The Frame of Invisibility:

A Study of Toronto Television News

and

Visible Racialized Minority Group Representation

Nana O. Yeboah

A Thesis

in the Department

of

Journalism

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements

for the Degree of Master of Arts (Journalism Studies) at

Concordia University

Montreal, Quebec, Canada

March 2019

CONCORDIA UNIVERSITY
School of Graduate Studies

This is to certify that the thesis prepared

By: Nana O. Yeboah

Entitled: The Frame of Invisibility: A Study of Toronto News and Visible
Racialized Minority Group Representation

and submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts (Journalism Studies)

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Dr. Elyse Amend   _____   Chair

Dr. Greg Nielsen   _____   Examiner

Dr. Andrea Hunter   _____   Examiner

Dr. Brian Gabrial   _____   Supervisor

Approved by: _____
            Chair of Department or Graduate Program Director

            _____
            Dean of Faculty

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ABSTRACT

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The mainstream media are able to potentially influence attitudes and opinions in any society. This influence may extend to how individuals view other groups and people, including members of visible minority groups. This thesis examines whether or not Practices of Exclusion and Practices of Inclusion can be observed though Toronto television news, one of the largest television news markets. This research was conducted through a simple study of observing newscasts in the Spring of 2015 and a brief update in 2018 to see if there were any changes. The research illustrates how members of visible racialized minority communities are represented in local Canadian television newscasts both in being featured as central characters in news stories and presenting the news to the audience. It takes as its object of study the Toronto television news market and has a goal of bringing about further awareness about the possible imbalance of minority representation in Toronto news media, especially in a nation that prides itself on multicultural inclusion.

The purpose of this thesis is to examine Toronto news media and to assess how it represents visible minorities in their news coverage. This thesis rests upon the argument that media representation of visible minorities can result in supporting an underlying system of racism because of their invisibility in news media. There is no doubt that inclusion of the various ethnic voices in Canada has improved, but the discussion is far from over.

for your children to fruition. I am thankful for all of the sacrifices that you made for your children and I am eternally grateful to have known you and felt your love. I know that you are still watching over me freaking out about my poor life decisions, cheering me on when I win, and willing me to be great. I hope I made you proud.

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Chapter 1: Introduction and Purpose of Thesis

Canada is a country where its citizens are proud of its multiculturalism. In many large Canadian cities, the ethnically diverse population is celebrated and reflected in various festivals such as Caribana in Toronto, Festival International Nuits d'Afrique in Montreal, and Festival Latino in Ottawa. According to a 2016 Abacus data poll, Canadians rank multiculturalism as the ninth factor that makes them most proud (Anderson and Coletto, 2016). Such polls and celebrations suggest that Canadian cities and their citizens place importance on multiculturalism and in making individuals who come from various ethnic backgrounds feel included. This thesis explores whether this can be said when it concerns the Canadian news media, specifically television news in Toronto, the nation's largest city and media market, and the stories they present to their audiences.

According to Statistics Canada, the 2016 census indicated that 5,928,040 people live in the greater Toronto area.[1] Of those, 3,011,905 or nearly 51% percent are considered visible minorities (Statistics Canada Census Profile, 2017). While the term "visible minority" is often used to describe people of colour or members of racial or ethnic groups, for the purposes of this research, it refers to an official governmental demographic category of people who are non-white, non-Aboriginal, and non-European, including "South Asian, Chinese, Black, Filipino, Latin American, Arab, Southeast Asian, West Asian, Korean and Japanese" (Statistics Canada Census Profile, 2017). The terms visible minority and racialized minority, which the Ontario

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[1] According to Statistics Canada, the Greater Toronto Area includes the City of Toronto and the following towns and suburbs: Ajax, Aurora, Bradford West Gwillimbury, Brampton, Caledon, East Gwillimbury, Georgina, Halton Hills, King, Markham, Milton, Mississauga, Mono, New Tecumseth, Newmarket, Oakville, Orangeville, Pickering, Richmond Hill, Toronto, Uxbridge, Vaughan, Whitchurch-Stouffville

Human Rights Commission defines as a person of colour or a non-white individual (OHRC, n.d.), are often used interchangeably. To simplify their use and to avoid confusion in this thesis, the abbreviation VRMG will be used in each chapter after the first references for visible/racialized minority group and will denote members of Canada's non-white, non-European groups.

The way many Canadians learn about members of visible minorities or other groups is through stories found in the news media. It is also through the news media that these groups are represented either positively or negatively. "As a major institution in society, the media play a critical role," according to Jasmin Jawani (2003). She adds, "They provide us with definitions about who we are as a nation; they reinforce our values and norms; they give us concrete examples of what happens to those who transgress these norms; and most importantly, they perpetuate certain ways of seeing the world and peoples within that world." Thus, the media are influential because they provide information to viewers, readers, and listeners about the world in which they live and the people they see, read, and hear about. It can be assumed that if mainstream news media fail to include stories about all demographic segments of a readership or audience, those demographics and the stories about them may be viewed as unimportant. In other words, these groups and the individuals who are a part of them may become "invisible" to the population at large.

It is the purpose of this thesis to examine the presence or absence of visible/racialized minority groups (VRMGs) in Canada's largest television market, Toronto. The study of this television news market, as it concerns VRMGs, is important because, according to CBC News, Toronto will have the greatest number of visible minorities of any Canadian city by 2031, representing 63% of its population. [Vancouver's visible minorities will represent 59% of its

population, Montreal 31% (Minorities to Rise Significantly by 2031 CBC, 2010).] The same article noted that Statistics Canada predicts that one-third of Canada's population will be considered a member of a visible minority by 2031. This demographic shift in Canada indicates that VRMGs should possess important cultural, political, and social positions in Canada within the next two decades.

While the reality of the nation's future demographics may indicate a high degree of diversity and multiculturalism, this may not necessarily be reflected in Canada's mainstream news media either in the stories presented or in who presents those stories to Canadians. This is an underlying assumption of this thesis and a motivating reason for undertaking this research. Even though Canadians may pride themselves on their tolerance and acceptance of their multi-cultural society, according to Minelle Mahtani (2008), "mainstream Canadian English-language TV news does not offer racialized immigrant (VRMGs) audiences a space through which to see themselves reflected accurately as a part of Canada's rich social life beyond the celebration of ethnic events and festivals" (p. 639). Mahtani argued that the news media often ignore non-white (racialized and visible minority) groups who are not considered part of the "mainstream" audience, and stories about these groups are either incomplete or barely reported. (In other words, do, what this thesis calls, Practices of Exclusion prevent or inhibit VRMGs from being a part of mainstream media coverage and keep them invisible to the society at large?) This thesis addresses Mahtani's observation by 1) exploring whether or not Canada's multi-cultural/mosaic sensibilities can be observed in news stories presented to an audience and realised by their representation with members of a VRMG and 2) examining how VRMGs are represented (positively or negatively) in the news media and whether they are visible members as presenters

of news stories such as anchors or reporters. Therefore, two broad research questions guide this thesis:

1. Can Practices of Exclusion be observed of visible/racialized minority groups (VRMGs) in the news media? If so, how?

2. Can Practices of Inclusion of visible/racialized minority groups (VRMGs) be observed in the news media? If so, how?

Greater Toronto Television News: A Case Study

To address these research questions, this thesis undertook a case study of the Greater Toronto television news market and employed a simple content analysis to determine how many stories contained members of a VRMG and how many of those stories were told (presented) by members of a VRMG as either anchors or reporters. Following that, a framing analysis was used on selected stories where members of VRMGs feature prominently (are central characters) to determine whether or not these groups are framed and whether these frames reinforce stereotypes in the media. The frame used is called "The Frame of Invisibility" in that VRMGs are not as present as they should be. This will be further discussed in Chapter 4. The rationale for selecting the Greater Toronto Area (GTA) as a case study is simple: It is the nation's largest, metropolitan area and, as stated earlier, more than half of its citizens are considered a member of a VRMG (Press, 2017). The stories presented by the city's television news stations may have the potential to reach a large viewership that may be influenced by them.

For this research, the news content and its presentation were examined on the following English-speaking news outlets: CBC, Citytv, Global, and CTV. According to the market research firm Numeris, which provides these stations with ratings information, the GTA news

market is a metered market where news managers have access to instant overnight rating statistics, making the traditional "ratings or sweeps periods" unnecessary. (In the past, these periods produced data about viewership and ratings that helped the television stations set their advertising rates.) A decision was made to examine the period from late February through April, which had been traditionally considered the "spring ratings period." This study examined nightly newscasts of CBC, Citytv, Global, and CTV, beginning on February 23rd, 2015, and ending on April 3rd, 2015. The first segment of each newscast was examined for its story content and for who was presenting or reporting each story. These data were collected at regular two-week intervals during this period. The rationale for these consistent intervals was to gain a varied data set used to address the research questions. A full discussion of the methodology employed in this thesis is further outlined in Chapter 3.

Representing Diversity in Reporting

Canadian television journalists should be trained to report on diverse topics that involve or affect the country's VRMGs; yet, according to Faiza Hirji (2009), too many newsrooms continue to be populated by people who lack a basic knowledge or understanding about them (p. 401). As a result, newsroom personnel, such as reporters, editors, photographers, and other newsroom staff may not possess enough cultural knowledge about these groups to report stories about them with any depth or degree of sensitivity. This may affect the quality of the journalism produced and should be of concern for journalists and for the communities who are the subjects of their reports. Some research suggests that, while Canada's reputation as a socially progressive society, whose initiatives for engaging in diversity efforts are strong, its news media have "proven erratic, shallow, and tokenistic in challenging traditional representations of minorities"

(Fleras, 2011, p. 3). This implies that members of Canadian news media may take shortcuts in reporting, so, instead of producing reports that stimulate their audiences with accurate depictions of VRMGs, some reporters might inadvertently perpetuate inaccurate ideas or even stereotypes about them.

CBC reporter and anchor Kim Brunhuber, who is also a black individual, said that he believes, "[J]ournalism is about the truth, and you can't get to the truth without truly reflecting the people you are talking about" (Quoted in Estrada, 2012). If Brunhuber's observation is correct, then a lack of accurate visible minority representation or the exclusion of these groups presents a distorted picture of Canadian society and does a disservice to these groups and to Canadians in general. If a journalist serves as the eyes and ears of the community, she or he must act from the vantage point of knowledge about that community or issues concerning it before a story is reported. If a journalist's goal is to seek out the truth and share it with an audience, she or he has a responsibility "to serve the public by informing it of a range of facts, insights, and values that it might not stumble upon on its own" (Coleman and Ross, 2010, pg. 126).

Importantly, this thesis assumes that Canadian journalists work diligently to provide balanced and fair coverage of current events; yet, as Teun van Dijk (1998) noted about the media, the outcome is not always ideal because journalists exist within a system riddled with constraints (p. 188). These constraints concern meeting deadlines and increasing expectations of doing more stories with fewer resources. Such pressures may lead journalists, for example, to rely on easily understood stereotypes to get their points across (Hirji, 2009, p.398-399). It is reasonable to suggest that if journalists rely on their existing knowledge, which may include stereotypes of visible minorities, they do so without considering deeper implications of what these stories – over time - have on these communities.

Canadian (News) Media

Because this thesis concerns mainstream media, in particular local television news, it is worth recalling that, in Canada, two types of broadcast media exist that have different focal points, namely those of the private and public sectors. According to Augie Fleras (2011), "Canada's private media are concerned primarily with profits for shareholders, and their primary goal is to generate revenue by providing a commodity (e.g. news) that connects the preferred demographic with profit-driven advertisers" (p.6-7). Fleras also identified Canada's public media

> as service institutions with a mandate to provide audiences with a broad range of programs for advancing the goals of citizenship, belonging, and participation. Public media are government-or citizen -owned, focused largely on the enlightenment of individuals as citizens across a broad range of programming, geared to maximizing the public good or advancing national interests (p. 7).

In Canada, the CBC Radio-Canada fulfills this role. Although the financial motivations for each type of media are different, in such a diverse and multicultural nation as Canada, it might be assumed that the news stories in either the private or public sectors should be reflective of the people who live there. In addition, the hiring practices of either sector should reflect Canada's multi-cultural population, especially in a city like Toronto.

Marc Raboy (1990), for example, has argued that Canadian public broadcasting has not fully realized what the Canadian Radio-Television and Telecommunications Commission (CRTC), which regulates radio and television, requires it to do: Namely, that "all licensed broadcasting stations should reflect the racial and multicultural diversity of Canada in their programming and employment (Ojo, 2006, p. 345). This mandate is outlined in Canada's Broadcasting Act of 1991, which states,

> the Canadian broadcasting system should…through its programming and the employment opportunities arising out of its operations, serve the needs and interests, and reflect the circumstances and aspirations, of Canadian men, women and children, including equal rights, the linguistic duality and multicultural and multiracial nature [emphasis added] of Canadian society and the special place of aboriginal peoples within that society… (Broadcasting Act, S.C. 1991, I, 3, d, i).

Yet, the Broadcasting Act's mandate regarding the multicultural and multiracial nature of Canadian society may not be fully realized as the image of blacks and other visible minorities in the Canadian mainstream media are greatly distorted. Tokunbo Ojo (2006) noted: "Through either an act of omission (Practice of Exclusion) or commission (Practice of Inclusion), the mainstream media position aboriginal people and other people of colour as 'others' within the multicultural society of Canada" (p. 345). This suggests that members of VRMGs are often viewed as outsiders who do not fully participate as citizens in Canadian society. By examining the GTA television news market, this thesis assesses whether Ojo's 2006 observations are still valid and whether Canadian mainstream news media do or do not adequately reflect Canada's idealized goals of presenting/creating an integrated, multicultural society.

As noted earlier, in Canada, the power to regulate radio and television industries rests with the Canadian Radio-Television and Telecommunications Commission (CRTC) and, in 1991, it decided that broadcasting in Canada should reflect its diverse population and changing demographics, urging them to cover a range of stories involving people of various ethnic backgrounds and to provide information about these groups in ways that educate the public (Hirji, 2009, p.391). This acknowledgement became a call to the nation's broadcasters to reflect its multiculturalism, requiring that radio and television broadcasters complete a seven-year plan and achieve diversity in programming and operations (Fleras, 2011, p. 236). (The plan is essentially an annual report that Canadian television and radio broadcasters are supposed to

submit to the CRTC, which demonstrates good faith towards increasing diversity in programming. The CBC has a commitment to diversity and, according to its website, have, since 2007, produced annual reports detailing plans to improve diversity and employment equity; this will be further discussed in subsequent chapters (CBC Diversity and Inclusion at CBC/Radio-Canada, 2012.).

Theoretical Framework: Critical Race Theory

Informing this thesis are important theoretical ideas about race that originate in Critical Race Theory or CRT. Critical Race Theory (CRT) rests upon the notion that racism is an embedded, socially constructed hierarchy where white or lighter-skinned people are at the top of that hierarchy. The theory is concerned with examining and understanding the relationship between race, racism, and power and transforming it (Delgado and Stefancic, 2012, p.159). CRT maintains that a historical context of race and racism has shaped the power dynamic between VRMGs and non-VRMGs and must be examined to determine how both affect various aspects of their lives, from economics, to public participation, to political decision-making, and to the socio-cultural narrative, including news coverage. CRT is more fully discussed in Chapter 2.

Also informing this thesis are ideas borrowed from Roland Barthes who argued that to demystify the symbols or signs of a system, they must be identified (quoted in Allen, 2003, p. 42-45). Barthes argued that the symbolic nature of images reveals underlying messages containing social meaning and that the object, symbol or sign that represents the message needs to be scrutinized (p.39-41). If racism can be considered as a system of signs, those symbols and signs that support or encourage it must be identified. While this thesis is not a semiotic study, Barthes' ideas align with what CRT attempts to do because the theory's underlying tenets

suggest that racism exists in the everyday experience of people of colour and that it can be difficult to address because this system of racism (with all of its signs and symbols) has become normalized and unexamined, especially within the dominant white socio-cultural structure (Delgado and Stefancic, 2012, p.7-9). Critiquing this underlying/unexamined system of signs unmasks forms of racism that exclude even exploit non-white racialized "others" (Wallis and Fleras, 2009, p. 136). This suggests that VRMGs may be the subjects of imagery and descriptions that perpetuate a racist system that commits harm against them. (Certainly, racism affects members of a society, especially those who have been marginalized by it or who have not enjoyed full participation because of it.) Because CRT is concerned with revealing structures of racism, its application is appropriate to this examination of news media and their stories to reveal **"Practices of Exclusion"** and "Practices of Inclusion**"** involving VRMGs.

Practices of Exclusion

Signs of racism can be obscured by Practices of Exclusion that can take the obvious form of non-reporting on members of VRMGs and their communities. It can be apparent in hiring practices where members of these groups are excluded from jobs. In a television newsroom, this manifests in a lack of VRMGs in reporting or anchoring roles (the most publicly visible jobs at a television news operation). Ideas borrowed from the Canadian philosopher Charles Taylor are particularly germane to this study of Practices of Exclusion because, as he argued, there is a human need for positive recognition:

> Our identity is partly shaped by recognition or its absence, often by the misrecognition of others, and so a person or group of people can suffer real damage, real distortion, if the people or society around them mirror back to them a confining or demeaning or contemptible picture of themselves. Non recognition or misrecognition can inflict harm; can be a form of oppression, imprisoning someone in a false, distorted, and reduced mode of being (Taylor, 1992, p. 25).

Like Critical Race Theory (CRT), Taylor's important observation applies to this study of television news, which is a major communicative conduit regarding the lives and behaviours of a community, in this instance the Greater Toronto Area.

Practices of Exclusion refer to invisibility in the news media. This lack of representation suggests that these groups are considered outside the realm of mainstream news coverage or not worthy of it. Faiza Hirji (1996) argued, "[J]ournalists belong to a societal elite and they contribute, however unconsciously, to reinforcing existing notions about the way the world is…they are involved in a discourse that normalizes the behaviour of the white majority and emphasizes the difference represented by minorities" (p. 394-395). If VRMGs have few positive examples of individuals who are successful in the mainstream media, they may come to believe that there are no opportunities to succeed in these roles for them. Furthermore if too few members of the news media are members of VRMGs who play other prominent media roles, this may negatively influence people of color or other VRMGs from pursuing journalism or the news media as careers.

Some steps have been taken to address this concern. The CBC, for example, has set goals to eliminate Practices of Exclusion in its newsrooms, and, in 2012, its Annual Employment Equity Report indicated that its hiring trends illustrated a commitment to creating a diverse newsroom. The study showed that the number of women at the CBC/Radio-Canada was 45.3% in 2009 and grew to 46.2% by 2012. As for Aboriginal peoples, the study indicated that only

1.4% of the workforce fell into this demographic and actually fell to 1.29% by 2012. In 2009, the number of VRMGs at the CBC was 6.2%, increasing slightly to 6.5% by 2012, according to the study. Except for gender equity in the newsroom, the hiring indicated that more work needed to be done at the public broadcaster to increase the numbers of VRMGs in its newsrooms. Certainly, other Canadian media institutions like *The Globe and Mail* and *National Post*, have been scrutinized for their lack of meaningful minority representation in their news coverage and hiring, thus, preventing a credible representation of these groups as positive forces within the community (Ojo, 2006, p. 345). This research builds on that previous work.

The news media are also a part of an industry whose owners' views may affect news coverage done by their operations and may overtly or inadvertently promote Practices of Exclusion. As Tokunbo Ojo (2006, p.347) noted, much of the mainstream Canadian media industry is controlled by an elite few, who are mostly white and who hire mostly white workers who make the majority of the daily newsroom and editorial decisions. As Ojo (2006) quoted that Augie Fleras observed, "Such low visibilities may set into motion self-fulfilling prophecies; white content attracts white consumers who in turn encourage more white-based coverage in a self-perpetuating manner" (p.348). In other words, white sells because more affluent white (news) consumers would rather see their news and information coming from white sources. Such unexamined racial preferences may keep smaller numbers of visible minority journalists working and may keep stories about VRMGs from finding their way into the news (van Dijk, 1998, p.2-3). While it cannot be determined in this research about who makes hiring decisions in television newsrooms nor editorial decisions about news content, it does examine who is seen presenting these news stories and what is observed in that content and comments on how that presentation and content concerns VRMGs.

