

Framed:
**A Canadian news media analysis of
accused persons deemed Not Criminally
Responsible on Account of Mental Disorder**

**by
Tanya N. Miller**

B.J. (Concentration in Psychology, Hons.), Carleton University, 2011

Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the
Requirements for the Degree of
Master of Arts

in the
School of Criminology
Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences

© Tanya N. Miller 2016
SIMON FRASER UNIVERSITY
Spring 2016

All rights reserved.

However, in accordance with the *Copyright Act of Canada*, this work may be reproduced, without authorization, under the conditions for Fair Dealing. Therefore, limited reproduction of this work for the purposes of private study, research, education, satire, parody, criticism, review and news reporting is likely to be in accordance with the law, particularly if cited appropriately.

Approval

Name: Tanya N. Miller
Degree: Master of Arts (Criminology)
Title: *Framed:
A Canadian news media analysis of
accused persons deemed Not Criminally
Responsible on Account of Mental Disorder*

Examining Committee: **Chair:** Martin Andresen
Professor

Simon Verdun-Jones
Senior Supervisor
Professor

Sheri Fabian
Supervisor
Senior Lecturer

Shane Gunster
External Examiner
Associate Professor
School of Communication
Simon Fraser University

Date Defended/Approved: April 14, 2016

Abstract

Few issues stir public interest, or generate as much controversy, as the verdict of Not Criminally Responsible on Account of Mental Disorder (NCR). Even though very few living with mental illness ever come into conflict with the law, three prominent cases recently prompted changes to Canada's criminal justice system. This retrospective, mixed methods study analyzed coverage of these cases from four national news media services between 2008 and 2015, and how they were portrayed. Six major themes emerged: feelings of victimization; tough-on-crime attitudes; perceived injustice; trial by public opinion; a hierarchy of human rights; and negative stereotypes. Although two-thirds of stories conveyed a neutral tone, there were limited perspectives with lived experience, and no significant improvements in reporting trends over time. The findings support research that show the media provide overwhelmingly dramatic and distorted narratives of mental illness that emphasize dangerousness, unpredictability, and criminality. Recommendations to re-frame representations of NCR accused persons more accurately include practicing equality, providing context, collaborating with healthcare and legal experts, and focusing on rehabilitation.

Keywords: not criminally responsible on account of mental disorder; mental illness; news media; framing; public safety; structural stigma

Acknowledgements

I am indebted to several individuals who made this academic achievement possible.

First and foremost, my deepest gratitude to Dr. Simon Verdun-Jones and Dr. Sheri Fabian. I have the utmost respect for you, and it has been a privilege and a pleasure to work together. Your expertise and passion are unparalleled. Thank you both for your guidance, dedication, kindness, patience, and unwavering confidence in my abilities.

Dr. Shane Gunster, for agreeing to be my external examiner. Thank you for your insightful—and invaluable—feedback and suggestions.

My father, Jay, for being as invested in every part of the process as I have been. Thank you for your support and encouragement, and for challenging me intellectually.

Erika Horwitz, whom I also consider family. Thank you for being my mentor, role model, comrade, and confidant. I am incredibly grateful for your genuine interest not only in my research, but also my well-being. It is your care and compassion that gives me hope for the future—a future without stigma. Thank you for all you have done for the mental health community. You are truly inspiring.

Last, but far from least, Veronica Letawsky, Dorota Salvail, Lyndsay Scott, and Matt Steyer. Thank you for your unconditional friendship, it means the world.

Table of Contents

Approval.....	ii
Abstract.....	iii
Acknowledgements.....	iv
Table of Contents.....	v
List of Tables.....	vii
List of Figures.....	vii
Chapter 1. Introduction	1
Chapter 2. Literature Review.....	8
2.1. Techniques and terms	8
2.1.1. Framing	8
2.1.2. Newsworthiness	10
2.1.3. Sensationalism	11
2.2. Analytic concepts.....	12
2.2.1. Structural Stigma and Labeling.....	12
2.2.2. Not Criminally Responsible on Account of Mental Disorder	13
2.3. Extant literature	17
Chapter 3. Methodology	21
3.1. Research Statement and Objectives.....	21
3.2. Research Design	21
3.3. Sampling Technique.....	22
3.4. Data Collection	22
3.5. Data Analysis	23
Chapter 4. Results	28
4.1. Quantitative Findings.....	28
4.2. Thematic Analysis	36
4.2.1. Victimization	37
4.2.1.1. By the system	37
4.2.1.2. As an agent of change	38
4.2.2. Compelled to crusade.....	39
4.2.2.1. Making it political.....	40
4.2.3. Getting away with murder	41
4.2.4. Court of public opinion	42
4.2.4.1. Everyone is an expert	43
4.2.5. All the same.....	45
4.2.6.1. “Us” versus “them”	47
4.2.6. “People don’t want to hear Vince Li is getting better”	48
4.2.5.1. Dangerous minds.....	49

