer), *Law & Order: SVU*.
- Wolf, D., Leight, W., & Martin, J. (Writers), & Slovis, M. (Director). (2013). Imprisoned lives [Television series episode]. In K.G. Brown (Producer), *Law & Order: SVU*.
- Wolf, D., Robinson, C.C., & Martin, J. (Writers), & Herron, J. (Director). (2014). Jersey breakdown [Television series episode]. In K.G. Brown & M. Dragin (Producers), *Law & Order: SVU*.
- Wolf, D., Fox, K., & Cohen, R.B. (Writers), & Chapple, A. (Director). (2014). Reasonable doubt [Television series episode]. In K.G. Brown (Producer), *Law & Order: SVU*.
- Wolf, D., Martin, J., Corbin, S.H., & Leight, W. (Writers), & Raju, S. (Director). (2014).

Spousal privilege [Television series episode]. In J. Abbinanti, K.G. Brown & M. Hargitay (Producers), *Law & Order: SVU*.

Wolf, D., & Corbin, S.H. (Writers), & Slovis, M. (Director). (2015). Devastating story [Television series episode]. In J. Abbinanti, K.G. Brown, & M. Hargitay (Producers), *Law & Order: SVU*.

CSI: Crime Scene Investigation

Zuiker, A.E. (Writer), & Cannon, D. (Director). (2000). Pilot [Television series episode]. In C. Chvatal & W. Petersen (Producers), *CSI: Crime Scene Investigation*.

Zuiker, A.E., & Stahl, J. (Writer), & Wright, T.J. (Director). (2001). Justice is served [Television series episode]. In D. Cannon, C. Chvatal, & W. Petersen (Producers), *CSI: Crime Scene Investigation*.

Zuiker, A.E., & Talbert, E. (Writers), & Lewis, R.J. (Director). (2002). Chasing the bus [Television series episode]. In J. Berman & A. Lipsitz (Producers), *CSI: Crime Scene Investigation*.

Zuiker, A.E., Mendelsohn, C., Lipsitz, A., Shankar, N., Talbert, E., Donahue, A., Berman, J., & Harris, B. (Writers), & Lewis, R.J. (Director). (2003). Lady Heather's box [Television series episode]. In J. Berman, K. Fink & L.S. Milito (Producers), *CSI: Crime Scene Investigation*.

Zuiker, A.E., & Rambo, D. (Writers), & Lewis, R.J. (Director). (2004). Butterflied [Television series episode]. In K. Fink, B. Golin, R.J. Lewis, & L.S. Milito (Producers), *CSI: Crime Scene Investigation*.

Zuiker, A.E., Berman, J., & Mendelsohn, C. (Writers), & Grossman, D. (Director).

- (2004). Mea culpa [Television series episode]. In K. Fink & R.J. Lewis (Producers), *CSI: Crime Scene Investigation*.
- Zuiker, A.E., & Cannon, D. (Writers), & Cannon, D. (Director). (2005). Shooting stars [Television series episode]. In S. Felder, S. Goldfinger, L.S. Milito & H.A. Myers (Producers), *CSI: Crime Scene Investigation*.
- Zuiker, A.E., & Stahl, J. (Writers), & Fink, K. (Director). (2006). Way to go [Television series episode]. In S. Felder, S. Goldfinger, L.S. Milito, & H.A. Myers (Producers), *CSI: Crime Scene Investigation*.
- Zuiker, A.E., Goldfinger, S., & Shakar, N. (Writers), & Tanenbaum, B. (Director). (2007). Lab rats [Television series episode]. In S. Felder (Producer), *CSI: Crime Scene Investigation*.
- Zuiker, A.E., Lorre, C., & Aronsohn, L. (Writers), & Smight, A. (Director). (2008). Two and a half deaths [Television series episode]. In D.L. Abraham, S. Felder, & D. Rambo (Producers), *CSI: Crime Scene Investigation*.
- Zuiker, A.E., & Evan Dunskey, E. (Writers), & Leitch, C. (Director). (2009). The descent of man [Television series episode]. In R. Catalani & S. Felder (Producers), *CSI: Crime Scene Investigation*.
- Zuiker, A.E., & Mularz, T. (Writers), Smight, A. (Director). (2010). Neverland [Television series episode]. In R. Catalani, S. Felder & A. MacDonald (Producers), *CSI: Crime Scene Investigation*.
- Zuiker, A.E., & Dunskey, E. (Writers), & Tanenbaum, B. (Director). (2011). A kiss before frying [Television series episode]. In S. Felder (Producer), *CSI: Crime Scene Investigation*.