Practices of Inclusion

      Practices of Inclusion can be problematic when stories about VRMGs consistently highlight or accentuate negative attributes about these groups. If they are consistently portrayed negatively, this may shape others' opinions about them and may even alter how group members think about themselves.

      The late Edward Said (1979) posited that there is a natural tendency to normalize the self and to condemn "the other" because it is foreign and abnormal. If Canada's mainstream media are predominately populated by white people, and, if Said is correct, then, as institutions of communication, they will not adequately or even accurately represent those who are not white and, instead, represent them as "the other" or a "them." "The other," is often a visible minority whose representation in the media often suggests to audiences or readers that these groups are different or abnormal.

      Because Canada's white, European roots still dominate the cultural landscape, according to Tokunbo Ojo (2006), the cultural Canadian experiences of VRMGs are continually being filtered through the lens of white culture and the "us versus them" construction (p. 346). This mentality creates an objectified binary representation of VRMGs, who are considered the "them." The construction of binaries (us vs them) is something upon which colonialism rested, according to Stuart Hall (1997). Hall considered ideas about "the other" and media representation, arguing that media reports most often create binaries when they speak of VRMGs. In other words, VRMGs become a "them" or "others," objectified, often involving negative things. While Canada's multiculturalism promotes tolerance, accommodation, sensitivity, harmony and diversity, ideas, rooted in colonialism – a system that relied upon the creation of the objective "other" – still exists to maintain social and cultural ideas that give

preference to individuals who are part of the mainstream, and not members of VRMGs. If these groups are continually portrayed as "the other" or "them," they retain a marginalized or excluded status and may not achieve full participation within Canadian society.   (This is considered a negative Practice of Inclusion.)

In Hall's classic study "Encoding/Decoding" (1973), he suggested, "messages have a complex structure of dominance because they are imprinted by institutional power relations" that have deep semantic and cultural codes that a viewer, reader, or listener automatically decodes, depending on the level of connotation of the visual sign and its contextual reference (p. 90). In his later 1997 study on binary representation, Hall examined images of the black athlete Ben Johnson and argued that Johnson is the "other" because he is portrayed as either good/bad, hero/villain in other words in binary representation. According to Hall, the constant use of binaries -- negative or positive -- persists in Canadian media, especially when the "other" is a member of a visible minority (p.225-230).

Language and Framing

Ideas about the use of language and framing also inform this thesis and its discussion about representation and Problems of Inclusion. According to Norman Fairclough (1989), a connection exists between language use and power relationships because language shapes the production and maintenance of meaning and can change social relationships of power (p. 1). He argued that language must be closely examined to reveal these relationships. The manner in which something is said or the words that are used can potentially influence an audience in ways that encourage it to believe or feel a certain way about a topic. To explore representation in the media, it also becomes important to discuss how the use of language creates frames that

contribute to those representations. (This is further discussed in chapters 2 and 3). The news media share a level of trust with their audience, so the use of language is integral to how messages are constructed. According to Fairclough, language used in news stories creates frames that affect perceptions and shapes how individuals come to think about the subjects of a story.

In his examination of Canadian news, Augie Fleras (2011) argued that mainstream media are: 1) influential in framing who we think we are and what we think about, shaping the nature of our experiences, and 2) influential in how we relate to others and how they relate to us. Media coverage draws attention to some aspects of reality as normal and necessary – primarily by focusing on what issues to think about, how to think about these issues, and "whose voices will prevail in public discourses," and "the media actively contribute to constructing public discourses about this mediated reality" (Fleras, 2011, p.2). Fleras, who examined Canadian media's framing of immigrants or refugees as it concerned Canadian commitment to multiculturalism, found that news media portrayals of immigrants, Aboriginal peoples, and other visible minorities are usually framed within negative news contexts that included stories about crime, public disorder and deviance (Fleras, 2011, p.2). One of the major issues explored in this thesis is the disconnection between Canada's idealism in its pride of cultural diversity and inclusiveness, as reflected in the news media, and the reality that exists. Chapter 2 continues the discussion of ideas about framing and language use.

Conclusion

In conclusion, this thesis explores whether or not Practices of Exclusion and Practices of Inclusion, as they concern representation of VRMGs, exist in Canadian news media, specifically the Greater Toronto Area television news market. This chapter laid out a brief rationale for studying how visible minorities are included or excluded in Canadian news, specifically the Toronto television news market. While there is no doubt that inclusion of the various ethnic voices in Canadian news media has improved, the discussion is far from over. Every day news media engage in significant decisions about what to include and what to exclude in stories and, thus, determine what audiences or readers should know. And thus, they must be considered important reinforcers or challengers to existing notions about VRMGs represented in the media (Hirji, 2009, p. 394). This study contributes to a further understanding of how media, race, and culture intersect in Canadian media. It does this by examining how racial bias manifests itself in the media by addressing two broad research questions:

1. Can Practices of Exclusion be observed of visible/racialized minority groups (VRMGs) in the news media? If so, how?
2. Can Practices of Inclusion of visible/racialized minority groups (VRMGs) be observed in the news media? If so, how?

Because Canada is known as a nation that values multiculturalism, it becomes imperative to examine whether or not that pride is visible in all facets of social life, including television news media. Attention now turns to Chapter 2 and a discussion of race and media. In doing so, it will expand on several theoretical assumptions, mentioned briefly in this chapter, that underlie

ideas about race in Canada, Critical Race Theory, and media representation. Following that

discussion, Chapter 3 will be concerned with the methodology used to conduct this research and

will present initial findings. Chapter 4 will present further findings, discussion about the frame(s)

used and conclude this thesis.

**Chapter 2: Theoretical Framework, Multiculturalism in Canada,
Representation and Diversity in Canadian Newsrooms**

Chapter 1 introduced this thesis and laid out the purpose of its research, which is to address Practices of Exclusion and Practices of Inclusion of visible/racialized minority groups (VRMGs) by assessing the content of local, television news. Specifically, it examines how visible minorities are represented in news media and who is doing the representing. To accomplish this, the research conducted a case study of news content in Canada's largest news market, Toronto, the country's most diverse metropolitan area. This chapter more deeply explores topics briefly discussed in Chapter 1, including race in Canada and the nation's pursuit of a multicultural ideal and diversity in employment in Canadian newsrooms. It develops more fully ideas about Critical Race Theory, which is the theoretical framework underlying this thesis, as well as ideas about race and representation in the news media.

Race, Ideology, and Critical Race Theory

Because this research involves the examination of Practices of Exclusion and Practices of Inclusion as they concern VRMGs, ideas about race become paramount points of discussion. Notably, ideas about race can constitute an ideology that shapes social constructions that defend, support, and reinforce a dominant white, socio-cultural ideology; yet, ideas about race are not static and may be re-politicised into a discourse of resistance (e.g., "black is beautiful" or "Black Lives Matter") that challenges and transforms a society. According to Daniel Berardi (2008), "Race is conceived as a social and cultural discourse that informs how we see ourselves, how others see us and how we represent each other. Race as identity is meaningful because it has impact on everyday life, social practice and representation" (p. xvi).

A racial ideology often determines who benefits from society and who does not. According to Stephanie Greco Larson (2006), the media help to justify this ideology which is a system where racial minorities are subordinate to others" (p.2). Race, as Barthes would say, is a signifier in society and creates a set of codes that justify the (mis)treatment and exclusion of people of colour. Race is the non-verbal language used to define and disenfranchise individuals. Ideas about race place individuals within a social hierarchy, based on the colour of their skin. Words and imagery create the signs of race that may lead to the construction of the racialized "other." It can be so deeply rooted in many social and cultural structures that to uncover its negative effects requires a deep examination, something this thesis begins to do. Juan-Miguel Fernandez-Balboa (2000) observed this about race: "Race may reflect an accident of birth, yet profoundly shape a person's life of chances; race may be skin deep, yet provides a quick indicator for judging the worth of an individual or group" (p.134). Race is so deeply embedded into the fabric of society that from birth a member of a VRMG may be at a disadvantage, becoming automatically marginalized, stereotyped, and, in some instances, ostracized because they are considered different from mainstream society.

Critical Race Theory

Critical Race Theory (CRT) rests upon a body of scholarship by a majority of researchers who are people of color. According to Richard Delgado and Jean Stefancic (2012), this "movement is a collection of activists and scholars interested in studying and transforming the relationship among race, racism, and power" (p.3). CRT asserts that race and power have a semiotic relationship where an individual's ethnicity determines his or her ability to possess and or exercise full civil rights (power). CRT is a diverse theory that contains various facets and

encompasses economics, history and the law. The theory "originated as a response to the continuing activism of students of colour in American law schools against the discriminatory hiring and promotion practices of these white-dominated institutions. This student activism encouraged faculty of colour to articulate the role that race and racism play in law" (Aylward, 1999, p.38). Regarding racism as it concerns the legal system, CRT is often applied to first-person narratives to show that the law can be "an instrument of subordination and an agent for silencing minority voices" (Delgado and Stefancic, 2005, p. 468). While CRT may have begun as movement dealing with the law, it has been used in other disciplines as a theoretical idea, offering an explanation about how society "organizes itself along racial lines and hierarchies" and about how it may "transform it[self] for the better" (Delgado and Stefancic, 2012, p. 7).

Importantly, CRT examines the notion that racism is normalized in society despite the social and legal prohibitions against racial discrimination.

> Critical Race Theory sprang up with the realization that the civil rights movement of the 1960s had stalled and needed new approaches to deal with the complex relationship among race, racism, and American law. Derrick Bell and others began writing about liberalism's defects and the way our system of civil rights statutes and case law reinforces white-over-black domination (Delgado and Stefancic, 2005, p. 468).

CRT considers the legal system as a mechanism that perpetuates the disparity between visible/racialized minority groups (VRMGs), and, according to Delgado and Stefancic (2005), CRT is "concerned with socially constructed hierarchies, racial subordination and its maintenance and perpetuation" (p. 80). CRT rejects, as Angela Harris (2012) observed, "the conventional liberal position that racism only survives as a relic from a less-enlightened time or as a characteristic of poorly educated or troubled individuals. Critical race theorists take the position that racism is ordinary and normal in contemporary society" (p. 5). CRT asserts that

racism is so deeply imbedded within the fabric of society that it can never be fully eradicated despite efforts to eliminate racial inequality.

Ideas about CRT took shape during the post-U.S. civil rights era when attempts to legally dismantle racism failed (Harris, 2012, p. 5). At the socio-cultural level, the theory offered a response to the argument that legal efforts to end racism were not enough to bring it to an end. Many CRT theorists suggest that laws designed to prevent racism ironically perpetuate it. According to Delagado and Stefancic (2012), "[R]acism continues to blight the lives of people of color" (p. 11). Carol Aylward (1999) believes, CRT asserts that racism has taken on new forms and utilizes new strategies to perpetuate itself within society. Aylward claims,

> Today discrimination persists in forms more difficult to discern such as stereotypes, assumptions and singular viewpoints. It manifests itself as systems, practices, policies and laws that appear neutral, but that, under close inspection, have serious detrimental consequences for members of ethnic and racial communities (p. 81)

CRT views racism not as a singular occurrence beholden to a certain period but rather a persistent mechanism intertwined in the contemporary societal system that needs to be acknowledged, studied and, hopefully, abolished. In Canada, CRT theorists reject the idea that multiculturalism has extinguished racism, arguing that multiculturalism "does not speak the language of race" and gives journalists and their readers a "color-blind discourse" to hide behind that leaves racism alive and well (Palacios, 2014, p.7). It is, as Aylward (1999) suggested, an attempt by Canadians to incorrectly "erase the history of racism" (p.49). The application of CRT to this research may shed light on that assertion. At its core CRT is concerned with the intersectionality of race, racism and power; it strives to understand a current milieu in hopes of identifying and changing the problems that racism inflicts on a society and its people (especially

VMRGs). This thesis applies CRT to a media study in ways that might illuminate how racism abets Practices of Exclusion and Practices of Inclusion.

Critical Race Theory in Media Studies

Various media studies have applied Critical Race Theory (CRT) by highlighting the relationship between race, racism and power as means of exploring and/or explaining media coverage of subjects involving individuals of colour. According to Felix Odartey-Wellington (2011), "In media studies, CRT rejects 'color-blind assumptions of media objectivity'" (p. 396). Instead, as he argued, these studies highlight "the historical, cultural and political contexts of racism while interrogating issues of race from the perspectives of people of color. It also considers the absence of sustained in-depth discussion of race in mainstream media to perpetuate systematic racism" (p. 396).

In her 2009 examination of the controversy surrounding radio personality Don Imus' inappropriate and racially charged description of black women basketball players, Gloria Ladson-Billings employed CRT to discuss the larger issue of white constructions of black female bodies. Imus, a powerful American radio personality, called these women "nappy-headed hoes" on the air. Swift, public reaction caused Imus to lose his job. However, as Ladson-Billings argues, people of colour were not shocked by Imus' statement because, to them, such negative comments and negative portrayals of VRMGs is normal. Because CRT holds that ideas about race and racism are so interwoven into the social fabric, racist remarks, as in the Imus example, might elicit social outrage, but they do not result any significant, self-reflective examination about how to confront and end racism. Thus, as CRT theorists assert, racism is normal, not aberrant in American and, arguably, any society that ascribes to any form of multiculturalism

such as Canada (Ladson-Billings, 2009, p. 88). Race also acts as a determinant in the various

power dynamics and hierarchies that affect people of color. In her research, Ladson-Billings

determined that "race continues to be both important and under-theorized regardless of the

argument that racism is a relic of the past in a post-racial, multicultural society" (p.12). Ladson-

Billings further notes, "The work of CRT is to both document the incidents of racism while

simultaneously unearthing evidence to refute stereotypical images and portrayals of Blacks (p.

97).

In *Media Reporting of Sandy Hook Elementary School Angels* (2013), Cassandra Chaney

and Ray Robertson compared media coverage of murdered white and black children. In Chaney

and Robertson's research, they explored the construction of the (white) victims of Sandy Hook

Elementary and the construction of (black) victims of Chicago's inner-city gun violence.

Importantly, Chaney and Robertson justified their study with the following argument:

> This topic is important for two reasons. For one, negative portrayals of Blacks in the
> media have resulted in the wanton stereotyping, unwarranted fear, intense criminal
> sentencing, mass incarceration, and death of members of this group. Furthermore,
> negative perceptions of Blacks have been shown to negatively affect the health of
> members of this group, and is the impetus that drives the overt and covert forms of
> racism they frequently experience (quoted in Chaney and Robertson, 2013, p.75).

They found that white and black children who were victims of crime are not described in the

same way. The Sandy Hook victims were described as angels, which acts as a "constant

reminder (unconsciously and consciously) that these children were innocent and pure and did not

deserve what happened to them, while Black children [were] merely the victims or the deceased"

(p.99).   Chaney and Robertson observed that white children were idolized while black children

remained nameless, invisible victims. As Chaney and Robertson noted,

The use of the word "angels" is deliberate and is a subtle yet very powerful form of racism that creates inequities in how the lives of these children are viewed while castigating Black children and other children of color to an inferior state where their deaths do not elicit the same degree of public shock, sadness, frustration, or anger (p. 99).

In 2014, Lena Carla Palacios explored racialized and gendered narratives in Canadian news media. She examined news stories about

David Chen, a Chinese store owner in Toronto's Chinatown who was acquitted on charges that he beat, hog-tied, and kidnapped Anthony Bennett, a shoplifter of Canadian-Caribbean origins, who stole $60 worth of plants. The second story involves Korean-born Kwang Soo Kim, a Winnipeg shopkeeper who allegedly murdered Geraldine Beardy, a First Nations woman; because she was stealing a dollar-and-a-half can of luncheon meat (Palacios, 2014, p.1-2).

Both men were cleared of their charges. Palacios found that a hierarchical and racialized system emerged in the news coverage: "Whether citizens or migrants, Asians are elevated over First Nations and black/Caribbean communities due to their so-called inherent dedication to heterosexual family life, hard work, educational achievement, and capitalistic values" (Palacios, 2014, p.5). Similar to Stuart Hall's work, Palacios noted that immigrant men are placed in binary roles such as heroic vigilante or a villain who uses excessive force (p.2), but, arguably, they cannot be both. In Chen's and Kim's cases, they were seen as "good immigrants representing Canadian values of hard work and justice" (pg. 8). While the Canadian news media de-racialized this story by making it seem as if race was not an issue, according to Palacios, the legal system failed Anthony Bennett and Geraldine Beardy because their VRMG status was viewed an inferior to Chen and Kim in the "racialized, gendered hierarchy of power" (p.7). As Palacios' article indicted, CRT exposes the reality that racism persists despite any legal efforts to remedy the situation and any claims that it is a thing of the past.

A belief exists that responsible American (and Canadian) news media currently engage in post-racial constructions in news content. However, Mohammed el-Nawawy and Mohamad

Hamas Elmasry found otherwise in their examination of (cable news) coverage of a mass 2015

shooting in a Charleston, South Carolina, church. They examined CNN's "Anderson Cooper

360°" and Fox News' "The O'Reilly Factor" coverage of the shooting and the subsequent

removal of the Confederate flag from South Carolina's capitol. El-Nawawy and Elmasry

observed that Coopers' show constructed a "Good versus Evil" scenario to describe events while

O'Reilly's used the tragedy as a premise to defend gun rights. While both programs drew

attention to racism, they ignored the structural context of racism that makes racist violence

thrive, implying that "America was in a post-racism era" (el-Nawawy & Elmasry, 2018, p.942).

The researchers further suggested that American news media dismiss claims of institutional

racism by saying the perpetrator is racist not the system. As el-Nawawy and Elmasry noted,

"Critical Race scholars oppose claims of objectivity, meritocracy, color blindness, race neutrality

and equal opportunity, asserting that these claims camouflage the self-interest, power and

privilege of dominant groups" (quoted in el-Nawawy & Elmasry pg 946, Yosso et al 2009). CRT

scholars refute the ideology that relegated racism to specific individuals and views it as a

systemic institutional problem.

Race in Canada

In Canada, racial issues of the past persist in the present despite the country's

commitment to racial inclusion and non-discriminatory practices. "[P]eople of color are no

longer subjected to legal restrictions of the past that had kept them from participating fully in

Canadian society, and it is now unacceptable to openly discriminate against an individual based

on the colour of their skin, " according to Maria Wallis and Augie Fleras. They add, "still, race

continues to matter as a central organizing principle in constructing society, deeply embedded in

thought and action and as a core component of minority identities and patterns of resistance" (Wallis and Fleras, 2009, p. x). They assert that, in Canada, an underlying racist ideology of white superiority that began in colonial days (which led to slavery) has led to more subtle forms of racism today and practiced through exclusion and exploitation of racialized minorities (p. x). The news media may perpetuate this ideology through their selections of stories, which may or may not be overtly racist but may include subtle messages that perpetuate a preference for white, European cultural experiences, while ignoring/excluding the experiences of those in communities outside of those groups. Teun Van Dijk suggested that many ways in which features of news reports, such as lexical choice, placement and structure combine to create and reinforce notions of, arguably, white superiority and a preference for stories about the white, dominant culture (Van Dijk, 1993, p. 241-242).

According to Fleras (2014), "[R]acism is deeply ingrained in Canada's history, culture, law, and institutions, resulting in patterns of racialized inequality that persist into the present" (p. 4). For many decades, Fleras notes, "Canada's immigration policies also reflected racist tendencies as they favoured northern Europeans in hopes of preserving a white Canada" (p. 5). For example, "government authorities interned thousands of racialized and (visible) ethnic minorities during World War I and II. Jews and African Canadians were routinely denied access to public and private institutions, such as schools, regardless of their qualifications," wrote Fleras (p. 5). "Canada was not even exempt from those reviled symbols of white supremacist America, the Ku Klux Klan. In the 1920s and 1930s the Kanadian Klan, as it was called, flourished in central and western Canada with much of its racist bile directed at blacks and Catholics, French Canadians, and Asians" (Fleras, 2014, p. 5). While Canadians may believe the country has progressed beyond its negative racial history, a reality exists that race still matters and that

Canadians do not live in a post-racial society. The goal is to move the discourse away from an understanding of racism as a systemic and institutional problem and reduce it to a relic of the past that is exercised occasionally by a few deranged individuals (Hodges, 2015, p.421).