Chapter 5. Discussion	51
Chapter 6. Conclusion.....	58
6.1. Implications and Recommendations	59
6.2. Limitations	65
6.3. Future Research.....	67
References	69
Appendix A. Example of positive tone article	85
Appendix B. Example of negative tone article	86
Appendix C. Example of neutral tone article.....	87
Appendix D. Example of ambivalent tone article	88
Appendix E. Number of articles per reporter	89

List of Tables

Table 2.1	News values.....	10
Table 3.1	Types of source.....	25
Table 3.2	Types of tone	25
Table 4.1	Sample vs. National Trajectory Project (NTP) findings	29
Table 4.2	Frequency of references per case	30
Table 4.3	Overall frequency of tones	30
Table 4.4	Case by tone	30
Table 4.5	Tone by year	31
Table 4.6	Tone by news service	32
Table 4.7	Frequency of number of sources per article	33
Table 4.8	Frequency of sources.....	34

List of Figures

Figure 2.1	Summary of major National Trajectory Project findings	17
Figure 4.1	Tone by year	31
Figure 4.2	Tone by news service	33

Chapter 1.

Introduction

No area of reporting requires greater care than crime (The Canadian Press, 2006, p. 105). As general assignment reporters are first on the scene, impressions created by their stories—especially dramatic ones—can be highly influential on public sentiment (Canadian Journalism Forum on Violence and Trauma, 2014). For, in the news, sensationalism sells (Stuart, 2003, p. 652). Negative stories attract more attention, and therefore sell better than positive ones (Nawková et al., 2012, p. 34).

Not only does the degree to which people are exposed to media representations make the mass media one of the most significant and powerful influences in developed societies, the news media are among the most frequently identified sources of mental health information (Baun, 2009, p. 31). Rarely does a week go by without reference to mental illness in the mass media (p. 32), which gives reporters ample opportunity and scope to dispel inaccurate and stigmatizing stereotypes, or to reinforce and amplify them (Stuart, 2006, p. 101). The news of a crime by someone living with a mental illness is multiplied by the number of times it is reported, giving the mistaken impression that violence among those living with mental illness is a frequent and recurring event, as stereotypes are consolidated each time a violent act is broadcast (Stuart, 2006, p. 102). Studies consistently show that both news and entertainment media provide overwhelmingly dramatic and distorted images of mental illness that emphasize dangerousness, unpredictability, and criminality (Stuart, 2006, p. 99).

Yet, very few living with mental illness ever come into conflict with the law (Canadian Journalism Forum on Violence and Trauma, 2014). In fact, most people living with mental illness are not violent (Baun, 2009, p. 32; Inman, 2012), and are more likely to be the victims of violence rather than the perpetrators (Desai, 2013, p. 8; Inman, 2012;

Whitley & Berry, 2013, p. 108). Despite the significantly lower prevalence of violence among people living with mental illness, the media rarely write about people living with mental illness unless they experience a psychotic episode and immortalize a gruesome act (Canadian Journalism Forum on Violence and Trauma, 2014, p. 4). By covering the unusual, not the mundane; tending toward the black-and-white rather than the grey; and shying away from the inexplicable, the media have allowed certain quirks to shape coverage of mental health issues (Canadian Journalism Forum on Violence and Trauma, 2014, p. 4).

Most news articles do not even report basic information about psychoses (Inman, 2012) or include the voices of those living with mental illness (Stuart, 2006, p. 101). News reporters cannot become well versed in everything they might cover, but mental illness has become a significant part of everyday life and may be an aspect in almost any story a reporter is assigned to cover (Canadian Journalism Forum on Violence and Trauma, 2014). One in five Canadians will experience a mental health issue in their lifetime (Canadian Mental Health Association, 2014), but many are reticent to admit it or even access mental health resources for fear of embarrassment (Jagdeo, Cox, Stein, & Sareen, 2009). People living with mental illness often report that the experience of stigma has a more devastating impact on them than the illness itself (Mental Health Commission of Canada, 2012, p. 16).