Zuiker, A.E., & Devine, E. (Writers), & Waldeck, F. (Director). (2011). Genetic disorder [Television series episode]. In S. Felder & A. Smight (Producers), *CSI: Crime Scene Investigation*.

Zuiker, A.E., Hoppe, T., Mendelsohn, C., & Catalani, R. (Writers), & Hunt, J.G. (Director). (2012). CSI on fire [Television series episode]. In K.M. Cybulski, S. Felder, & A. Smight (Producers), *CSI: Crime Scene Investigation*.

Zuiker, A.E., Barbour, C., & Daley, M. (Writers), & Conserva, P. (Director). (2013). Passed pawns [Television series episode]. In K.M. Cybulski, S. Felder & A. Smight (Producers), *CSI: Crime Scene Investigation*.

Zuiker, A.E., & Harris, G. (Writers), & Tanenbaum, B. (Director). (2014). The book of shadows [Television series episode]. In K.M. Cybulski, S. Felder & A. Smight (Producers), *CSI: Crime Scene Investigation*.

Criminal Minds:

Davis, J. (Writer), & Shepard, R. (Director). (2005). Extreme aggressor [Television series episode]. In P.I. McIntosh (Producer), *Criminal Minds*.

Davis, J., & Napier, E. (Writers), & Haid, C. (Director). (2005). Hungry [Television series episode]. In M. Gordon, *Criminal Minds*.

Davis, J., Fisher, D.J., & Messer, E. (Writers), & Muzio, G. (Director). (2006). The last word [Television series episode]. In C.S. Carroll, G. Kershaw & E. Messer (Producers), *Criminal Minds*.

Davis, J., & Murray, C. (Writers), & Sudduth, S. (Director). (2007). About face [Television series episode]. In C.S. Carroll, G. Coello-Bannon, G. Kershaw & C. Murray (Producers), *Criminal Minds*.

- Davis, J., Mundy, C., & Bernero, E.A. (Writers), & Bernero, E.A., & Haid, C. (Directors). (2009). To hell ... and back [Television series episode]. In B. Frazier & H. Harold (Producers), *Criminal Minds*.
- Davis, J., & Bernero, E.A. (Writers), & Rodriguez, R. (Director). (2010). A thousand words [Television series episode]. In C.S. Carroll & G. Coello-Bannon (Producers), *Criminal Minds*.
- Davis, J., Mirren, S., & Messer, E. (Writers), & Carroll, C.S. (Director). (2011). Valhalla [Television series episode]. In C.S. Carroll, G. Coello-Bannon & A. Kirk (Producers), *Criminal Minds*.
- Davis, J., & Zimmerman, B. (Writers), & Aarniokoski, D. (Director). (2012). Snake eyes [Television series episode]. In G. Coello-Bannon (Producer), *Criminal Minds*.
- Davis, J., & Watson, S.L. (Writers), & Kretchmer, J.T. (Director). (2012). Magnificent light [Television series episode]. In M. Gordon (Producer), *Criminal Minds*.
- Davis, J., Dunkle, R., Frazier, B., & Barrois, J.S. (Writers), & Bailey, R. (Director). (2014). Angels [Television series episode]. In R. Dunckle (Producer), *Criminal Minds*.
- Davis, J., & Messer, E. (Writers), & Kershaw, G. (Director). (2014). Demons [Television series episode]. In R. Dunckle (Producer), *Criminal Minds*.