While examples of racism are not as overt as they were in the past, more subtle forms exist such as restrictions that target mainly members of VMRGs, "for example, the banning of baggy pants, baseball caps, dreadlocks or corn rows, and athletic wear by bars and clubs may serve as a twenty-first-century (dress) code for no 'coloureds' allowed" (Fleras, 2014 p. 5-6). Such restrictions on dress or hair styles illustrate a reality that difference is only permitted within the confines of socially acceptable, "white" norms. Thus, racism is no longer explicit but still damaging in its effects. "Racialized minorities continue to be politely denied equitable access to housing, employment, media, education, policing, and social services. As a group, they not only earn less income, they experience higher levels of poverty and unemployment," according to Fleras (2014, p. 6). As per the 2016 census, nearly 51% of the population who live in the Greater Toronto Area (GTA) are visible minorities (Statistics Canada Census Profile, 2017). In October 2017, the *Toronto Star* published an article detailing that in 2016 more than 55% of members of VRMGs were living on less than $30,000 annually, almost 14% of non-VRMGs earned $100,000 or more a year and only 4% of VRMGs made that much money in 2016 (Monsebraaten, 2017). This disparity suggests the "status quo of inequality that permeates within the social hierarchy" (Greco Larson, 2006, p. 2) with non-VRMGs at the top and may suggest who succeeds and who does not.

Canada and Multiculturalism

According to Joseph Mensah (2002), multiculturalism refers to communities of numerous

ethnicities that "involves some normative prescriptions about how Canadian society ought to be,

especially regarding ethnic and racial relations" (p. 204). The *Collins English Dictionary* defines

multiculturalism as "a situation in which all the different cultural or racial groups in a society

have equal rights and opportunities, and none is ignored or regarded as unimportant"

(Multiculturalism Definition (n.d)). Similarly, The International Federation of Library

Association and Institutions (IFLA), defines multiculturalism "as the co-existence of diverse

cultures, where culture includes racial, religious, or cultural groups and is manifested in

customary behaviours, cultural assumptions and assumptions and values, patterns of thinking,

and communicative styles" (International Federation of Library Association and Institutions,

2016). Descriptively, multiculturalism means the various types of people within a geographic

space, and, as a normative term, it refers to ideologies or policies that promote diversity

(Heywood, 2000).

In *Multiculturalism and the Politics of Recognition* (1992), Charles Taylor has observed

that these ideas behind multiculturalism stem from the human necessity to be recognized within a

socio-cultural context:

> Our identity is partly shaped by recognition or its absence, often by the misrecognition of
> others, and so a person or group of people can suffer real damage, real distortion, if the
> people or society around them mirror back to them a confining or demeaning or
> contemptible picture of themselves. Nonrecognition or misrecognition can inflict harm,
> can be a form of oppression, imprisoning someone in a false, distorted, and reduced mode
> of being (p. 25).

Taylor suggested that individuals define themselves by how others view them. In essence, it is

the belief that knowledge of the self is socially constructed in that self-knowledge is based upon

the perceptions of others. Simply acknowledging the legal existence of visible minorities is

insufficient there needs to be social recognition (and inclusion) by the greater society. This participation is encouraged if visible minorities recognize themselves as members of Canada's numerous social institutions ranging from government to entertainment to news. Ironically, as Taylor observed, when once-dominant groups feel threatened by the demands that multiculturalism poses, this may give rise to nationalist movements in politics (p. 25).

As Chapter 1 discussed, Canadians take pride in their multicultural demographics yet, according to Wallis and Fleras (2009), they tend to overlook the salience of race as a cultural force that still shapes and affects ways of thinking about people of color (p.x). As a result of this, Canada has struggled to account for racism and to ameliorate its effects on its non-white populations. By comparison, Canada's neighbour, the United States, engages in affirmative action plans that are positive efforts to improve the employment or educational opportunities of members of VRMGs and women (Merriam-Webster, 2018). U.S. affirmative action began in "1941 when President Franklin D. Roosevelt signed an executive order that banned discriminatory hiring policies by defence-related industries that held federally funded contracts," (Wasson, 2004, p. 5). Likewise, President John F. Kennedy did the same in 1961, requiring federal contractors take positive steps to ensure affirmative action or face the termination of their government contracts. After these executive movements, in 1964, Congress passed the Civil Rights Act that "forbade discrimination on the basis of sex as well as race in hiring, promoting, and firing" (National Archives and Records Administration, n.d.).

While the U.S. Civil Rights Act worked towards directly erasing inequality in the job market, Canada took a different path. In 1982, the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms articulated a set of goals for the country and protections for all Canadian citizens.

> Every individual is equal before and under the law and has the right to the equal protection and equal benefit of the law without discrimination and, in particular, without discrimination based on race, national or ethnic origin, colour, religion, sex, age or mental or physical disability (Canadian Charter, 1982, s 15(1)).

The Charter says explicitly that every individual has rights under Canadian law and the same privileges as everyone else.

> (2) Subsection (1) does not preclude any law, program or activity that has as its object the amelioration of conditions of disadvantaged individuals or groups including those that are disadvantaged because of race, national or ethnic origin, colour, religion, sex, age or mental or physical disability (Canadian Charter, 1982, s 15(2)).

The Charter acknowledges there are individuals or groups (VRMGs) who are disadvantaged because of their differences to a normative Caucasian patriarchal society despite the aspiration for equality.

In 1988, Parliament passed the Multicultural Act, and, according to Fleras (2014), it has become a complex and contested governance policy that tried to respond to the social, political, and historical changes taking place in the country as it worked to create an inclusionary framework for all Canadians (p. 23). The Act, introduced by Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau, declared Canada as a multicultural nation that valued and recognized members of all of its varied communities with goals to acknowledge and respect the rights of all people regardless of race, native language, or origin and to broaden the previous aim of respecting only the founding British and French cultural contributions to Canadian society. While the multicultural idea expanded the Canadian cultural narrative, it did not eliminate the privilege given to white Anglophone and Francophone Canadians, who are considered the nation's founding European peoples (Walcott, 2003, p. 118-119). Still, as Fleras (2011) points out, "Multiculturalism is Canada's commitment to the principle of institutional inclusiveness. Public and private

institutions are under mounting pressure to be more inclusive, in part by improving workplace access, representation, and equity; in part by creating a workforce that reflects, respects, and is responsive to employee diversity" (p. 55). This diversity should be reflected in Canadian media, namely journalism.

Success or Failure of Multiculturalism

Multiculturalism is not without its critics who argue that its official recognition undermined the status of the country's French and English heritage and fostered cultural relativism (Mensah, 2002, p. 207-210). This "cultural relativism" supposes that people are revered for their cultural backgrounds and not their hard work and may be getting "a free ride" because of their ethnicity or culture. To illustrate this point, Reginald W. Bibby (1990) made this observation:

> Since the 1960s, Canada has been encouraging the freedom of groups and individuals without simultaneously laying down cultural expectations. Canada has also been encouraging the expression of viewpoints without simultaneously insisting on the importance of evaluating the merits of those viewpoints (p. 10).

These critics also argued that the balance of fairness had shifted in favour of those groups traditionally excluded from the dominant anglo-Franco social narrative, and this shift might sow further seeds of division, breeding resentment by the once-dominant socio-cultural groups. Bibby lamented that multiculturalism worked to kill Canada's moral consensus and poked holes in the country's social fabric (p. 14). Another observer of multiculturalism and the problems it may entail is Joseph Mensah (2002), who noted the following:

> [Multiculturalism] used to steer ethnic minorities into specific occupational structures and residential arrangements and, thereby, to exclude them from full and equal participation in Canadian society. Other opponents discredit multiculturalism as a regressive ideology that endorses the symbolic, ornamental, and situational aspects of minority cultures and downplays the substantive and structural dimensions of minority demand (p. 227).

Mensah observed that "Multiculturalism is beset by a host of troublesome ambiguities and contradictions for Canadians in general and for Blacks and other visible minorities in particular. Official multiculturalism has been limited in its capacity to respond to the problems of race-and ethnic-based inequalities and discrimination in Canada" (p. 229). While multiculturalism attempts to acknowledge cultural differences among Canadians by making it possible for citizens to celebrate their unique cultural backgrounds and to participate fully in Canadian society, in practice, multiculturalism has proven problematic for the people it is supposed to help. Just as groups are asserting their identities, they undermine the identities of others, with the belief that this behaviour will maintain and, possibly, strengthen their own individuality (p. 230). In other words, critics of multiculturalism consider it an issue because, as some groups exhibit pride in their, culture other groups may view this pride as a threat to their own and, arguably, give rise to nationalistic views.

The category of "racialized minorities" officially became a part of Canadian society in 1988 with the passage of the Multicultural Act and denoted members of VRMGs, who had been viewed differently within Canada's larger socio-cultural framework. The Multicultural Act did not change perceptions of VRMGs or their treatment. Hall (1997) argued that inequality persists because socio-cultural structures tend to favour the dominant, white culture. This inequality manifests itself for members of VRMGs in ways that have ranged from slavery to carding. In April 2015, *Toronto Life* published Desmond Cole's article "The Skin I'm In: I've Been Interrogated by the Police more than 50 times – All because I'm Black." In the article, Cole

described his interactions with Toronto's police. Cole, whose parents immigrated to Canada in the 70s from Sierra Leone, wrote, "[T]he cops stopped me anywhere they saw me, particularly at night…an officer stopped me as I was walking home from a movie. When I told him I wasn't carrying ID, he twisted his face in disbelief…Sir, it's important that you always carry identification" (Cole, 2015). Cole's experience suggested that the police officers, whether consciously or unconsciously, targeted him because of his skin colour. Cole's observations align with the results of a CBC news investigation that documented the police practice of "carding" mostly individuals of colour (CBC "Here's What You Need To Know About Carding", 2017).

Still, some success in achieving a multicultural society in Canada is evident. According to an October 20th, 2015 *Globe and Mail* article, a record number of Members of Parliament (MPs) are members of a VRMG. In 2015, of the 338 seats in Parliament, 46 or 13.6% of MPs were members of VRMG. This is up from 28 (or 8%) from 2011. Andrew Griffith, who worked on issues of multiculturalism for the federal government, is quoted in the article as saying, "Having racialized minority MPs...facilitates greater identification with Canadian political institutions among visible minorities as they can see themselves reflected in these same institutions" (Chowdhry, 2015). (This is something Charles Taylor addressed in *Multiculturalism and 'the Politics of Recognition'*).

While this shows progress, the article pointed out that the lack of inclusiveness is still a persistent problem because members of VRMGs cannot identify with the political power structures affecting their lives. A 2016 article in *The Toronto Star*, by Shree Paradkar suggested that "the major newsrooms in this country – the *Toronto Star* included – are white, leading to tone-deaf, biased coverage of news." Paradkar's comment reinforced an assumption that Canadian newsrooms are predominantly populated by white men. She challenged news

organizations to refute this by producing their racial diversity data because, as she argued, the duty of the Canadian news media are to provide transparency to their viewership and the communities they serve. (How can Canadian news media adequately serve their multicultural viewers with coverage and journalists who do not visually represent their audience?). *Toronto Star* editor Michael Cooke wrote that he thinks that "the economic reality is the biggest current barrier to diversity. A shrinking staff is more likely to reflect hiring decisions of 10-25 years ago with more junior people leaving and more senior people staying" (Paradkar, 2016). According to Cooke, the junior staff would most likely be members of VRMGs who were the last hired. While this does not justify a lack in diversity in journalism, it does help explain it.

Stereotyping

One problem often identified in media coverage is the use of stereotypes, whether positive or negative, and how they represent VRMGs. A stereotype is defined as a belief that all people or things with a particular characteristic are the same (Merriam-Webster 2018). Stereotypes give what Hall said are, "common sense understandings of race and culture" (quoted in Brennen and Brown 2016, p.25). As Stuart Hall further noted, "[T]he media construct conceptual frameworks for representing, understanding and interpreting issues of race" (p.25). Hall noted, that "there are two types of racism in contemporary culture, overt and inferential." Stereotypes abet both.

According to Social Identity Theory (SIT), an idea put forth by Henry Tajfel and John Turner (1979), an "us versus them" mentality when members of a social group, labelled the "in-group" (us) seeks to find negative aspects of an **"out-group"** (them) as a way to enhance the "in-group's" self-image. SIT contends that "in-groups" often rely on prejudicial stereotypes that are

racist and discriminatory in nature. At its most extreme, the creation of an "out-group" can result in genocide" (Ashforth and Mael, 1989). Tajfel and Turner argued that three mental processes are involved in evaluating others as "us" or "them"; 1) categorization, 2) social identification, and 3) social comparison. They asserted that humans naturally compartmentalize, separate and compare different groups; therefore, members of a dominant group would view minority groups as different, as "them" or the "other." This creation of "others" is a process by which individuals come "to understand the social environment" and to recognize members of social groups who are not included in theirs, according to Saul McLeod (2008). This process can lead to the use of stereotypes (Bodenhausen, Macrae and Sherman, 2016, p. 272). In other words, stereotyping becomes a shortcut to portraying someone a certain way that is easily understood and interpreted (Tolley, 2016, p. 170). Canada has attempted to combat stereotyping by promoting social inclusiveness and multiculturalism.

Using political reporting of race in Canadian media as an example where stereotypes might be used, Erin Tolley said, "[P]olitical reporters are faced with fast-moving issues, multiple actors, and stories with several dimensions. This creates a challenge given that a key objective is to cut through the complexity to deliver a product that citizens are able to easily digest and understand" (p. 171). While most journalists must take complicated information and simplify it for their news audience, they must take care not to do this at the expense of the story. Of course, members of the news media are not necessarily aware that they may be perpetuating stereotypical norms and ideals. In fact, John Miller, a former journalist and professor emeritus at Ryerson University, noted that reporters get defensive when they are asked about racism because they believe that they are being accused of being racist or of promoting racism.

Diversity in Canadian Newsrooms

While diversity is a sweeping term that presents a generalized ideal, it does not

necessarily help understand equality because hierarchal structures persist, especially in places

like a newsroom. According to Erin Tolley, (2016),

> Newsrooms exhibit a relative lack of gender and racial diversity; the absence of women
> and visible minority reporters and editors may either contribute to a silencing of these
> voices or create the impression that their perspectives do not matter. Even if there were
> more female and minority journalists, news norms would favour a masculine and
> "mainstream" framing of events and actors because of the prevalence of patriarchy and
> the normalization of whiteness in institutions and society (p. 29).

According to a CBC report on the 2016 Census, racialized minorities account for 22.3% of

Canada's population and that, by 2036, visible minorities will comprise of 34.4% of the

population, (Key Highlights from the Latest Release of 2016 Census Data, 2017). As such these

groups should have representation in Canadian journalism. Eugenia Siapera (2010), asserted that

it is through the news media that "we construct our cultural identities" (p.7). Therefore it is

integral that visible/racialized minority groups (VRMGs) are included in Canadian newsrooms

because of the pride and importance placed on multiculturalism. Furthermore, VRMG

representation is vital because they need to be present in order to construct their own identities.

Other Newsroom Constraints Affecting Diversity

Monika Metykova (2016) has noted, "Journalists provide a public service...they are

impartial, neutral, fair and (thus) credible...(they)have a sense of ethics, validity and legitimacy"

(p.106). "While journalists may have every intention of providing the most accurate and

informative coverage they work within an economic system that has constraints," according to

Leslie Regan Shade (2010, p.398). These constraints may affect diversity in the newsroom and in

overall news content. Canadian newsrooms have witnessed job losses over the years, and job

security is not always certain. In April 2014, Shaw Media cut 400 jobs from its various

businesses, including its media division, which includes Global Television (Ngyuen, 2014). In

November 2015, Bell Media (which includes CTV) cut 380 jobs from its operations, productions

and editorial staff and in 2016 Rogers Media (which includes Citytv) cut 200 jobs in television,

radio, publishing and administration (Dobby, 2016).

Increasing diversity in Canadian media requires that individuals who have been

traditionally marginalized are made a part of the mainstream. To reiterate, the Canadian

Broadcasting Act of 1991 states a commitment to Canadian broadcasting as being reflective of

all people by "serving the needs and interests, and reflecting the circumstances and aspirations,

of Canadian men, women and children, including equal rights, the linguistic duality and

multicultural and multiracial nature of Canadian society and the special places of aboriginal

peoples within that society" (Broadcasting Act, 1991). Frances Henry and Carol Tator (2000)

observed:

> The Canadian Ethnocultural Council observed that the unequal status of racial minorities
> in the media was reflected by their absence from on-air roles such as anchors, reporters,
> experts, or actors and their lack of representation at all levels of staffing operations,
> production, and decision-making positions in communications. Their limited participation
> is considered the result of both overt bias and systemic discrimination (p. 52-53).

 In other words, if members of VRMGs are not represented in mainstream culture, neither will

their voices and/or perspectives. There is an obvious commitment to producing inclusive

programming and having racialized minorities and stories about them reflected in Canadian

society but that is difficult in reality.

In Canada, the power to maintain this commitment to diversity and to regulate radio rests

with the Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission (CRTC 2012). To

carry out the mandate of the 1991 Broadcasting Act, the CRTC ordered that all broadcasting

stations reflect the racial and multicultural diversity of Canada in their programming and

employment (Ojo, 2006, p. 345).

> The Commission calls upon the Canadian Association of Broadcasters to prepare an action plan for the creation of a task force. The task force, to consist of representatives of the broadcasting industry and community groups, will be responsible for examining, and finding ways to improve, the representation of Canada's cultural diversity on television (CRTC, 2001).

The hope was that all Canadians could see themselves portrayed accurately and fairly, and

without stereotyping (CRTC 2012). Fleras (2011) wrote:

> In theory, media institutions are under pressure to incorporate minority inclusiveness in line with Canada's multicultural principles, provisions of the Broadcasting Act, and human rights protocols. In reality, however, patterns of inclusiveness have proven erratic, shallow, and tokenistic in challenging traditional representations of minorities (p. 3).

The CRTC has explicitly stated in its television policy that the broadcasting system should be a

mirror in which all Canadians can see themselves. It should also provide opportunities to

producers, writers, technicians and artists from different cultural and social backgrounds. To

carry out those goals, the Canadian Association of Broadcasters (CAB) is mandated to examine

all the licensees required by the CRTC (CAB Diversity in Broadcasting, n.d.), which includes the

owners of the news organizations being examined for this study (Bell Media, Rogers Media,

CBC, and Shaw Communications). So far, the CAB has not produced any relevant information

about whether the CRTC's goals have been met.

In Canada, its public broadcaster, the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC) has a mandate

that calls for the organization to promote inclusive hiring practices that promote women and

other traditionally marginalized groups, including visible minorities. In 2008, the CBC, for

example, undertook an analysis of its own hiring practices and found that visible minorities

constituted 6.1% of its newsroom personnel. Those whose heritage is aboriginal made up 1.4%

of the staff, and 1.7% were people with disabilities. In terms of gender, 45.4% of the newsroom staff were women (CBC/Radio-Canada 2008 Annual Employment Equity Report, 2008). At this point, VMRGs were under-represented at the public broadcaster. Four years later, the CBC put in place a plan to improve diversity in its newsroom by 2015 and set goals to increase hiring more individuals who are considered members of designated groups who are underrepresented in its newsrooms. According to its 2017 Employment Equity Annual Report, the CBC staff increased by 0.2%, Indigenous staff remained at 2%, persons with disabilities increased by 0.1%, and visible minorities increased by 1% (Diversity and Inclusion Report, 2017). The same report also states that women account for 54.5% of individuals who are hired and 50.8% of people who are promoted. VRMGs make up 26.6% of new hires and 16.4% of VRMGs are individuals who are promoted. 2.1% of Indigenous peoples were hired, and 0.7% of the new hires were individuals with disabilities (Diversity and Inclusion Report, 2017, p.2).

Journalism as a Social Influencer

Pierre Bourdieu (2005) discussed the relationship between the political and the social field as well as the field of journalism and how they have an effect on each other. He argued that journalism has become a threat to the autonomous fields of society such as politics, academics, etc., due to the power that it wields (quoted in Marlière 1998, p.219). According to Bourdieu, media can affect how society functions because they shape opinion, affecting how citizens think and feel about topics and social change. The media influence how individuals learn about their communities and may affect attitudes and opinions about various subject matters. "Contemporary life is inseparable from mainstream media; their pervasiveness is such that media infiltrate into our lives without much awareness or resistance on our part. Incidents that matter

become media events; media events are those that matter" (Fleras & Lock Kunz, 2001, p.47). Media are part of institutional structures that can influence social narratives, and, therefore, they choose what to include or exclude in stories and whose voices are heard. These ideas are important to this thesis because they suggest that stories of inclusion, especially in positive representations, are important to any group.