Under-reporting then leads to under-provision of mental health services (Canadian Journalism Forum on Violence and Trauma, 2014, p. 10), which has perhaps contributed to the many who are overrepresented and undiagnosed in the criminal justice system (Andover, Schatten, Crossman, & Donovan, 2011, p. 1110). The proportion of federal offenders with significant, identified mental health needs has more than doubled between 1997 and 2008 (Office of the Correctional Investigator, 2011). However, many decide against raising issues of mental illness after being charged to avoid indeterminate involvement with the forensic psychiatric system, and/or because only a small number actually meet Canada's legal threshold for findings of not criminally responsible on account of mental disorder (NCRMD or NCR) (Department of Justice Canada, 2013). Between 2005 and 2012, NCR accused persons represented less than one per cent of

adult criminal court cases for each of Canada's 10 reporting provinces and territories, which has remained relatively stable over time (Miladinovic & Lukassen, 2014).

Despite historically low rates, interest in the NCR defence has intensified in recent years (Crocker et al., 2015a). Indeed, three cases in particular—Allan Schoenborn, Vincent Li, and Guy Turcotte—and news coverage of them seemingly prompted changes to Canada's criminal justice system.

Justice Minister Rob Nicholson announced the proposed amendments to the *Criminal Code* on [November 22, 2012], the latest in a series of tough-on-crime initiatives by the Conservative government that come after lobbying by victims... Three recent Canadian cases—in British Columbia, Manitoba and Quebec—brought the issue to national prominence. (“New legislation would”, 2012)

The *Not Criminally Responsible Reform Act (NCR Reform Act)* was introduced to ensure public safety is the paramount consideration in the decision-making process and creates a new “high-risk” designation for NCR accused persons deemed particularly dangerous (Department of Justice Canada, 2014). Experts questioned the impetus for these changes, however, as public safety is already the foremost consideration, the review board system already works properly (“10 voices”, 2013), and the original legislation already protects the public (“Psychiatrist wary” 2013). The amendments also do nothing to help people living with mental illness access treatment (“10 voices”, 2013) or help prevent crime (“Emotional Stephen Harper”, 2013).

Judge Schneider warned that the government is threatening to destroy an intricate balance between civil liberties and the safety of the public based on three notorious crimes committed by men who had never even been in the forensic psychiatric system... Judge Schneider said it is perverse to indict the NCR regime based on a trio of “outlier” cases that involved men who had never been assessed under the review-board system. (“Critics slam new”, 2013)

Nonetheless, the *NCR Reform Act* passed in 2014. Public support for punitive legislation often hinges on perceptions of dangerousness and unpredictability derived from the news media (Stuart, 2003, p. 655). Not only do the news media shape coverage of mental health issues, they have the power to shape public opinion of them, and policy, too. Research on media depictions of NCR accused persons is therefore needed to

investigate whether the same premise applies to them, and because no such analysis exists to date. This study intends to help address that gap by examining a sample of prominent NCR accused persons, and how they are portrayed by Canadian news media. The sample in this study consists of the same cases used to advance the former Conservative government's agenda: Allan Schoenborn, Vincent Li, and Guy Turcotte.

Allan Schoenborn was charged with three counts of first-degree murder for each of his children. They were discovered on April 6, 2008, at the Merritt, British Columbia home of his estranged wife, Darcie Clarke (*R. v. Schoenborn*, 2010, para. 1). Schoenborn, who was 40-years-old at the time, testified that he believed it was his duty to kill the children to protect them from being groomed for a life of drug, physical, and sexual abuse (para. 3). The Crown contended that Schoenborn was retaliating against Clarke, who refused to reconcile their relationship (para. 187). However, Schoenborn had a long history of psychosis, dating as far back as 1987 (para. 234). In the weeks and months leading up to the murders there was evidence of his deteriorating condition, which included consistent themes of hearing voices, persistent delusions that Clarke had been unfaithful since her first pregnancy, and increased anxieties regarding the safety of the children. As such, Justice Robert Powers concluded that Schoenborn was, in fact, experiencing symptoms of schizophrenia and delusional disorder when he killed 10-year-old Kaitlynne, eight-year-old Max, and five-year-old Cordon, and declared Schoenborn not criminally responsible on February 22, 2010. Justice Powers said the irony was that Schoenborn was the real danger, and none of the dangers he imagined in his mind (para. 236).