Representation and Media

Concepts of representation and media are fundamental to this thesis, and it has been argued here that media are integral and powerful entities in shaping and influencing ideas about representation. Faiza Hirji (2009) said "the media exercises significant influence over public opinion. The role (theoretically) of a journalist is to report the truth hence the faith of many/some citizens in the media" (p. 394). Most members of the news media do recognize that they play a key role of shaping the world for their audience. "They select the issues and events to which our attention will be drawn, choose the voices that will be heard, and frame the stories in ways that will resonate," as Erin Tolley observed (2016, p. 164). The media "have been guilty of objectifying VRMGs who have become an internal other reported on as problematic and undesirable" (quoted in Miles and Brown, 2003, p. 141). A relationship of trust exists between the news media and its audience hence, the faith many citizens have in journalistic accounts is bound to a belief that the journalist has adhered to professional standards (quoted in Shade, 2010, p.394).

Journalists can shape, create, and promote various representations of groups and individuals. As such, they should produce news content that exposes audiences to positive representations of themselves. According to Stuart Hall (1997), representation involves the use

of language because it is an essential part of the process by which meaning is produced and exchanged between members of a culture (p.15). Pierre Orelus (2017) observed,

> How you represent groups, whether you stereotype them, whether you acknowledge their role in history, whether you appreciate the differences between different members of the same group, whether you don't judge them according to some general standard, whether they're more civilized than others, or more barbaric than others, representation does affect how we think about, see, and imagine other people (p.119-120).

Because representation signifies meaning, it can be assumed that the representation of a VRMG shapes meaning about those groups.

A central idea behind the notion of representation is that "messages have a complex structure of dominance because they are imprinted by institutional power relations," as Hall (1973) suggested in "Encoding/Decoding" (p. 90). These messages present deep semantic and cultural codes that a viewer, reader, or listener automatically interpret depending on the level of connotation of the visual sign and its contextual reference. In Hall's (1997) study of images of Ben Johnson, he observed that Johnson, who is black, is portrayed in binaries (good or bad, hero or villain) and argued that this binary positioning of negative or positive images in Canadian media is more prevalent when the subject is a member of a VMRG (p.225-230). He also asserted that these binaries, regardless of their positive or negative connotations, objectifies the subject and creates an "other." As such, he argued that these simple, binary representations matter because they dictate how people of colour are recognized and how people of colour come to view themselves. Binaries can fail to engage audience members with the full complexities of a story, leaving them without a full understanding of those involved.

As it concerns media and Practices of Inclusion, representation in media content can be positive or negative. Exposure to negative or positive stories can shape opinions, accordingly, and potentially create or reinforce stereotypes about members of VRMGs. Positive cultural

representation is integral to redirecting the narrative by including the voices of VRMGs in such a way that shifts power structures away from a white patriarchal society to individuals who have not been a part of those structures. Further, positive representation in societal domains such as news media gives disenfranchised groups the opportunity to challenge and change established views or stereotypes of VRMGs. According to a 2014 study conducted by Ryerson University of Toronto's media market, portrayals of black people often perpetuated stereotypes about them and shaped assumptions about their capabilities as fully functioning, and, arguably, positive members of society (The Black Experience Project, 2014). (This thesis hopes to add to that study.)

It is often said that there is power in language because it is what various individuals including journalists use to communicate with their audience. Language and power have a semiotic relationship in that language is a system of signs that denote who has power and who does not. Language used in a news story, for example, creates messages that have a specific tone that can be interpreted positively or negatively. The language of a news story conveys sentiment, suggesting how the audience should feel. While this is not a study of agenda setting its guiding theoretical principle about media not telling audiences what to think but what to think about is germane.

The use of language creates meaning for individuals, and the way language is used creates frames about how individuals come to understand others and themselves. Norman Fairclough's ideas on media, language and power are important because, as he argued, language cannot be separated from power relationships that are based upon dominant/submissive groups that can be "ordered, checked, registered, shifted, and so forth" (Fairlclough, 1989, p.212). According to Fairclough, a "widespread underestimation of the significance of language in the production, maintenance, and change of social relations of power...contributes to the domination

of some people by others" (Fairclough, 1989, p.1). Language can be used to maintain ideologies by recycling messages that reinforce these principles, including a racist philosophy.

Language also creates narratives that individuals can understand, according to Hayden White (1984). White's definition of narrative suggests that stories an audience receives from the news media are stories that resonate for them, abetting trust in their truthfulness and accuracy. Martin Conboy (2007) has also noted that "(Language) assists in the creation of a set of public discourses through its selection of narratives and the language it employs to project them" (p.5). These narratives are expected, and are "essential component[s] of how our news media select and structure information" (Conboy, 2007, p.141). These narratives construct a social reality for individuals (Berger and Luckman, 1976).

Language use creates the frames, which delimit the boundaries of understanding about events or people or things. Media cannot help but create frames, and, as Augie Fleras (2011) noted:

> Mainstream media are influential in framing who we think we are, what we think about, the nature of our experiences, how we relate to others, and how they relate to us. Media coverage draws attention to some aspects of reality as normal and necessary – primarily by focusing on what issues to think about, how to think about these issues, and whose voices will prevail in public discourses...the media actively contribute to constructing public discourses about this mediated reality (p.2).

Fleras, for example, utilized a framing analysis to study media coverage of immigrants or refugees in Canadian media and found that the news media's portrayal of immigrants, Aboriginal peoples and racialized minorities are often framed negatively, especially in news stories about crime, public disorder and deviance (p.2). Faiza Hirji's (2009) framing analysis of the news coverage of the Shafia murder trials found similar results. To summarize, on June 30, 2009, Zainab, Sahar and Geeti Shafia, along with their stepmother, Rona Amir, were found drowned in

a submerged locked car in the Kingston area of eastern Ontario. The framing of the murders, according to Hirji, indicated that the family's Afghan roots and the repeated use of the term "honour killing" received prominence in the coverage, suggesting that honour killings are common among Afghan people. "By highlighting/alluding/claiming that this crime was committed by people with values foreign to Canadian society they were validating notions that Western societies are more progressive, developed, and civilized," (Hirji, 2009, p. 393).

Conclusion

In conclusion, this chapter discussed race and the theoretical ideas underlying this research, including ideas about multiculturalism, representation and diversity in Canadian newsrooms. Various media institutions such as the CBC, *Globe and Mail* and *National Post*, have been scrutinized for their lack of minority representation in their stories and for not giving VRMGs an opportunity to provide meaningful input on news content, thus robbing these groups of the opportunity to be seen as progressive forces within a community (Ojo, 2006, p. 345). While minorities are a recognized segment of the multicultural nation of Canada, this thesis explores whether they are represented adequately in Canadian news media. Of the four television news stations being examined in this thesis, CBC, Citytv, Global and CTV, only the CBC has a specific mandate outlined on its website stating that its programming should reflect the multicultural and multiracial nature of Canada (CBC Mandate, 1991). As this thesis continues, it further illustrates the differences in VRMG representation in public versus private broadcasting. The next chapter explains the methodology for this research, which is a case study that examines Practices of Exclusion and Practices of Inclusion in the Toronto news market.

Chapter 3:
Methodology and Findings

The previous chapter discussed race, representation, and diversity in Canadian

newsrooms as well as a theoretical framework borrowed from Critical Race Theory (CRT),

which asserts that ideas about race and racism permeate various societal structures, including the

news media. Critical Race Theory holds that even countries like Canada, which espouses to be a

multicultural and inclusive society, cannot avoid racism's effects on its citizens, culture, and

various social issues for example fair housing practices and equal employment opportunities.

[The hypothesis for this study is that multiculturalism as represented by visible/racialized

minority groups (VRMGs) are not evident in Canadian media, in this case the Toronto television

news market.] According to Maria Wallis and Augie Fleras (2009), "there exists in Canada an

underlying/unexamined system of racism that continues to exclude even exploit racialized

"others"" (p. xxiii). This thesis's purpose is to identify if an "unexamined system of racism"

exists in Canadian media. It does so by analyzing news content for evidence of a lack of VRMG

representation in daily newscasts in Canada's largest television market, Toronto.

Indeed, "the news media provides a critical role as a prevailing discourse and attitude

context for thought and talk about ethnic groups (VRMGs), and have the power to construct

ideologies and frame social issues" according to Teun van Dijk (1987, p. 41). The news media,

thus, inform the public about important issues that concern them and should employ individuals

who reflect and represent the communities on which they report. As such, the mainstream media

may potentially influence attitudes and opinions about VRMGs. Specifically, this thesis

examines whether or not VRMGs are represented in Toronto television newscasts and how these

representations in news content and on-air talent compare to the actual demographic statistics of

the city. This research hopes to heighten awareness about the balance or imbalance of visible minority representation in the Toronto television news market.

This chapter lays out a method to accomplish this and to apply CRT to a study of the news media by examining whether Practices of Exclusion and Practices of Inclusion are evident in news content and whether these practices affect its content or the choices about who presents it or if these practices determine who is presenting that content to a viewing audience. Briefly, Practices of Exclusion suggest a lack of VRMG representation, and Practices of Inclusion indicate representation in news stories (positive or negative). This thesis addresses the following research questions:

1. Can Practices of Exclusion be observed of visible/racialized minority groups (VRMGs) in the news media? If so, how?

2. Can Practices of Inclusion of visible/racialized minority groups (VRMGs) be observed in the news media? If so, how?

To address these questions, this thesis undertook a case study of the Toronto television news market and used a mixed-methods approach in analyzing daily television news coverage in that news market. [To reiterate, the Toronto news market was chosen as a case study because it is the nation's largest and most multicultural urban area, and, according to the 2016 census, 3,011,905 people or 51% in the Greater Toronto Area out of 5,928,040 are considered members of VRMGs (Statistics Canada Census Profile, 2017).] (Thus, the findings, as later discussed, should indicate similar percentages of VRMGs.) The mixed-methods approach consisted of a simple quantitative content analysis to address, statistically, the research questions. It will be

followed by a framing analysis on selected lead stories to determine how Practices of Inclusion frame VRMGs, if they are featured in the stories as central characters.

Quantitative Content Analysis

Before continuing the discussion about the how categories were created for the quantitative content analysis used in this research, it is important to define what quantitative analysis means. According to Donald Treadwell (2011), in communication research, "content analysis is a quantitative systematic, and objective technique for describing the manifest of content of communications" (p.178). Quantitative research methods rely on statistics that indicate some relationship between the data and the object of study. "Studies that count the different sources quoted in newspaper stories or the exact proportion of entertainment versus educational programming on television are all examples of quantitative research," according to Susanna Priest (2010, p.6). A quantitative content analysis is a useful way for a research project to explain data and findings without interjecting bias into the research.

This thesis is concerned with the number of stories about VRMGs and the frequency of their appearances in those stories or in presenting those stories. This data can be converted into percentages that may reveal Practices of Exclusion or Practices of Inclusion. A key notion of quantitative research is that the statistical information helps direct the researcher toward ways of addressing various questions raised during research.

> Numerical methods are an extremely useful tool for summarizing a large quantity of data and establishing relationships among different factors with a known degree of certainty, whether the topic is the relationship between reading a particular magazine and buying certain products or the relationship between the hours spent watching television and obesity. Human society invented numbers over thousands of years because of their usefulness in keeping track of large groups of items (Priest, p.7).

Because this research involves a content analysis, it "seeks a precise estimate of the presence or absence of different features" (Priest, p.40): in this instance, Practices of Exclusion or Practices of Inclusion of VRMGs in the Greater Toronto Area television (GTA)[2] news media. Quantitative content analysis is also concerned with "which topics occupy what proportion of the news or how many times certain kinds of sources receive mention" (Priest, p. 40). Because this thesis is concerned with the representation of members of VRMGs, a simple quantitative content analysis should provide evidence of Practices of Exclusion or Practices of Inclusion.

Framing Analysis

As noted, this thesis used a mixed-methods approach. While the preceding section described the appropriateness of quantitative methods (content analysis), this section describes framing analysis, which is a qualitative method of analysis. Qualitative analysis provides important descriptive information and is "designed to explore and assess things that cannot be easily summarized numerically, especially as it seeks insightful descriptions of how something in social life works" (Priest, p. 6). The sociologist Erving Goffman first suggested the concept of framing analysis (or frame analysis), noting that frames are a culturally determined interpretation of life that help individuals derive meaning. According to Goffman, when individuals recognize a particular event, they tend create a framework of understanding that directs them to locate, perceive, identify, and label a seemingly infinite number of concrete occurrences defined in its

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[2] According to Statistics Canada, the Greater Toronto Area includes the City of Toronto and the following towns and suburbs: Ajax, Aurora, Bradford West Gwillimbury, Brampton, Caledon, East Gwillimbury, Georgina, Halton Hills, King, Markham, Milton, Mississauga, Mono, New Tecumseth, Newmarket, Oakville, Orangeville, Pickering, Richmond Hill, Toronto, Uxbridge, Vaughan, Whitchurch-Stouffville

terms (Goffman 1974, p 21). In other words, a frame creates boundaries of understanding that helps individuals understand their world. As it concerns news media, "Framing is a concept that captures the idea that in creating a news story or another media product, some elements are inevitably left out, and what is put in is organized in a way that produces a certain impression" (Priest, 2010, p.59). How a news story is presented to an audience affects how that audience perceives the message.

Of course, frames can be inaccurate or misleading. For example, a television advertisement of an overweight woman on a treadmill might lead an observer to frame this as a woman trying to lose weight. However, the woman may be healthy and is exercising to train for her third marathon. In terms of an analysis, frames that deal with media content have a social context that creates meaning for the observer. Frames often bring preconceived notions into an individual's understanding of events or people. Frames can be overt (obvious) or latent (hidden) within the news content (Priest, 2010, p.85). Frames generally fall into the latent category because an analysis must reveal them. They can also be problematic because researchers cannot always objectively identify them because, as Priest noted, they can be subject to interpretation and rely on researcher "judgments that are partially subjective" (p.85). Once identified, frames can be labeled. [The main criteria for lead stories selected for a framing analysis was that the story must be inclusive of (featuring) a member of a VRMG as its central character.]

Methodology

The thesis examined daily, local newscasts of Toronto's major English-language television networks, CBC, Citytv, Global, and CTV. (Because the researcher is not fluent in French, a decision was made to focus solely on English-language news broadcasts.) Data were

collected in two-week intervals between February 23rd and April 3rd, 2015. According to the rating service Numeris, Toronto is a metered market and does not have a ratings period *per se*. Still, this is the spring ratings' period for most broadcast news outlets, an important time when news stations promote stories to gain viewers so that they might generate more advertising revenue.[3] The analysis examined the lead stories in the Monday through Friday early evening newscasts for the following four English-language news operations: CBC (6 p.m.), Citytv (5:30 p.m.), Global (5:30 p.m.), and CTV (6p.m.). The lead story was selected for deeper analysis because of its understood importance in the newscasts. In total, the research examined 20 lead stories in 20 newscasts per week for a total of 80, providing sufficient data to conduct a simple quantitative analysis. In addition, a framing analysis was conducted on lead stories that prominently featured a member of a VRMG, determining what types of frames – positive or negative -- were created or reinforced ideas about members of VRMGs. It is important to note that, because the focus here is on local news, lead stories involving international or non-GTA events were eliminated in the data collection. In addition, if weather or sports updates appeared as lead stories, they were also eliminated from the data set.

Treadwell (2011) has noted that careful category creation is critical in content analysis (p. 179). As such the data were further grouped according the following broad categories: 1) Story Placement; 2) Source; 3) Type; 4) Anchor; 5) Reporter; 6) Central Character; 7) Positive/Negative/Other. (Appendix A and B present the complete findings of data collection.)

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[3] During these periods, Numeris measures audience viewership during the fall, winter and spring months as television stations try to attract more viewers and advertising dollars (http://en.numeris.ca/about-us/what-we-do).

Story Placement: Story Placement denotes the ranking of the story in the newscast. Lead stories, which are the focus of this research, are ranked as one.

Source: Source denotes which news outlet aired the story.

Type: After carefully reviewing the lead stories, several thematic ideas emerged, resulting in the following categories for story types: Community/Government/Education, Crime, Human Interest, Police/Law Enforcement (non-criminal), Traffic, and Tragedy. The category of Community/Government/Education comprised stories that dealt with the community and involved government or education policy decisions. In general, these stories were placed in the other category if they did not involve VRMGs. Crime stories involved police and law enforcement action and included violence as part of the narrative. Human Interest stories concerned individuals or events within the community that were generally positive. The category of Police/Law Enforcement stories dealt with police and law enforcement issues that directly included the police (e.g., the police involved in an altercation with the public). The category of Traffic is self-explanatory. Finally, the category labeled Tragedy involved stories about a human crisis, including deaths or injuries, but were non-criminal in nature, such as accidents.

Anchor: For each newscast, regardless of whether the same individual hosted regularly during these weeks of analyses, each anchor was discretely counted as a non-VRMG or a member of a VRMG. In two-anchor newscasts, for example, the weekly total number in the category "anchor" would be 10. The weekly total for a single anchor newscast would be five.

Reporter: In general, only one reporter was featured in a lead story each day. However, if more than one reporter appeared, each was counted as non-VRMG or a member of a VRMG. This variance resulted in potentially more than five reporters per week introducing their stories. (If an anchor reported the lead story, this statistic would be noted in the anchor category and not

the reporter category.) In addition, if the reporter's face does not appear on camera, that category was not considered for this data set.

Central Characters: This category presented some challenges in that the objective is to ascertain the presence of VRMGs in lead stories. A decision was made to count the visible presence of non-VRMGs or members of a VRMG in the following way: First, every sound bite within a story was analyzed for the presence of a VRMG member. *This research assumes that having an on-camera presence in a story denotes visibility and inclusiveness.* Second, if the story was about a VRMG member, regardless of whether the person appeared on camera in an interview, it was noted that a VRMG member had a presence in the story. This second variable becomes important in the category of positive/negative/other. This final category helped identify lead stories that could be used in a framing analysis about VRMGs discussed in Chapter 4:

Positive/Negative/Other: The analysis noted whether the tone and language of the content about a VRMG member who was the main focus of the lead story was positive or negative. Stories that did not exclusively concern a VRMG member as the central character of the news story was placed in the category of "Other".

Findings

The remainder of this chapter presents the findings that examined the lead stories during the four-week period of study. (Twenty newscasts for each news organization were examined for a total of 80 newscasts overall.) As the following tables show, the data were first categorized into types of stories. Following that, the findings reveal the number of VMRGs who are anchors, reporters, and central characters of the lead stories. The analysis takes a further step to separate the data involving public and private broadcasters. This will become another point for discussion

about Practices of Exclusion and Practices of Inclusion. In other words, do public or private

broadcasters appear more exclusive or inclusive of VRMGs in their newscasts or do no

significant differences exist?

Lead Stories: Story Types

Table 1 shows the analysis of story type for each lead story on each of the four news

organizations and the results for the following seven categories:

1) Community/Government/Education; 2) Crime; 3) Human Interest; 4) Police/Law

   Enforcement; 5) Traffic; and 6) Tragedy.

Table 1

	Public	**Private**	**Private**	**Private**		
Weeks 1-4	CBC	Citytv	Global	CTV	**Total**	**%**
Community/Government /Education	10	10	6	5	31	38%
Crime	1	1	3	4	9	11%
Human Interest	3	0	1	2	6	8%
Police/Law Enforcement (non-violent/non-criminal)	1	3	2	1	7	9%
Traffic	2	2	4	4	12	15%
Tragedy	3	4	4	4	15	19%
Total	20	20	20	20	80	100%

Public Broadcasting: CBC

The analysis of lead stories on the CBC provided the following results. Ten lead stories

out of 20 (50%) concerned Community/Government/Education stories. One out of 20 (5%)

stories involved Crime. Three lead stories out of 20 (15%) were considered Human Interest

stories. One story out of 20 (5%) dealt with Police/Law Enforcement, and two out of 20 or 10%

of the stories dealt with Traffic. Finally, three out of 20 stories or 15% were categorized as

stories about Tragedy.

Private Broadcasting: Citytv, Global, CTV

Out of 20 news stories on Citytv**,** 10 or 50% fell into the category of Community/Government/Education. Out of 20 stories no stories fell into the category of Human Interest. Three out of 20 (15%) involved Police/Law Enforcement. Two out of 20 (10%) were stories about Traffic, and, finally, four or 20% concerned stories about Tragedy.

On Global TV, six out of 20 (30%) lead stories concerned Community/Government/Education, three or 15% were stories about Crime. One out of 20 (5%) were Human Interest stories. Two or 10% were considered Police/Law Enforcement stories. Four out of 20 (20%) fell into the Traffic category of stories, and, finally, four or 20% involved stories about Tragedy.

On CTV, five out of 20 (25%) dealt with stories about Community/Government/Education. Four out of 20 (20%) were Crime stories. Two out of 20 (10%) were of Human Interest. One or 5% of the stories involved Police/Law Enforcement. Four or 20% of the news stories on CTV concerned Traffic. Four out of 20 (20%) fell into the category of stories about Tragedy.

The analysis also provided the following comparison of lead stories for each category between the public broadcaster (CBC) and (the average) of the lead stories found on private broadcasters (Citytv, Global, CTV).

Table 1A

	Public	%	Private	%
Weeks 1-4	CBC		Citytv, Global, CTV*	
Community/Government /Education	10	50%	7	35%
Crime	1	5%	2.7	13.5%
Human Interest	3	15%	1	5%
Police/Law Enforcement (non-criminal)	1	5%	2	10%
Traffic	2	10%	3.3	16.5%
Tragedy	3	15%	4	20%
Total	20	100%	20	100%

*Average of the three private broadcasters.

As data indicate the differences between story types found on the public and private broadcasters are not particularly significant, except that the number of lead stories concerning Community/Government/Education were slightly higher on the CBC local news (10 or 50%) than the private broadcasters (seven or 35%).

Lead Stories: Presence of VRMG Anchors

Table 2 presents the analysis tallying the number of VRMGs who presented (anchored) the news for the daily newscasts. For each week, two columns of numbers appear for each of the broadcasters: The first represents the number of VRMGs who served as anchors; the second the total number of anchors for each news organization's newscast.

Table 2

	Anchor	Week 1		Week 2		Week 3		Week 4		Total	
		VRMG	Total	VRMG	Total	VRMG	Total	VRMG	Total	VRMG	Total
Public	CBC	9	10	10	10	8	9	9	9	36	38
Private	Citytv	0	2	0	3	1	2	0	4	1	11
Private	Global	0	5	0	5	0	5	0	5	0	20
Private	CTV	2	10	1	10	0	9	0	10	3	39
	Total	11	27	11	28	9	25	9	28	40	108

Public Broadcasting: CBC

During the four weeks of study, the analysis showed that 38 separate anchors introduced the lead stories during this period. Of those, 36 (95%) could be considered a member of a VRMG. It is important to note that the CBC newscasts generally had two anchors except for two broadcasts, resulting in a total of 38 discrete tallies for this research.

Private Broadcasting: Citytv, Global, CTV

It is important to note that the private broadcaster Citytv did not always use an anchor to introduce the lead story. As result, the number shown in Table 2 only reflects the newscasts where an anchor introduced the lead story. This resulted in 11 total anchor introductions for Citytv's lead stories. Of those 11, only one (9%) anchor introduction was by a member of a VRMG. Global, used a single anchor throughout the period of study, resulting in 20 total anchor introductions to these lead stories. None of these anchors is a member of a VRMG. Finally, the analysis showed that CTV had 39 separate anchor introductions for its lead stories. Of those only three or 8% were introduced by anchors who could be considered members of a VRMG.

Public versus Private Broadcaster

As Table 2 indicates, the combined total number of anchors who introduced lead stories was 108. Of those, only 40 or 37% were considered members of VRMGs. In separating the data between the public and private broadcasters, the difference is worth noting. At the CBC, the public broadcaster, 36 out of 38 (95%) of the anchors were considered members of a VRMG while the combined total for the private broadcasters (Citytv, Global, and CTV) was 4 out of 70 (6%). This difference will be further discussed as a Practice of Exclusion in Chapter 4.

Lead Stories: Presence of VRMG Reporters

The findings regarding the presence of members of VRMGs as reporters are found in Table 3. As in Table 2, each week in the table features two columns of numbers. Importantly, if the anchor also reported the lead story that data fell into the "anchor" category and was not tallied in the reporter category. The first represents the number of members of VRMGs who reported the lead story; the second outlines the total number of lead story reporters for the week.

Table 3

	Reporter	Week 1		Week 2		Week 3		Week 4		Total	
		VRMG	Total	VRMG	Total	VRMG	Total	VRMG	Total	VRMG	Total
Public	CBC	0	4	0	5	1	4	0	4	1	17
Private	Citytv	2	6	2	7	0	4	0	4	4	21
Private	Global	1	6	2	5	2	5	0	5	5	21
Private	CTV	1	4	1	5	0	5	2	5	4	19
	Total	4	20	5	22	3	18	2	18	14	78

Public Broadcasting: CBC

At the CBC, Table 3 shows that during the four weeks of analysis, one out of 17 (6%) reporters at the public broadcaster was a member of a VRMG who presented the lead story.

Private Broadcasting: Citytv, Global, CTV

As it concerned the private broadcasters, Table 3 indicates that four out of 21 (19%) of the lead stories at Citytv featured a reporter considered a member of a VRMG. On Global, the number of reporters considered members of a VRMG was five out of 21 (24%). At CTV, four out of 19 (19%) were members of a VRMG.

Public versus Private Broadcaster

As Table 3 indicates, the combined total of reporters who presented lead stories was 78. Of those, 14 or 18% were considered members of VRMGs. In comparing the data between the public and private broadcasters, the public broadcaster had one out of 17 (6%) reporters who could be considered a member of a VRMG while the combined total for the private broadcasters

(Citytv, Global, and CTV) was 13 individuals out of 61(21%) who were members of a VRMG. As these data indicate, the number of lead story reporters who were members of VRMGs was significantly higher at the private broadcasters than at the public broadcaster, but that statistic still fell below any demographic representation of the Greater Toronto Area. This will be further discussed when addressing the research question concerning Practices of Exclusion in Chapter 4.

Lead Stories: Presence of VRMG Central Story Characters

As to members of VRMGs featured prominently in lead stories, Table 4 presents that data and is divided similarly in the manner these data were in Tables 2 and 3.

Table 4

	Central Character(s)	Week 1		Week 2		Week 3		Week 4		**Total**	
		VRMG	Total	VRMG	Total	VRMG	Total	VRMG	Total	VRMG	Total
Public	CBC	2	8	3	11	2	9	4	12	11	40
Private	Citytv	3	17	5	13	1	9	2	11	11	50
Private	Global	7	17	4	12	3	16	1	17	15	62
Private	CTV	6	19	5	21	2	15	2	17	15	72
	Total	18	61	17	57	8	49	9	57	52	224

Public Broadcasting: CBC

The analysis of the public broadcaster indicated that out of the 40 central characters in the lead stories examined during this period of study 11or 28% featured VRMGs as a central character in the story.

Private Broadcasting: Citytv, Global, CTV

As to the private broadcasters, findings show that, at Citytv, 11 out of 50 (22%) of the central characters featured a member of a VRMG. The analysis of Global newscasts indicated 15 or 24% of the 62 central characters in the lead stories could be considered members of VRMGs.

Finally, at CTV, the central characters in the lead stories featured 15 out of 72 (21%) could be considered members of a VRMG.

Public versus Private Broadcaster

As Table 4 indicates, the combined total of central characters featured in lead stories was 224. Of those, 52 or 23% were central characters considered members of VRMGs. In separating the data between the public and private broadcasters, the difference indicates the private broadcasters, on average, had a slightly greater number of VRMGs as central characters in their lead stories. At the CBC, the public broadcaster, 11 out of 40 (28%) of central characters were considered members of a VRMG while the combined total for the private broadcasters (Citytv, Global, and CTV) was 41 out of 184 or 22%. This difference in addition to the differences presented in Tables 2 and 3will be further discussed as a Practice of Exclusion in Chapter 4.

Conclusion

In conclusion, Chapter 3 laid out the method used to conduct this research and presented initial findings about the presence of VRMGs in local Toronto newscasts. To recap, the Greater Toronto television news market was examined in two-week intervals Monday to Friday between February 23rd and April 3rd, 2015. The research examined four newscasts from the CBC, Citytv, Global, and CTV per day, 20 newscasts per week for a total of 80 newscasts. Attention turns to Chapter 4, which, as indicated earlier, will discuss the significance of these findings and address the primary research questions:

1. Can Practices of Exclusion be observed of visible/racialized minority groups (VRMG) in the news media? If so, how?

2. Can Practices of Inclusion of visible/racialized minority groups (VRMG) be observed in the news media? If so, how?

Chapter 4: Discussion and Conclusion

Chapter 3 detailed the methods used to conduct this research and presented the findings of a simple quantitative content analysis that examined the number of visible/racialized minorities groups (VRMGs) appearing in local television newscasts at four English-speaking news stations, serving the Greater Toronto Area (GTA). This chapter discusses those findings in relationship to VRMG representation in news content and on-air visibility. To recap, two central ideas underlie this thesis. The first concerns Critical Race Theory (CRT), which suggests that racism permeates all aspects of social society, from hiring to housing, due to an institutional system that has never been fully addressed and rectified. As applied here to a study of news and VRMGs, CRT would suggest that consciously or unconsciously decisions are made every day in newsrooms that might exclude VRMGs from full participation or visibility in news media. The second central idea derives from philosopher Charles Taylor's notion that individuals have a desire to find positive recognition within a social structure, a recognition that affirms their social status and importance to the social unit (Taylor, 1992, p.25). As it concerns news media, Taylor's idea suggests that news coverage should adequately represent (positively and negatively) stories that represent a range of a news market's demographics. This is something Faiza Hirji (2009) asserted as important in a multicultural country like Canada, arguing that the news media should cover a demographic cross section of the population in stories that inform viewers and readers about groups or individuals they may never personally encounter except, perhaps, through superficial contacts, including VRMGs (p.391). Hirji's assertions illustrate the significance of individuals who have visibility or an on-air presence in news stories. Because reporters and anchors who are members of a VRMG may bring certain nuances to a news story, especially if it concerns VRMGs.

This chapter is divided into three main sections. The first addresses the research question that asks: *Can Practices of Exclusion be observed of visible/racialized minority groups (VRMGs) in the news media? If so, how?* The second section concerns the second research question: *Can Practices of Inclusion of visible/racialized minority groups (VRMGs) be observed in the news media? If so, how?* This section also re-examines the data from Table 4 and Table 5 and also the data in Chapter 3 to discuss "Practices of Inclusion" and the framing of VRMGs. As this discussion will note, the real frame, as evidenced in the data, concerns what this thesis labels a "Frame of Invisibility." The final section draws conclusions from these discussions, highlighting a comparison between this data gathered in 2015 and updated data collected in the fall of 2018. In all, this final element of the discussion leads to suggestions for further research.

Practices of Exclusion

Before addressing the question of whether or not Practices of Exclusion can be observed of visible/racialized minorities (VRMGs) in the news media, it is important to take note of earlier data regarding VRMGs in Toronto news media, which is scarce. In 2010, DiverseCity issued its report that tracked levels of diversity in media leadership in the Greater Toronto Area and found that out of 286 broadcast hosts and reporters, 20.3% were visible minorities. Additionally, out of 471 print columnists, 3.4% were visible minorities, 16.6% of 343 expert speaking voices were visible minorities, and 23.0% of 200 everyday life story speaking voices were visible minorities. The data for editors, producers and the like were lower than on air personnel. Of 66 board of directors, 6.1% were visible minorities, 5.9% of 85 newsroom editors and producers were visible minorities, 3.6% of 138 individuals in senior management were visible minorities. (There is no explanation for what is meant by the category of "everyday life speaking voices.") While these numbers are not specific to each of the news stations, (CBC, Citytv, Global, and CTV)

examined, these percentages suggest that VRMG representation in the GTA media market falls below what the city's demographics indicate it should.

It is worth noting that since 2010, to reiterate, there have been several layoffs to media employment in Canada, including CBC, Citytv (owned by Rogers Media), Global Television (owned by Shaw Communications), and CTV (owned by Bell Media), who are the primary subjects of this study. In 2015 the CBC cut 244 jobs from local news services and Radio-Canada (Szklarski, 2015), the *Toronto Star* reported in 2016 that Rogers Media, which operates 24 TV stations, 52 radio stations, 57 publications, and 93 websites lost 200 media and administrative jobs over television, radio and publishing. In 2014, Shaw Communications laid off 400 employees (Ngyuen, 2014) and a few years later, Bell Media cut 380 jobs from its operations, editorial and production staff (The Canadian Press, 2016). While, there is no way to determine if these job losses affected the stations examined for this study or whether or not they affected the presence of VRMGs in Toronto news media, the information is worth noting.

Turning attention to Research Question 1 -- *Can Practices of Exclusion be observed of visible/racialized minority groups (VRMGs) in the news media?* -- the findings from Chapter 3 indicated the following about VRMG Anchors, Reporters and Central Characters.

Presence of VRMGs: Anchors: During the four-week period of study, the findings showed that, at the CBC, 95% of anchors presenting lead stories were members of VRMGs. At the private broadcasters, the findings indicated on Citytv 9% of the anchors were members of VRMGs. At Global, no members of VRMGs presented the lead stories, and at CTV, 8% of the anchors presenting the lead stories were members of VRMGs. Keeping in mind the demographic statistics of the GTA, 51% of Toronto's population is considered a member of a VRMG. As it concerns these findings, the public broadcaster (CBC) has demonstrated hiring

practices in the anchor role that appear to support Canada's multicultural ideal; however, none of the findings concerning Toronto's private broadcasters suggest this.

Presence of VRMGs: Reporters: The findings as they concern reporters presenting lead stories show a different result for the public broadcaster where only 6% of those reporters were members of a VRMG. As for private broadcasters, the findings showed higher numbers of VMRG reporters presenting lead stories with 19% at Citytv, 24% at Global, and 21% at CTV. Still, these percentages fall well below the actual demographic numbers.

Presence of VRMGs: Central Characters: To reiterate, the lead story is considered the most prominent story of the day, so a greater percentage of VRMGs would indicate more sensitivity to Canada's multicultural ideal. Regarding central characters in lead stories, the findings at the public broadcaster indicated 28% were members of VRMGs. In the private sector, Citytv's lead stories featured 22% of Central Characters that maybe considered VRMGs. At Global, the percentage was 24%, and it was 21% at CTV.

In addressing Research Question 1, the findings suggests that Practices of Exclusion have occurred regarding VRMG representation in Toronto news in all areas. Comparing these findings with the demographics of the city, VRMG equity does not exist. As it is linked to Critical Race Theory (CRT), which asserts that systemic racism may underlie hiring decisions, it is beyond the scope of this research to draw absolute conclusions concerning how and why VRMGs are underrepresented. Still, as illustrated by these findings, something is happening in Toronto's newsrooms that suggest racism (which may affect hiring and editorial decisions) is still an issue.

Practices of Inclusion

Research Question 2 asks *Can Practices of Inclusion of visible/racialized minority groups (VRMGs) be observed in the news media?* This becomes a more complex question to address and narrows the findings to stories exclusively about central characters who are members of VRMGs. Table 5 presents those findings and further analyzes these stories, noting whether they are positive or negative about these members of a VRMG as central characters. Notably, stories that did not exclusively concern a member of a VRMG were categorized as "Other."

Table 5

Weeks 1-4	Public CBC	Percentage	Private Citytv, Global, CTV	Percentage
Positive	3	15%	6	10%
Negative	0	0%	2	3%
Other	17	85%	50	83%
Total	20	100%	58	96%

As Table 5 indicates, of the 78 stories examined, only 11 or 14% exclusively focused on a central character who was a member of a VRMG. Regardless of their negative or positive status, these stories must be considered "inclusive" of VRMGs.

Public Broadcasting: CBC

At the public broadcaster, the CBC, three out of 20 of the lead news stories or 15% were considered positive about a member of a VRMG, and no stories appeared on the CBC that could be considered negative. The remaining 17 CBC lead stories or 85% fell under the "Other" category.

Private Broadcasting: Citytv, Global, CTV

At the private broadcasters (Citytv, Global, CTV) 8 stories out of 58 or 14% focused exclusively on a central character who was a member of a VRMG. A further analysis showed

that six or 10% were considered positive stories, the remaining two or 3% were considered negative stories.

Public versus Private

Overall, the data show that 14% of the stories (positive or negative) focused exclusively on a member of a VRMG. Taking into consideration the GTA demographics that indicate a VRMG population of 51%, this finding suggests that number of news stories that are inclusive of VRMGs as central characters falls below what might be expected in such a diverse television market.

Framing VRMGs: The Frame of Invisibility

One goal set out in this thesis was to conduct a framing analysis on the stories inclusive of VRMGs. However, as the above statistics show the number of news stories that focused exclusively on VRMGs does not provide sufficient evidence to do this. Briefly, 11 stories on the public and private broadcasters did contain a VRMG central character as the stories' foci. However, four lead stories at CBC, Citytv, Global, and CTV plus one follow up lead story at CBC concerned the same topic which was about a man who constructed a mysterious tunnel that captured the attention of city officials and police. It turned out to be an amusing story about the individual (VRMG member) who dug the tunnel for his "man cave." Two more lead stories at Citytv and Global were about the funeral of Elijah Marsh, a child who wandered outside and froze to death. The topics from the remaining four lead news stories range from human trafficking to a Toronto family concerned about their loved ones in Syria to thrift store shopping. While VRMGs are not necessarily being subjected to framing stereotypes and the like they are not being framed at all.

Even though a lack of evidence appears to inhibit a true framing analysis, this thesis argues that the evidence does support a different frame, which the thesis labels the "Frame of Invisibility." In other words the lack of visibility of VRMGs as the focus of a lead story suggests that newsroom editorial decisions may not find value in stories about VRMGs as the focus of the story. Even when a VRMG member is featured as a central character (see Chapter 3 Table 4) in a lead story that statistic (23%) still falls well below what the demographics of the GTA indicates that it should. This "Frame of Invisibility" connects to Charles Taylor's idea about recognition and representation. Taylor asserts, "our identity is shaped by recognition or its absence" (p.25). If VRMGs are not represented in societal structures such as news media, it can obscure the identities of individuals of colour and, further, inhibit their ability to construct positive self-identities.

The "Frame of Invisibility" can also be linked to Critical Race Theory (CRT) and the idea that white subjects are the preferred subjects in news stories. CRT asserts that there is an institutional structure that continues to marginalize the disenfranchised (which VRMGs have been traditionally considered). The data presented in this thesis supports that idea. As noted earlier, this lack of VRMG visibility as the focus of a lead story suggests that newsroom editorial decisions may see less value (whether consciously or subconsciously) in stories about VRMGs. While this four week study of one television news market does not provide sufficient data to make broad generalizations about the presence or absence of VRMGs or determine with certainty that the "Frame of Invisibility" of VRMGs exists at all times, it does indicate something occurred in the Toronto television news market during these four weeks, there was limited presence of these groups - the exception being the presence of VRMGs as anchors at the CBC (see chapter 3 table 2).

2015 vs. 2018

This research was conducted during the spring of 2015 making the data four years old. As such, this thesis undertook brief re-examination of the Toronto television news market to observe any changes, the same methodology was applied from the original research. Table 6 illustrates those findings from October 15th to October 19th, 2018, at CBC, Citytv, Global, and CTV during their nightly newscasts.

Table 6

Week 1		Anchor		Reporter		Central Characters	
		VRMG	Total	VRMG	Total	VRMG	Total
Public	CBC	4	5	1	3	2	13
Private	Citytv	1	1	4	5	2	16
Private	Global	4	9	3	4	5	18
Private	CTV	0	7	0	5	2	19
	Total	9	22	8	17	11	66

While only a five-day examination of the news market, it did show some changes, especially regarding the presence of VRMG anchors and reporters. The original research indicated 95% VRMG anchors at the CBC and 6%, overall, for the private broadcasters. Table 6 indicates that 80% of the CBC anchors were members of a VRMG while 29% anchored the newscasts at the private broadcasters. This indicates a slight decrease at the CBC but an increase at the private broadcasters, except at CTV, which had no member of a VRMG as an anchor. When discussing reporters, the original research showed that 6% of reporters at the CBC were members of a VRMG and 21%, overall, for the private broadcasters. Table 6 shows that 33% of reporters at CBC were VRMGs, and half or 50% of the reporters, overall, at the private broadcasters were VRMG members. This indicates a significant increase of VRMGs in both public and private broadcasters. Still, these statistics are not on par with what the GTA demographics indicate they should be. In the category of central characters, the original research indicated that 28% were

VRMG members at the CBC, and 22% of VRMGs were represented at the private broadcasters. As Table 6 illustrates, the CBC featured 15% of VRMGs as central characters and the private broadcasters the total percentage was 17%. In the case of central characters, there were decreases at both the public and private broadcasters from the original research in 2015.

As to stories that focused exclusively on a VRMG member, Table 7 illustrates that only one lead story at the CBC did this, and it was considered negative. The private broadcasters aired no lead stories with a member of a VRMG as a central character.

Table 7

	Public	**Private**	**Private**	**Private**		
Week 1	CBC	Citytv	Global	CTV	**Total**	**Percentage**
Positive	0	0	0	0	**0**	**0%**
Negative	1	0	0	0	**1**	**6%**
Other	3	5	5	3	**16**	**94%**
Total	**4**	**5**	**5**	**3**	**17**	**100%**

In this quick examination "The Frame of Invisibility" is again implied especially at the private broadcasters. Both Table 6 and 7 indicate that there remains an issue with VRMG representation on Toronto television news compared to what the demographics suggest.

Conclusion

This thesis identified what it called the "Frame of Invisibility," which drew upon concepts from Critical Race Theory (CRT), an idea that systemic racism exists, even in multicultural countries like Canada and Charles Taylor's ideas about the need for social recognition. It explored whether or not Canada's multiculturalism ideal is realized to any extent in the Toronto television news market and did this by examining the lead stories in local newscasts and by determining who presented those stories to a viewing audience. As the findings indicated, the visibility of visible/racialized minority groups (VRMGs) is not as strong as the city

demographics indicate it should be. This suggests that a conscious effort by news organizations to employ more VRMGs in visible positions should be done. It also suggests that when lead stories are considered, reporters and other newsroom personnel should actively seek out the voices of VRMGs if possible. Again, with a limited study like this, it is not clear how editorial or hiring decisions are made on a daily basis; yet, it does indicate something is happening that inhibits the visibility of VRMGs, especially in a diverse city like Toronto.

Because of the study's limitation, other work needs to be done that will further examine the presence or absence of VRMGs in the Greater Toronto Area (GTA) media market. Another study might explore an ethnography of television newsrooms to determine how interviews and stories are chosen and how hiring practices are made. Included in a study like this would be interviews with news managers discussing the challenges that they face trying to create a culturally diverse newsroom and to promote Canada's multicultural ideal. Because the thesis only examined the lead stories over a four week period further research could expand the period of study and examine all stories in the first segment for example. Having more qualitative data will provide more research material from which a true framing or linguistic analysis could be done on news stories in the Toronto television market. As it concerns on air visibility of VRMGs another study might examine journalism education programs to see if these programs actively recruit those typically underserved by journalism.

Finally, as an African-Canadian who grew up in Toronto, I am part of the mosaic demographic of the GTA. Growing up with an interest in journalism and news media, I found it difficult to see so few faces like mine on nightly newscasts. Such lack of representation has always been a research interest of mine. Therefore, my curiosity about this led me to this research. I wanted to determine if what I had subjectively experienced had any grounding in an

objective way. For me, the data were disappointing because they indicated what I had always suspected. The television news market in my home town does not have very many people like me on the news or in the news. While there were some VRMGs in Toronto's television news, there were not as many as I had hoped. I was surprised to discover that the findings indicated GTA television news is still mostly white. This study illustrates the discrepancy between VRMGs in the Toronto news media and the multicultural demographic of the city. To me the implication is that the presence of VRMGs in Toronto news media is not as valued as the presence of a white demographic. I think it is important for all individuals to see themselves reflected in their society because it provides a sense that they matter, I hope that my research adds value to the discussion of VRMG representation in Toronto television news media and that it may inspire others who are in a position to make changes.

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0&GK=0&GRP=1&PID=0&PRID=10&PTYPE=109445&S=0&SHOWALL=0&SUB=0
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Appendix A

Table A: Week 1 news stories by category in each news station

Week 1 (February 23-27)	Citytv	CBC	Global	CTV	**Total**
Community/Government/Education	4	4	3	2	13
Crime				2	2
Human Interest		1			1
Police/Law Enforcement					0
Tragedy	1		1		2
Traffic			1	1	2
Total	**5**	**5**	**5**	**5**	**20**

Table B: Week 2 news stories by category in each news station

Week 2 (March 2-6)	Citytv	CBC	Global	CTV	**Total**
Community/Government/Education	4	4	2	2	12
Crime			1	1	2
Human Interest				1	1
Police/Law Enforcement					0
Traffic	1	1	2	1	5
Tragedy					0
Total	**5**	**5**	**5**	**5**	**20**

Table C: Week 3 news stories by category in each news station

Week 3 (March 23-27)	Citytv	CBC	Global	CTV	**Total**
Community/Government/Education	0	2	1	1	4
Crime	0	0	2	1	3
Human Interest	0	1	0	0	1
Police/Law Enforcement	3	0	0	0	3
Traffic	1	1	1	2	5
Tragedy	1	1	1	1	4
Total	**5**	**5**	**5**	**5**	**20**

Table D: Week 4 news stories by category in each news station

Week 4 (March 30- April 3)	Citytv	CBC	Global	CTV	Total
Community/Government/Education	1	0	0	0	1
Crime	1	1	0	0	2
Human Interest	0	1	1	1	3
Police/Law Enforcement	1	1	2	1	5
Traffic	0	0	0	0	0
Tragedy	2	2	2	3	9
Total	**5**	**5**	**5**	**5**	**20**

Appendix B

Master Data: The data from all four weeks of study in 2015 and one week of study in 2018.

Week 1 (February 23- February 27)	Placement	Source	Type	Anchor	Reporter	Central Characters	Positive/ Negative /Other
Sex Education Overhaul	1	Citytv	Community/ Government/ Education	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	Other
Measles Outbreak	2	Citytv	Health	N/A	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 2	Other
TTC Shutdown	3	Citytv	Traffic	N/A	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 4	Positive
Bay-Bloor Scramble	4	Citytv	Traffic	N/A	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	Other
Elijah Marsh	5	Citytv	Tragedy	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	N/A	VRMG – 4 Non VRMG – 0	Positive
Mysterious Tunnel Near York University	1	CBC	Community/ Government/ Education	VRMG – 2 Non VRMG – 0	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	Other
Sex Education	2	CBC	Community/ Government/ Education	VRMG – 2 Non VRMG – 0	N/A	VRMG – 2 Non VRMG – 3	Other

				VRMG / Non VRMG	VRMG / Non VRMG	VRMG / Non VRMG	
Frozen Pipes & Flooding in Community Housing	3	CBC	Community/ Government/ Education	VRMG – 2 Non VRMG – 0	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 2 Non VRMG – 0	Positive
Fire	4	CBC	Community/ Government/ Education	VRMG – 2 Non VRMG – 0	N/A	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 2	Other
Sex Education Overhaul	1	Global	Community/ Government/ Education	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 2	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 3	Other
Sex Education Parents View	2	Global	Community/ Government/ Education	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 2	Other
Everest College Bankruptcy	3	Global	Community/ Government/ Education	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	N/A	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 3	Other
Elijah Marsh	4	Global	Tragedy	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	N/A	VRMG – 5 Non VRMG – 0	Positive
Sexual Encounters	5	Global	Human Interest	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 3	Other
Massey Hall Revamp	6	Global	Community/ Government/ Education	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	N/A	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	Other

Cold Weather Transit Problems	1	CTV	Traffic	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 2	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 10	Other
Mysterious Tunnel	2	CTV	Community/ Government/ Education	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	N/A	N/A	N/A
Sex Education	3	CTV	Community/ Government/ Education	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 5	Other
Elijah Marsh	4	CTV	Tragedy	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	N/A	VRMG – 6 Non VRMG – 0	Positive
Terrorist Plot	5	CTV	Crime	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 2 Non VRMG – 0	Negative
Apartment Building Flooded	6	CTV	Community/ Government/ Education	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 0	VRMG – 2 Non VRMG – 0	Positive
Bay-Bloor Scramble	7	CTV	Traffic	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	N/A	N/A	N/A
Parking Offenders	8	CTV	Traffic	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	Other

Peanut Allergies	9	CTV	Health	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	N/A	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	Other
Massey Hall Revamp	10	CTV	Community/ Government/ Education	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	Other
Mysterious Tunnel Near York University	1	Citytv	Community/ Government/ Education	N/A	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 0	Positive
Security Concerns Regarding Mysterious Tunnel	2	Citytv	Community/ Government/ Education	N/A	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 0	Positive
TTC Bush Crash	3	Citytv	Traffic	N/A	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	N/A	N/A
Sex Education Protestors	4	Citytv	Community/ Government/ Education	N/A	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 3	Other
Money Matters	5	Citytv	Finances	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	N/A	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	Other
Mysterious Tunnel Near York University	1	CBC	Community/ Government/ Education	VRMG – 2 Non VRMG – 0	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 1	Positive

Security For Pan Am Games	2	CBC	Community/ Government/ Education	VRMG – 2 Non VRMG – 0	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 0	Positive
City Ice Rinks	3	CBC	Community/ Government/ Education	VRMG – 2 Non VRMG – 0	N/A	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	Other
Extreme Weather Causing Dead Animals	4	CBC	Community/ Government/ Education	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 0	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	Other
Man Found Dead	5	CBC	Tragedy	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 0	N/A	N/A	N/A
Fire	6	CBC	Community/ Government/ Education	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 0	N/A	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	Other
Mysterious Tunnel Near York University	1	Global	Community/ Government/ Education	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 2	Positive
Sex Education Protest	2	Global	Community/ Government/ Education	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	N/A	N/A	N/A
Pan Am Relay	3	Global	Community/ Government/ Education	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	N/A	N/A	N/A

Tim Bosma Trial	4	Global	Crime	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	N/A	N/A	N/A
Etobicoke Robbery	5	Global	Crime	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	Other
Peanut Allergies	6	Global	Health	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	N/A	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 2	Other
Mysterious Tunnel Near York University	1	CTV	Community/ Government/ Education	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 1	Positive
Sex Education Protests	2	CTV	Community/ Government/ Education	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 5	Other
Sex Education Debate	3	CTV	Community/ Government/ Education	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	N/A	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	Other
Legal Battle Over Prom Breathalizer	4	CTV	Community/ Government/ Education	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 3	Other
Bus Crash	5	CTV	Traffic	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 0	N/A	N/A	N/A

Fire	6	CTV	Community/ Government/ Education	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 1	N/A	N/A	N/A
Tax-Free Savings Program	7	CTV	Finances	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	Other
Outdoor Rinks	8	CTV	Community/ Government/ Education	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	N/A	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 2	Other
Pan Am Relay	9	CTV	Community/ Government/ Education	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 1	N/A	N/A	N/A
Jobs For U of T Grads	10	CTV	Employment	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 3	Other
Frozen Water Pipes	1	Citytv	Community/ Government/ Education	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 3	Other
Mysterious Tunnel	2	Citytv	Community/ Government/ Education	N/A	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 0	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	Other
Mark Moore Trial	3	Citytv	Crime	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 0	N/A	VRMG – 3 Non VRMG – 0	Negative

Tim Bosma Trial	4	Citytv	Crime	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 0	N/A	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 3	Other
Murder of a man Watching Soccer	5	Citytv	Crime	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	N/A	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 2	Negative
Man Killed in Toronto	6	Citytv	Crime	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	N/A	N/A	N/A
Frozen Water Pipes	1	CBC	Community/ Government/ Education	VRMG – 2 Non VRMG – 0	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 3	Other
Pipes Bursting	2	CBC	Community/ Government/ Education	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 0	N/A	VRMG – 3 Non VRMG – 0	Positive
No Heat At School	3	CBC	Community/ Government/ Education	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 0	N/A	N/A	N/A
QEW Shutdown	4	CBC	Traffic	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 0	N/A	N/A	N/A
Brampton Family Sues Hospital	5	CBC	Human Interest	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 0	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 2 Non VRMG – 1	Positive

Mysterious Tunnel	6	CBC	Community/ Government/ Education	VRMG – 2 Non VRMG – 0	N/A	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 0	Positive
Man Murdered Watching Soccer	7	CBC	Crime	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 0	N/A	N/A	N/A
Thornhill Sexual Assault	8	CBC	Crime	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 0	N/A	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 3	Negative
Frozen Water Pipes	1	Global	Community/ Government/ Education	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 0	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 3	Other
Brampton Family Sues Hospital	2	Global	Human Interest	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	N/A	VRMG – 2 Non VRMG – 1	Positive
Car Accident Victim	3	Global	Traffic	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 4 Non VRMG – 0	Positive
Mark Moore Trial	4	Global	Crime	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	N/A	VRMG – 3 Non VRMG – 0	Negative
Pink Shirt Day Anti-Bullying	5	Global	Community/ Government/ Education	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	N/A	VRMG – 5 Non VRMG – 1	Positive

Story	#	Network	Category	Col1	Col2	Col3	Sentiment
Frozen Water Pipes	1	CTV	Community/ Government/ Education	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 2	N/A	N/A	N/A
Concrete Falls On Gardiner Expressway	2	CTV	Traffic	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	N/A	VRMG – 2 Non VRMG – 0	Positive
No Water & Frozen Pipes	3	CTV	Community/ Government/ Education	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	Other
Mysterious Tunnel	4	CTV	Community/ Government/ Education	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 0	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 1	Positive
Brampton Family Sues Hospital	5	CTV	Human Interest	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 2 Non VRMG – 1	Positive
Mark Moore Trial	6	CTV	Crime	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 3 Non VRMG – 0	Negative
Tim Bosma Trial	7	CTV	Crime	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	N/A	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 3	Other
Man Murdered Watching Soccer	8	CTV	Crime	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	N/A	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 1	Negative

Via Rail Terror	9	CTV	Crime	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 2 Non VRMG – 0	Negative
Liberal Bribery Allegations	10	CTV	Crime	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 2 Non VRMG – 1	Negative
School Sport Concussions	11	CTV	Community/ Government/ Education	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	Other
Elijah Marsh	1	Citytv	Tragedy	N/A	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 0	VRMG – 2 Non VRMG – 0	Positive
Tenant Upset At TTC Landlord	2	Citytv	Community/ Government/ Education	N/A	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	Other
Ford Adds 400 Jobs in Oakville	3	Citytv	Jobs	N/A	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 0	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	Other
Gas Prices Rise	4	Citytv	Community/ Government/ Education	N/A	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 0	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	Other
Rob Ford Memorabilia	5	Citytv	Human Interest	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	Other

Ontario's Automotive Sector Creating Jobs	1	CBC	Community/ Government/ Education	VRMG – 2 Non VRMG – 0	N/A	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	Others
Gas Prices Rise	2	CBC	Community/ Government/ Education	VRMG – 2 Non VRMG – 0	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	Others
Piece of Gardiner Cracks Windshield	3	CBC	Traffic	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 0	N/A	VRMG – 2 Non VRMG – 1	Positive
Police Fight Fraud	4	CBC	Community/ Government/ Education	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 0	N/A	VRMG – 2 Non VRMG – 1	Positive
Elijah Marsh	5	CBC	Tragedy	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 0	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 4 Non VRMG – 1	Positive
Cyber Bullying	6	CBC	Crime	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 0	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 3 Non VRMG – 0	Other
Elijah Marsh	1	Global	Tragedy	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 3 Non VRMG – 0	Positive
Gardiner Expressway Falling	2	Global	Traffic	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 0	VRMG – 2 Non VRMG – 1	Positive

Gas on the Rise	3	Global	Community/ Government/ Education	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	N/A	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	Other
Rob Ford Memorabilia	4	Global	Human Interest	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	N/A	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	Other
GTA Isis Hostages	1	CTV	Crime	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 2	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 0	VRMG – 3 Non VRMG – 0	Negative
Ford Plant in Oakville	2	CTV	Jobs	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 0	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	Other
Parking Offenders	3	CTV	Traffic	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 3 Non VRMG – 1	Negative
Rob Ford Memorabilia	4	CTV	Human Interest	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	N/A`	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	Other
Beer & Wine Consumption	5	CTV	Health	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 2 Non VRMG – 4	Other
U of T Strike	6	CTV	Community/ Government/ Education	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	N/A	N/A	N/A

Elijah Marsh	7	CTV	Tragedy	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	N/A	N/A	N/A
Mark Moore Trial	8	CTV	Crime	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	N/A	VRMG – 3 Non VRMG – 0	Negative
Via Rail Terror Trial	9	CTV	Crime	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 2 Non VRMG – 0	Negative
Mould In Community Housing Apartment	1	Citytv	Community/ Government/ Education	N/A	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 2	Other
Crumbling Gardiner Concerns	2	Citytv	Traffic	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 2 Non VRMG – 1	Positive
Leonard Nimoy Dies	3	Citytv	Human Interest	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	N/A	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 2	Other
Toronto Thrift Store Find	1	CBC	Human Interest	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 0	Positive
Leonard Nimoy Dies	2	CBC	Human interest	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	N/A	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 2	Other

Gardiner Concerns	3	CBC	Traffic	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 0	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	Other
Frozen Pipes	4	CBC	Community/ Government/ Education	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 0	N/A	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	Other
Condo Issues	5	CBC	Crime	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 0	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 0	Positive
Silicone Butt Injections	6	CBC	Crime	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 0	N/A	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	Other
Installment Loans	7	CBC	Finances	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	Other
Gardiner Expressway	1	Global	Traffic	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 2 Non VRMG – 2	Positive
Leonard Nimoy	2	Global	Human Interests	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	N/A	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	Other
TTC Increases	3	Global	Community/ Government/ Education	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	N/A	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 3	Positive

Whitby Seniors Home Construction Delay	4	Global	Community/ Government/ Education	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 2	Other
Toronto Clinic Revitalizes Fertility	5	Global	Health	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	N/A	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 3	Other
Pickering Murder	1	CTV	Crime	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 2	Other
Frozen Pipes	2	CTV	Community/ Government/ Education	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 3	Other
Gardiner Concerns	3	CTV	Traffic	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 0	VRMG – 2 Non VRMG – 1	Positive
Toronto District School Board (TDSB) Heat Concerns	4	CTV	Community/ Government/ Education	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	Other
Leonard Nimoy	5	CTV	Human Interest	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 1	N/A	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	Other
Ontario Alcohol Regulations	6	CTV	Community/ Government/ Education	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 0	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 2	Other

Brampton Crash	7	CTV	Traffic	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	N/A	N/A	N/A
Toronto Pastor Accused of Sexual Assault	8	CTV	Crime	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 0	N/A	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 0	Negative
Silicone Butt Injections	9	CTV	Crime	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	Other

N/A = Non Applicable due to no individuals present in this category

Week 2 (March 2-March 6)	Placement	Source	Type	Anchor	Reporter	Central Characters	Positive/ Negative/Other
Mysterious Tunnel Solved	1	Citytv	Community/ Government/ Education	N/A	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 0	Positive
McDonald's Shooting	2	Citytv	Crime	N/A	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 0	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 3	Other
Possible York U Strike	3	Citytv	Community/ Government/ Education	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 0	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 2	Other
Mysterious Tunnel Solved	1	CBC	Community/ Government/ Education	VRMG – 2 Non VRMG – 0	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 0	Positive
Go Bus Driver Charged In January Crash	2	CBC	Crime	VRMG – 2 Non VRMG – 0	N/A	N/A	N/A
McDonald's Shooting	3	CBC	Crime	VRMG – 2 Non VRMG – 0	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 3	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 2	Other
Burst Pipes in Toronto Community Housing	4	CBC	Community/ Government/ Education	VRMG – 2 Non VRMG – 0	N/A	N/A	N/A
Fiscal Budget	5	CBC	Finance	VRMG – 2 Non VRMG – 0	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	Other

Ford Memorabilia	6	CBC	Human Interest	VRMG – 2 Non VRMG – 0	N/A	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	Other
Chris Hadfield Suit Found in Thrift Store	7	CBC	Human Interest	VRMG – 2 Non VRMG – 0	N/A	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 0	Positive
Questioning Drinking	8	CBC	Community/ Government/ Education	VRMG – 2 Non VRMG – 0	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 0	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 2	Other
Delaying Vaccines	9	CBC	Health	VRMG – 2 Non VRMG – 0	N/A	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	Other
Young Women w/ Breast Cancer	10	CBC	Health	VRMG – 2 Non VRMG – 0	N/A	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 3	Other
McDonald's Shooting	1	Global	Crime	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 2	Other
TTC Charges in Bus January Crash	2	Global	Crime	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	N/A	N/A	N/A
Rob Ford Tape	3	Global	Human Interest	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 0	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	Other

U of T TA's on Strike	4	Global	Community/ Government/ Education	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	N/A	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	Other
Union Station Re-Vamp	5	Global	Community/ Government/ Education	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	Other
Mental Health Disorders	6	Global	Health	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	N/A	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	Other
University Labour Unrest	1	CTV	Community/ Government/ Education	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 0	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 4	Other
McDonald's Shooting	2	CTV	Crime	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 0	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	Other
GO Transit Charged in January Crash	3	CTV	Crime	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	N/A	N/A	N/A
Sinkhole in Oshawa	4	CTV	Traffic	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	N/A	N/A	N/A
Mysterious Tunnel	5	CTV	Community/ Government/ Education	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 0	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 0	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 0	Positive

Rob Ford Crack Tape	6	CTV	Human Interest	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	N/A	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	Other
Everest College Protest	7	CTV	Community/ Government/ Education	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 0	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 3	Other
WWII Veteran Dies	8	CTV	Human Interest	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 0	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	N/A	Other
Motorist Nightmare- Car Frozen	1	Citytv	Traffic	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 2	Other
York U TA's Strike	2	Citytv	Community/ Government/ Education	N/A	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 3	Other
U of T Strike	3	Citytv	Community/ Government/ Education	N/A	N/A	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 2	Other
U of T Prof Accused of Child Pornography	4	Citytv	Crime	N/A	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 0	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 2	Other
Rush Hour Weather Advisory	1	CBC	Traffic	VRMG – 2 Non VRMG – 0	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 3	Other
York U Strike	2	CBC	Community/ Government/ Education	VRMG – 2 Non VRMG – 0	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	Other

Ben Levin Former Deputy Minister Child Pornography	3	CBC	Crime	VRMG – 2 Non VRMG – 0	N/A	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	Other
Missing Mississauga Pastor	4	CBC	Human Interest	VRMG – 2 Non VRMG – 0	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 0	Positive
Rush Hour Weather Advisory	1	Global	Traffic	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 0	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	Other
Domestic Human Trafficking	2	Global	Crime	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 3	Other
Ben Levin Charged w/ Child Pornography	3	Global	Crime	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	N/A	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	Other
Jane & Finch Good Samaritan	4	Global	Human Interest	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	N/A	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 2	Other
York U Strike	5	Global	Community/ Government/ Education	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 1	Other
Frozen Pipes	6	Global	Community/ Government/ Education	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	Other

Good Samaritan- In depth	7	Global	Human Interest	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 3	Other
Collisions/ Snowy Streets	1	CTV	Traffic	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 2	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 2 Non VRMG – 3	Other
Ben Levi- Child Pornography Charges	2	CTV	Crime	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 2	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 2	Other
York U Strike	3	CTV	Community/ Government/ Education	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 2	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 2	Other
U of T Strike	4	CTV	Community/ Government/ Education	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 2	N/A	N/A	N/A
Nursing Home Abuse	5	CTV	Crime	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	N/A	N/A	N/A
Encrypted PD Communication	6	CTV	Community/ Government/ Education	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 2	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 2	Other
Frozen Pipes	7	CTV	Community/ Government/ Education	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 2	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 2	Other

Power Outages	1	Citytv	Community/Government/Education	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 0	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 2	Other
Salt Causing Power Outages	2	Citytv	Community/Government/Education	VRMG – Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 3	Other
TTC Safety	3	Citytv	Community/Government/Education	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	Other
G-20 Police Officer Convicted of Assault	4	Citytv	Crime	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	N/A	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 3	Other
Via Rail Terror Plot	5	Citytv	Crime	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	N/A	VRMG – 2 Non VRMG – 0	Negative
Power Outages	1	CBC	Community/Government/Education	VRMG – 2 Non VRMG – 0	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 2	Other
Trapped In the Elevator	2	CBC	Human Interest	VRMG – 2 Non VRMG – 0	N/A	VRMG – 2 Non VRMG – 0	Positive
Real Estate Prices in Toronto	3	CBC	Community/Government/Education	VRMG – 2 Non VRMG – 0	N/A	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 1	Other

Starvation Death of Jeff Baldwin	4	CBC	Crime	VRMG – 2 Non VRMG – 0	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	Other
Well Dressed Bank Robber	5	CBC	Crime	VRMG – 2 Non VRMG – 0	N/A	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	Other
Driverless Bus	1	Global	Traffic	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	N/A	Other
Power Outages	2	Global	Community/ Government/ Education	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	N/A	N/A	N/A
Well Dressed Bank Robber	3	Global	Crime	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	Other
Domestic Abuse	4	Global	Crime	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	Other
Charity Trucks	5	Global	Human Interest	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	N/A	N/A	N/A
Power Outages	1	CTV	Community/ Government/ Education	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 2	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 2	Other

Frozen Pipes	2	CTV	Community/ Government/ Education	White	N/A	N/A	N/A
TTC Runaway Bus	3	CTV	Traffic	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 2	Other
Toronto Real Estate Prices	4	CTV	Community/ Government/ Education	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	Other
Muslim School Holidays	5	CTV	Community/ Government/ Education	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	N/A	VRMG – 2 Non VRMG – 0	Positive
Everest College	6	CTV	Community/ Government/ Education	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	N/A	N/A	N/A
Mysterious Tunnel Solved	1	Citytv	Community/ Government/ Education	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG –	VRMG – 3 Non VRMG – 1	Positive
Frozen Pipes	2	Citytv	Community/ Government/ Education	N/A	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 2	Other
Missing Mississauga Pastor	3	Citytv	Human Interest	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	N/A	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 1	Other
Via Rail Terror Plot	4	Citytv	Crime	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	N/A	N/A	N/A

Car Crash	5	Citytv	Traffic	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	N/A	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 1	Other
Mysterious Tunnel Solved	1	CBC	Community/ Government/ Education	VRMG – 2 Non VRMG – 0	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 0	Positive
Parking App	2	CBC	Technology	VRMG – 2 Non VRMG – 0	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 3	Other
Housing Bill	3	CBC	Community/ Government/ Education	VRMG – 2 Non VRMG – 0	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 1	Other
Economic Plan From Conservative Leader	4	CBC	Financial	VRMG – 2 Non VRMG – 0	N/A	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	Other
York U Strike	5	CBC	Community/ Government/ Education	VRMG – 2 Non VRMG – 0	N/A	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 0	Positive
Mysterious Tunnel Solved	1	Global	Community/ Government/ Education	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 0	VRMG – 3 Non VRMG – 0	Positive

Parking App	2	Global	Technology	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	N/A	N/A	N/A
Mental Health w/ First Responders	3	Global	Health	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	N/A	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	Other
Fatal Crash	4	Global	Traffic	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	N/A	N/A	N/A
Pearson Cancellations To NYC	1	CTV	Human Interest	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 2	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 5	Other
Frozen Pipes	2	CTV	Community/ Government/ Education	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	Other
Missing Mississauga Pastor	3	CTV	Human Interest	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 0	VRMG – 2 Non VRMG – 0	Positive
Via Terror Trial	4	CTV	Crime	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	N/A	VRMG – 2 Non VRMG – 0	Negative
Pedestrian Struck	5	CTV	Traffic	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	N/A	N/A	N/A

Crash on the 400	6	CTV	Traffic	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	N/A	N/A	N/A
Tunnel Mystery	7	CTV	Community/ Government/ Education	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	N/A	VRMG – 2 Non VRMG – 0	Positive
York U Strike	8	CTV	Community/ Government/ Education	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	N/A	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 1	Other
Combatting Sexual Violence	1	Citytv	Community/ Government/ Education	N/A	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 3	Other
Cost Overrun For Subway	2	Citytv	Community/ Government/ Education	N/A	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 2	Other
Mystery Tunnel Builder	3	Citytv	Community/ Government/ Education	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 0	N/A	VRMG – 2 Non VRMG – 0	Positive
Deadly Crashes in GTA	4	Citytv	Traffic	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 2	Other
Sexual Violence at Universities	1	CBC	Community/ Government/ Education	VRMG – 2 Non VRMG – 0	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 4	Other

Subway Extension	2	CBC	Community/ Government/ Education	VRMG – 2 Non VRMG – 0	N/A	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	Other
Gas Stations Running Out of Gas	3	CBC	Community/ Government/ Education	VRMG – 2 Non VRMG – 0	N/A	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 2	Other
Clock Change	4	CBC	Community/ Government/ Education	VRMG – 2 Non VRMG – 0	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG –	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 1	Other
U of T Strike	5	CBC	Community/ Government/ Education	VRMG – 2 Non VRMG – 0	N/A	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	Other
York U Strike Pedestrian Struck	6	CBC	Traffic	VRMG – 2 Non VRMG – 0	N/A	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	Other
Spadina Subway Extension	1	Global	Community/ Government/ Education	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	Other
Vandal Attacked by Restaurant Owner	2	Global	Human Interest	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG –	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 0	Negative
Sexual Violence in Universities	3	Global	Crime	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	N/A	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 3	Other

Vandal Attacked by Restaurant Owner	1	CTV	Crime	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 2	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 2	Negative
Prescription Privacy Concerns	2	CTV	Community/ Government/ Education	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 0	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	Other
Subway Extension	3	CTV	Community/ Government/ Education	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	Other
TTC Shutdown	4	CTV	Community/ Government/ Education	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	N/A	N/A	N/A
Toronto District School Board Real Estate Desires	5	CTV	Community/ Government/ Education	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 1	Other
N/A = Non Applicable due to no individuals present in this category							

Week 3 (March 23-March 27)	Placement	Source	Type	Anchor	Reporter	Central Characters	Positive/ Negative/ Other
Truck Rollover on 401 & 404	1	Citytv	Traffic	N/A	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 0	N/A	N/A
Explosives Found in Home	2	Citytv	Community/ Government/ Education	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 0	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	Other
Vigil For Murdered Teen	3	Citytv	Community/ Government/ Education	N/A	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 0	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	Other
Roughest Roads in Toronto	4	Citytv	Traffic	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 1	Other
Mayor Tory Desires To Make Toronto Music Scene Big	5	Citytv	Community/ Government/ Education	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	Other
Freezing Temps and Frozen Pipes	1	CBC	Community/ Government/ Education	VRMG – 2 Non VRMG – 0	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 2	Other
Worst Roads	2	CBC	Traffic	VRMG – 2 Non VRMG – 0	N/A	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	Other
Sinkhole Repaired	3	CBC	Traffic	VRMG – 2 Non VRMG – 0	N/A	N/A	N/A
Truck Rollover	4	CBC	Traffic	VRMG – 2 Non VRMG – 0	N/A	N/A	N/A
15 yr old Stabbed	5	CBC	Crime	VRMG – 2 Non VRMG – 0	N/A	N/A	N/A
Murdered Teen	6	CBC	Crime	VRMG – 2 Non VRMG – 0	N/A	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 1	Negative

Mayor Wants to Make Toronto Music Destination	7	CBC	Community/ Government/ Education	VRMG – 2 Non VRMG – 0	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	Other
Ombudsman Leaves Office	8	CBC	Community/ Government/ Education	VRMG – 2 Non VRMG – 0	N/A	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	Other
Denied Service Due To Guide Dog	1	Global	Community/ Government/ Education	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 2	Other
York & U of T Strike	2	Global	Community/ Government/ Education	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 1	Other
Affordable Housing Accountability	3	Global	Community/ Government/ Education	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	Other
Taxi Insurance	4	Global	Community/ Government/ Education	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	Other
Explosives Found In Home	5	Global	Community/ Government/ Education	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	N/A	N/A	N/A
Truck Rollover on 401 & 404	1	CTV	Traffic	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 2	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	N/A	N/A
Explosives Found In Home	2	CTV	Community/ Government/ Education	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 0	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	Other
Toronto Roads	3	CTV	Traffic	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 0	VRMG – 2 Non VRMG – 1	Other
Sinkhole Fixed	4	CTV	Traffic	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	N/A	N/A	N/A

Pan Am Tickets	5	CTV	Community/ Government/ Education	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	N/A	N/A	N/A
Queens Park Security	6	CTV	Community/ Government/ Education	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	Other
Reporting Child Abuse	1	Citytv	Police/Law Enforcement	N/A	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	Other
Leaking Subway Tunnel	2	Citytv	Traffic	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 0	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 1	Other
Pan Am Commuting Concerns	3	Citytv	Traffic	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	Other
Senior Citizen Found Beaten	4	Citytv	Crime	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	N/A	N/A	N/A
Rob Ford's Friend on Trial	5	Citytv	Crime	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	N/A	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	Other
Subway Spill	1	CBC	Traffic	VRMG – 2 Non VRMG – 0	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 2 Non VRMG – 1	Other
Toronto 2025	2	CBC	Community/ Government/ Education	VRMG – 2 Non VRMG – 0	N/A	VRMG – 2 Non VRMG – 1	Other
Shooting	3	CBC	Crime	VRMG – 2 Non VRMG – 0	N/A	N/A	N/A
Shoplifting Ring	4	CBC	Crime	VRMG – 2 Non VRMG – 0	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 0	VRMG – 2 Non VRMG – 1	Negative

Potentially Flammable Substance in Subway	1	Global	Traffic	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 0	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 5	Other
Soccer Club Bankrupt not refunding citizens	2	Global	Community/ Government/ Education	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	Other
Transitional Homeless Shelters	3	Global	Community/ Government/ Education	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 2 Non VRMG – 1	Positive
Subway Leak	1	CTV	Traffic	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 2	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 6	Other
Truck Rollover	2	CTV	Traffic	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	N/A	N/A	N/A
HOV Lanes	3	CTV	Traffic	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	N/A	N/A	N/A
Shoplifting Ring	4	CTV	Crime	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 5 Non VRMG – 0	Negative
Shooting in North York	5	CTV	Crime	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	N/A	N/A	N/A
Ford Friend on Trial	6	CTV	Crime	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	N/A	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	Other
TDSB Suspension	7	CTV	Community/ Government/ Education	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 1	Other
Reporting Child Abuse	1	Citytv	Police/Law Enforcement	N/A	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 2	Other

Subway Leak	2	Citytv	Traffic	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	Other
Ford Health Update	1	CBC	Human Interest	VRMG – 2 Non VRMG – 0	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	Other
Toronto- Montreal Alliance	2	CBC	Community/ Government/ Education	VRMG – 2 Non VRMG – 0	N/A	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	Other
Toronto 2025 Series: Toronto in the Future	3	CBC	Community/ Government/ Education	VRMG – 2 Non VRMG – 0	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 0	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	Other
Alleged Serial Thief Attacks Church	1	Global	Crime	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 3	Other
Ford Friend on Trial	2	Global	Crime	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 0	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	Other
Woodbine Casino Discussion in City Hall	3	Global	Community/ Government/ Education	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	Other
Racial Discrimination @ Toronto Restaurant	4	Global	Community/ Government/ Education	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 1	Positive
Milton GO Station Parking App	5	Global	Traffic	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 3 Non VRMG – 1	Positive
Luxury Bus Line	6	Global	Traffic	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	N/A	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	Other
Toronto Museum @ Casa Loma	7	Global	Community/ Government/ Education	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	Other

Low Income Hydro Rebate	1	CTV	Community/ Government/ Education	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 2	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 2	Other
Ontario Sector Worker Wages High	2	CTV	Community/ Government/ Education	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	N/A	N/A	N/A
U of T Strike	3	CTV	Community/ Government/ Education	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 0	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	Other
Subway Leak	4	CTV	Traffic	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	N/A	N/A	N/A
Vehicle Privacy	5	CTV	Traffic	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 0	White	Other
Public Sector Salaries	6	CTV	Community/ Government/ Education	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	Other
Woodbine Gambling Expansion	7	CTV	Community/ Government/ Education	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	N/A	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	Other
Rob Ford Health	8	CTV	Health	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	N/A	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	Other
Ford Friend Trial	9	CTV	Crime	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	Other
Airline Changes Following France Crash	1	Citytv	Community/ Government/ Education	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 2	Other
School Funding Woes	2	Citytv	Community/ Government/ Education	N/A	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	Other

Hydro Increase	3	Citytv	Community/ Government/ Education	N/A	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	Other
Botox Injection Trial	4	Citytv	Crime	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	N/A	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	Other
Sexual Assault of a Child	5	Citytv	Crime	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	N/A	N/A	N/A
Ford Friend Trial	6	Citytv	Crime	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	N/A	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	Other
Brampton Homicide	7	Citytv	Crime	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	N/A	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 2	Other
Fatal Crash	8	Citytv	Traffic	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	N/A	N/A	N/A
Plan For Former Guvernment Nightclub	1	CBC	Community/ Government/ Education	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 0	N/A	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 2	Other
Toronto 2025 Series: Toronto in the Future	2	CBC	Community/ Government/ Education	VRMG – 2 Non VRMG – 0	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	Other
Brampton Homicide	1	Global	Crime	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	N/A	Other
Stray Bullet	2	Global	Crime	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	Other
Butt Injection Trial	3	Global	Crime	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	N/A	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	Other

Controversial Newspaper	4	Global	Community/ Government/ Education	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 2	Other
Waterfront Addition	5	Global	Community/ Government/ Education	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 3	Other
Brampton Homicide	1	CTV	Crime	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	Other
Hydro Rebate	2	CTV	Community/ Government/ Education	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	Other
TDSB Cuts & Funding	3	CTV	Community/ Government/ Education	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	N/A	N/A	N/A
Ford Friend Trial	4	CTV	Crime	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	Other
Sexual Assault of 5yr old	5	CTV	Crime	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	N/A	N/A	N/A
Butt Injections Trial	6	CTV	Crime	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	N/A	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 2	Other
Fatal Construction Accident	1	Citytv	Tragedy	N/A	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	Other
Carding Controversy Confronted	2	Citytv	Community/ Government/ Education	N/A	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 2	Negative
Public Service Top Earnings	3	Citytv	Community/ Government/ Education	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 0	N/A	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	Other

Home Renovation Nightmare	4	Citytv	Community/ Government/ Education	N/A	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	Other
Fatal Construction Accident	1	CBC	Tragedy	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	Other
Public Sector Top Earnings	2	CBC	Community/ Government/ Education	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	N/A	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	Other
U of T Strike Over	3	CBC	Community/ Government/ Education	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 0	N/A	VRMG – 2 Non VRMG – 3	Other
Fiber Cable	4	CBC	Community/ Government/ Education	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	Other
Fatal Construction Accident	1	Global	Tragedy	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 0	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 3	Other
Racial Profiling: Carding	2	Global	Community/ Government/ Education	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 2	Negative
Public Sector Workers Earnings	3	Global	Community/ Government/ Education	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	N/A	N/A	N/A
Fatal Construction Accident	1	CTV	Tragedy	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 2	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 4	Other
Public Sector Salaries	2	CTV	Community/ Government/ Education	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	Other
Peel Police Shooting	3	CTV	Crime	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	N/A	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	Other

York U Strike	4	CTV	Community/ Government/ Education	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	N/A	N/A	N/A
Mayoral Campaign Expenses	5	CTV	Community/ Government/ Education	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	Other
N/A = Non Applicable due to no individuals present in this category							

Week 4 (March 30-April 3)	Placement	Source	Type	Anchor	Reporter	Central Characters	Positive/Negative/ Other
Threats Over Circumcision Decision	1	Citytv	Community/ Government /Education	N/A	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	Other
Brothers Wanted for Seraphine Murder	2	Citytv News	Crime	N/A	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 0	VRMG – 2 Non VRMG – 1	Negative
Man Rescued From Burning Car	3	Citytv	Tragedy	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 0	N/A	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 2	Positive
Two Brothers Wanted For Murder	1	CBC	Crime	VRMG – 2 Non VRMG – 0	N/A	VRMG – 2 Non VRMG – 1	Negative
Scarborough Fire	2	CBC	Community/ Government/ Education	VRMG – 2 Non VRMG – 0	N/A	N/A	N/A
Garage Fire	3	CBC	Community/ Government/ Education	VRMG – 2 Non VRMG – 0	N/A	N/A	N/A
Toronto 2025	4	CBC	Community/ Government/ Education	VRMG – 2 Non VRMG – 0	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	Other
TDSB Teacher Charged With Child Pornography	5	CBC	Crime	VRMG – 2 Non VRMG – 0	N/A	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	Other
Slaughter House Under Investigation	1	Global	Police/Law Enforcement	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 2	Other
Brampton Murder	2	Global	Crime	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	Other
Change Tables in Men's Restrooms	3	Global	Community/ Government/ Education	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 2 Non VRMG – 1	Positive

Title	#	Station	Category	Col1	Col2	Col3	Tone
Driver's Vehicle Engulfed in Flames	1	CTV	Tragedy	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 2	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 0	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 2	Positive
Duplicate Billing on 407	2	CTV	Community/ Government/ Education	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	Other
GM Plants Closing in Oshawa	3	CTV	Community/ Government/ Education	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	Other
The GM Effect on Oshawa	4	CTV	Community/ Government/ Education	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 0	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 2	Other
Honda Builds Vehicles for Export	5	CTV	Community/ Government/ Education	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	N/A	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	Other
Brothers Wanted for Seraphine Murder	6	CTV	Crime	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 2 Non VRMG – 1	Negative
Brampton Homicide	7	CTV	Crime	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	N/A	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	Other
10 yr old Killed in Scarborough Fire	8	CTV	Tragedy	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	N/A	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 1	Positive
Fire Rescue In Etobicoke	1	Citytv	Tragedy	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 3	Other
Apartment Fire	2	Citytv	Tragedy	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 1	Other
Father Gunned Down	3	Citytv	Crime	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 0	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 0	Positive

Arrest in Seraphine Murder	4	Citytv	Crime	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	N/A	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 2	Negative
Spadina Extension Fix	5	Citytv	Community/ Government/ Education	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	N/A	N/A
Ford Apologizes For Racial Slurs	6	Citytv	Community/ Government/ Education	N/A	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 1	Other
Toronto Traffic	7	Citytv	Traffic	N/A	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 0	Positive
Fire Rescue In Etobicoke	1	CBC	Tragedy	VRMG – 2 Non VRMG – 0	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 3	Other
Scarborough Fire	2	CBC	Tragedy	VRMG – 2 Non VRMG – 0	N/A	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	Other
Spadina Subway Extension	3	CBC	Community/ Government/ Education	VRMG – 2 Non VRMG – 0	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	Other
Rob Ford Apology	4	CBC	Community/ Government/ Education	VRMG – 2 Non VRMG – 0	N/A	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 1	Other
Toronto Traffic	5	CBC	Traffic	VRMG – 2 Non VRMG – 0	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 0	Other
Toronto 2025 Town Hall	6	CBC	Community/ Government/ Education	VRMG – 2 Non VRMG – 0	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 0	N/A	N/A
Fire Rescue In Etobicoke	1	Global	Tragedy	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 4	Other

Man Hunt in Seraphine Murder	2	Global	Crime	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	N/A	VRMG – 2 Non VRMG – 1	Negative
Father Gunned Down	3	Global	Crime	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	N/A	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 1	Positive
Sex Trafficking Ring	4	Global	Crime	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	N/A	N/A	N/A
Toronto Traffic	5	Global	Traffic	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	N/A	N/A	N/A
Spadina Subway Extension	6	Global	Community/ Government/ Education	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	N/A	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 2	Other
Rob Ford Apology	7	Global	Community/ Government/ Education	White	White	White	Other
Pan Am Games	8	Global	Community/ Government/ Education	White	White	White	Other
Fire Rescue In Etobicoke	1	CTV	Tragedy	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 2	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 0	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 1	Other
407 Billing Errors	2	CTV	Community/ Government/ Education	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	Other
Spadina Subway Extension	3	CTV	Community/ Government/ Education	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	N/A	N/A	N/A
Toronto Traffic	4	CTV	Traffic	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	N/A	N/A	N/A
Father Gunned Down	5	CTV	Crime	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 1	Positive

Seraphine Murder	6	CTV	Crime	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 2 Non VRMG – 1	Negative
TDSB Parking Fees	7	CTV	Community/ Government/ Education	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	Other
Ford Apology	8	CTV	Community/ Government/ Education	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 1	Other
Police Investigate TTC Conduct	1	Citytv	Police/Law Enforcement	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	Other
Sinkhole Swallows Jaguar	2	Citytv	Traffic	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	N/A	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	Other
Police Investigate TTC Conduct	1	CBC	Police/Law Enforcement	VRMG – 2 Non VRMG – 0	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 2	Other
Car Crash Sentencing	2	CBC	Crime	VRMG – 2 Non VRMG – 0	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 0	VRMG – 2 Non VRMG – 1	Negative
Sinkhole Swallows Jaguar	3	CBC	Traffic	VRMG – 2 Non VRMG – 0	N/A	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	Other
Taxi Licensing	4	CBC	Community/ Government/ Education	VRMG – 2 Non VRMG – 0	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 2 Non VRMG – 0	Other
High School Graduate Rates Up	5	CBC	Community/ Government/ Education	VRMG – 2 Non VRMG – 0	N/A	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	Other
York U Strike Over	6	CBC	Community/ Government/ Education	VRMG – 2 Non VRMG – 0	N/A	N/A	N/A

Police Investigate TTC Conduct	1	Global	Police/Law Enforcement	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 3	Other
West End Apartment Fire	2	Global	Tragedy	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 2	Other
Taxi Licensing	3	Global	Community/ Government/ Education	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	Other
Pan Am Games	4	Global	Community/ Government/ Education	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 3	Other
Police Investigate TTC Conduct	1	CTV	Police/Law Enforcement	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 2	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 6	Other
TTC Rider Reaction to Misconduct	2	CTV	Community/ Government/ Education	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 0	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 1	Other
Missing Man	3	CTV	Human Interest	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	Other
Sinkhole	4	CTV	Traffic	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 2	Other
Road Closure	5	CTV	Traffic	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	N/A	N/A	N/A
Drunk Driving Trial	6	CTV	Crime	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 2 Non VRMG – 1	Other
Human Trafficking Investigation	1	Citytv	Crime	N/A	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 3 Non VRMG – 0	Negative

Gang Member Charged w/ Murder	2	Citytv	Crime	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	N/A	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 1	Negative
Police Investigate TTC Conduct	3	Citytv	Police/Law Enforcement	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	Other
Rob Ford's Health	4	Citytv	Human Interest	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	Other
Ford's Diagnosis	1	CBC	Human Interest	VRMG – 2 Non VRMG – 0	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	Other
Scarborough Fire	2	CBC	Tragedy	VRMG – 2 Non VRMG – 0	N/A	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 1	Other
Ford's Diagnosis	1	Global	Human Interest	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 2	Other
Malcolm Marfo Murder Arrests	2	Global	Crime	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 0	VRMG – 2 Non VRMG – 1	Negative
Bullying Allegations Against Teacher	3	Global	Community/ Government/ Education	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 0	Positive
Finance Minister Budget	4	Global	Finance	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	N/A	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	Other
Ford's Diagnosis	1	CTV	Human Interest	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 2	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 2	Other
Human Trafficking Ring	2	CTV	Crime	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 0	VRMG – 4 Non VRMG – 1	Negative

Murder Victim	3	CTV	Crime	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 2 Non VRMG – 1	Negative
Police Investigate TTC Conduct	4	CTV	Police/Law Enforcement	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 0	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	Other
Scarborough Fire	5	CTV	Tragedy	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	N/A	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	Other
Missing Man Found	6	CTV	Tragedy	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	N/A	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 0	Other
University President's Shocking Payout	7	CTV	Community/ Government/ Education	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 1	Positive
Blaze in Whitby	1	Citytv	Tragedy	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	N/A	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	Other
Rob Ford Wants Brother to Fill in	2	Citytv	Community/ Government/ Education	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 2	Other
Toronto Teen Dies From Throat Cancer	3	Citytv	Human Interest	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 2	Other
TTC Robbery	5	Citytv	Crime	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	N/A	N/A	N/A
Woman Charged in Seraphine Murder	6	Citytv	Crime	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	N/A	VRMG – 3 Non VRMG – 1	Negative
Blaze in Whitby	1	CBC	Tragedy	VRMG – 2 Non VRMG – 0	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 1	Other

Good Friday	2	CBC	Community/ Government/ Education	VRMG – 2 Non VRMG – 0	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 4	Other
Easter Parade	3	CBC	Community/ Government/ Education	VRMG – 2 Non VRMG – 0	N/A	VRMG – 2 Non VRMG – 1	Other
TTC Robbery	4	CBC	Crime	VRMG – 2 Non VRMG – 0	N/A	N/A	N/A
Woman Arrested in Seraphine Murder	5	CBC	Crime	VRMG – 2 Non VRMG – 0	N/A	VRMG – 3 Non VRMG – 1	Negative
Ford Wants Brother To take His Position	6	CBC	Community/ Government/ Education	VRMG – 2 Non VRMG – 0	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 2	Other
Blaze in Whitby	1	Global	Tragedy	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 5	Positive
Girl Saves Mother	2	Global	Human Interest	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 0	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 3	Other
Gas Prices Increase	3	Global	Community/ Government/ Education	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	N/A	N/A	N/A
Use Caution Due to Animals while Driving	4	Global	Traffic	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	Other
Blaze in Whitby	1	CTV	Tragedy	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 0	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 4	Other
Vaughan Crash	2	CTV	Traffic	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	N/A	N/A	N/A

Accident on Eglinton	3	CTV	Traffic	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	N/A	N/A	`N/A
Woman Arrested in Seraphine Murder	4	CTV	Crime	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	N/A	VRMG – 3 Non VRMG – 0	Negative
Good Friday	5	CTV	Community/ Government/ Education	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	N/A	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 6	Other
Fish & Chips For Good Friday	6	CTV	Community/ Government/ Education	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	N/A	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 4	Other
N/A = Non Applicable due to no individuals present in this category							

Follow Up (Oct 15th-19th, 2018)	Placement	Source	Type	Anchor	Reporter	Central Characters	Positive/Negative/Other
Man Swims w/ Sharks @ Ripley's	1	Citytv	Human Interest	N/A	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG - 0	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 3	Other
Stabbing in Korea Town	2	Citytv	Crime	N/A	N/A	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 0	Negative
Weed Legalization	3	Citytv	Community/Government /Education	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 0	N/A	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 4	Other
Municipal Election	4	Citytv	Community/Government /Education	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 0	N/A	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 3	Other
Mayor Tory Vows to Build Gates in Chinatown	5	Citytv	Community/Government /Education	N/A	N/A	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	Other
Shooting Aftermath	1	CBC	Crime	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 0	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 0	VRMG – 2 Non VRMG – 0	Positive
Shooting Charges Made	2	CBC	Crime	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 0	N/A	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 0	Negative
Wage Increase Protests	3	CBC	Community/Government /Education	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 0	N/A	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 0	Other
Car Insurance Fee Discrimination	4	CBC	Community/Government /Education	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 0	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 0	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 0	Other
Weed Legalization	1	Global	Community/Government /Education	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 0	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	Other
Talking to Teens About Drugs	2	Global	Community/Government /Education	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	Other

Missing Elderly Person	3	Global	Community/Government /Education	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	Other
Wanted For Murder	4	Global	Crime	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 0	N/A	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 0	Negative
Shark Diver Wanted	5	Global	Crime	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 0	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 2	Other
Man Swims w/ Sharks @ Ripley's	1	CTV	Human Interest	N/A	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 9	Other
Car Insurance Discrimination	2	CTV	Community/Government /Education	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 0	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 0	Other
Legal Weed	3	CTV	Community/Government /Education	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	N/A	N/A	N/A
Stabbing in Korea Town	4	CTV	Crime	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 0	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 2	Other
Charges Made in Murder	5	CTV	Crime	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	N/A	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 0	Negative
Municipal Election	6	CTV	Community/Government /Education	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 0	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	Other
Marijuana Legalization	1	Citytv	Community/Government /Education	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 3	Other
Markham Bans Public Weed Consumption	2	Citytv	Community/Government /Education	N/A	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	Other
Police Recording of Arrest	3	Citytv	Police/Law Enforcement	N/A	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	Other

Topic	#	Station	Category				
Pride Parade & Toronto Police	4	Citytv	Police/Law Enforcement	N/A	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 2	Other
Naked Shark Swimmer	1	CBC	Human Interest	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 0	N/A	VRMG –0 Non VRMG – 1	Other
Legalization of Marijuana	2	CBC	Community/Government /Education	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 0	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 3	Other
Canada Post Strike	3	CBC	Community/Government /Education	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 0	N/A	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	Other
Pride Parade & Toronto Police	4	CBC	Police/Law Enforcement	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 0	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 0	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 2	Other
Police Recording of Arrest	5	CBC	Police/Law Enforcement	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 0	N/A	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 2	Other
Car Accidents	6	CBC	Traffic	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 0	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 0	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 0	Other
Toronto Police Abuses	1	Global	Police/Law Enforcement	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	N/A	VRMG – 2 Non VRMG – 1	Other
Legalization of Weed	2	Global	Community/Government /Education	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	Other
Markham Ban on Public Weed Consumption	3	Global	Community/Government /Education	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 0	N/A	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	Other
Pride Parade & Police	4	Global	Police/Law Enforcement	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 2	Other
Bus Seat Belts	5	Global	Community/Government /Education	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 0	N/A	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	Other

Sinkhole	6	Global	Traffic	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 0	N/A	N/A	N/A
Legal Pot	1	CTV	Community/Government /Education	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 1	Other
Law Enforcement of Marijuana	2	CTV	Police/Law Enforcement	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 0	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	Other
Marijuana Awareness	3	CTV	Community/Government /Education	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	N/A	N/A	N/A
Markham Weed Rules	4	CTV	Community/Government /Education	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 0	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 3	Other
Swimming w/ Sharks @ Ripley's	5	CTV	Community/Government /Education	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	N/A	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	Other
Toronto Police & Pride Parade	6	CTV	Police/Law Enforcement	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 0	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 3	Other
Police on Video During Arrest	7	CTV	Police/Law Enforcement	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 2	Other
Celebrating Legalization	1	Citytv	Community/Government /Education	N/A	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 3	Other
Celebrating Legalization	1	CBC	Community/Government /Education	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 0	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 6	Other
Candidate Linked to Corruption	2	CBC	Community/Government /Education	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 0	N/A	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	Other
Legal Pot Parties	1	Global	Community/Government /Education	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 3 Non VRMG – 4	Other

Marijuana Website	2	Global	Community/Government /Education	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 0	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 5	Other
Swimming w/ Sharks @ Ripley's	3	Global	Community/Government /Education	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 0	N/A	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 2	Other
Child Attacked by Dog @ Mississauga Park	4	Global	Community/Government /Education	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 0	N/A	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 0	Negative
Pot Party	1	CTV	Community/Government /Education	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 2	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 3	Other
Safely Consuming Pot	2	CTV	Community/Government /Education	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 3	Positive
Ripley's Swimmer Arrested	2	CTV	Crime	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 0	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	Other
Municipal Elections	1	Citytv	Community/Government /Education	N/A	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 2	Other
Lead in Teen's 1963 Disappearance	2	Citytv	Community/Government /Education	N/A	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 0	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 2	Other
Police Dealing w/ On Duty injury due to Pot	3	Citytv	Police/Law Enforcement	N/A	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	Other
Water main repair	4	Citytv	Community/Government /Education	N/A	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	Other
Cannabis Waiting Periods	1	CBC	Community/Government /Education	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 0	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 4	Other
Pedestrian Struck	2	CBC	Traffic	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 0	N/A	N/A	N/A
Markham Pedestrian Struck	3	CBC	Traffic	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 0	N/A	N/A	N/A

Survey of Pedestrian Deaths	4	CBC	Community/Government /Education	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 0	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 0	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 2	Other
Policeman Drunk While Working	5	CBC	Police/Law Enforcement	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 0	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 0	Negative
1963 Missing Girl Case	6	CBC	Community/Government /Education	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 0	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 2	Other
Missing Girl Case from 1963	1	Global	Community/Government /Education	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 0	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 6	Other
Impaired Boating Kills Child	2	Global	Tragedy	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	Other
Pedestrian Struck GO Train	3	Global	Traffic	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 0	N/A	N/A	N/A
Cold Classrooms	4	Global	Community/Government /Education	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 3	Other
Arrest For Ripley's Swimmer	5	Global	Community/Government /Education	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	N/A	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	Other
Free Speech Protest	6	Global	Community/Government /Education	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 0	N/A	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 5	Other
Low Interest Loans for Home Renovations	7	Global	Community/Government /Education	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 0	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 2	Other
Toronto Mayoral Race	1	CTV	Community/Government /Education	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 2	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 3	Other

Road Safety Surveys	2	CTV	Community/Government/Education	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	N/A	N/A	N/A
Water main Repairs	3	CTV	Community/Government/Education	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	N/A	N/A	N/A
1963 Missing Girl	4	CTV	Community/Government/Education	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 3	Other
Pedestrian Struck By GO Train	5	CTV	Traffic	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	N/A	N/A	N/A
Pedestrian Struck	6	CTV	Traffic	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	N/A	N/A	N/A
Milton Crash	7	CTV	Traffic	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	N/A	N/A	N/A
Oakville Teacher Charged in Child Pornography	8	CTV	Crime	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 0	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG –2	Other
Ripley's Swimmer Arrested	9	CTV	Crime	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	N/A	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	Other
Stouville Mayoral Race	10	CTV	Community/Government/Education	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 0	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	Other
Marijuana Dispensary Raids	1	Citytv	Community/Government/Education	N/A	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 0	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 1	Other
GO Train Delays	2	Citytv	Traffic	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
TTC Ridership Down	3	Citytv	Traffic	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 0	N/A	N/A	N/A

Ripley's Swimmer Arrested	4	Citytv	Crime	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	Other
Impaired Crash	5	Citytv	Traffic	N/A	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 0	N/A	N/A
Pedestrian Struck	6	Citytv	Traffic	N/A	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 0	N/A	N/A
Safety @ Union Station	7	Citytv	Community/Government /Education	N/A	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 0	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 3	Other
Marijuana Dispensary Raids	1	CBC	Community/Government /Education	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 0	N/A	N/A	N/A
Bruce McArthur Victim	2	CBC	Crime	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 0	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 0	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 0	Other
1963 Missing Girl	3	CBC	Community/Government /Education	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 0	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 0	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 0	Other
Elections for Ward 23	4	CBC	Community/Government /Education	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 0	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 0	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 0	Positive
Marathon	5	CBC	Community/Government /Education	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 0	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 0	N/A	N/A
Ripley's Swimmer Arrested	1	Global	Crime	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 0	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	Other
Pedestrian Struck by GO Train	2	Global	Traffic	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 0	N/A	N/A	N/A
Fatal Shooting	3	Global	Crime	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	Other

McArthur Victim	4	Global	Crime	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 0	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	Other
Municipal Elections	5	Global	Community/Government /Education	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	Other
Toronto Amazon Headquarters	6	Global	Community/Government /Education	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 0	N/A	N/A	N/A
Pedestrian Struck By GO Train	1	CTV	Traffic	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 2	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 0	N/A	N/A
Ripley's Swimmer Arrested	2	CTV	Crime	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 0	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	Other
Mayoral Race	3	CTV	Community/Government /Education	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	N/A	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	Other
Oshawa Mayoral Race	3	CTV	Community/Government /Education	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	Other
Sex Education	5	CTV	Community/Government /Education	VRMG – 0 Non VRMG – 1	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 0	VRMG – 1 Non VRMG – 0	Other

N/A = Non Applicable due to no individuals present in this category