Following the verdict, Schoenborn was admitted to the Forensic Psychiatric Hospital in Coquitlam, British Columbia, for assessment (British Columbia Review Board, 2010, para. 18). In 2010 his treating psychiatrist, Dr. Johann Brink, recommended a strict custodial disposition to plan a course of treatment that would help Schoenborn gain insight into the underlying motivation for the index offence and his illness, and reduce his risk to public safety (para. 23). At his annual hearing in 2011, Schoenborn withdrew his request for escorted absences after it sparked controversy with Clarke's family and neighbouring community (British Columbia Review Board, 2015a, paras. 6 and 7). Having made significant improvements and clinical progress since then, and after noting Schoenborn's delusional disorder, substance abuse, and paranoid personality traits were in remission

(para. 2), the British Columbia Review Board granted him staff supervised community outings at his hearing in 2015 (British Columbia Review Board, 2015b). However, Schoenborn's status and freedoms are being challenged by the Crown's application for a retroactive "high-risk" designation as part of the *NCR Reform Act*, which will proceed (*R. v. Schoenborn*, 2015, para. 66) in May 2016 ("Schoenborn hearing could", 2016).

Vincent Li was deemed not criminally responsible on March 5, 2009 for stabbing, dismembering, and allegedly cannibalizing seatmate Tim McLean aboard a Greyhound bus near Portage la Prairie, Manitoba, on July 30, 2008 ("Greyhound bus killer gets", 2009). Li, who was 40-years-old at the time, believed he was chosen by God to save people from an alien attack, and that McLean, 22, was an alien ("Court hears of", 2009). Li also believed that McLean possessed a supernatural ability to come back to life, which is why he severed McLean's head and several of his body parts, scattering them throughout the bus. Passengers fled the bus, and Li was apprehended after a five-hour standoff with police. He was charged with second-degree murder but did not speak until his second court appearance, and even then only whispered, "please kill me" ("Accused in bus", 2008). The psychiatric assessment ordered by Justice John Scurfield revealed that Li had been involuntarily admitted to an Ontario psychiatric facility in 2005, where he was prescribed medication but never formally diagnosed, and left after 10 days ("Tormented by mental", 2009). His ex-wife, Ana, with whom he emigrated from China in 2001, said she began noticing changes in Li's behaviour in 2004. Ana said, at first, his auditory hallucinations provided guidance, directing him to find a job or buy land. But the commands escalated in the summer of 2008, and on July 30, the voices warned Li that he either kill McLean, or be killed by him.

Once Li was found fit to stand trial it lasted only two days because both Crown and defence agreed to his NCR plea ("Vince Li not", 2009). It was undisputed by Justice Scurfield, who said Li's actions were "grotesque" and "appalling" but strongly suggestive of mental illness. Li was remanded to the Health Sciences Centre in Winnipeg, Manitoba, for further assessment and, on June 3, 2009, the Manitoba Review Board ruled that Li be committed indefinitely to the Selkirk Mental Health Centre, also in Winnipeg ("Bus beheader to", 2009). In 2012 Li participated in an interview with Chris Summerville, CEO of the Schizophrenia Society of Canada, to tell his side of the story. In it Li said he

recognized his illness and the importance of taking medication, and deeply regretted his actions (“Vincent Li speaks”, 2012). Dr. Steven Kremer, the lead psychiatrist on Li’s treatment team, said Li no longer experiences delusions and is a “model patient” (“Vincent Li granted”, 2014). In 2015, he was granted a transfer to a supervised group home in the community (“Vince Li OK’d”, 2015). At Li’s most recent hearing on February 22, 2016, he appeared under the new name of Will Baker (“Man who beheaded fellow”, 2016), and his treatment team recommended he be discharged with conditions (“Vince Li move”, 2016).

Guy Turcotte was charged with two counts of first-degree murder for his two young children, who were found stabbed to death a total of 46 times in his rented home in Piedmont, Québec (*R. c. Turcotte*, 2012, para. 6). Turcotte testified that his troubled marriage and wife’s affair with a close friend contributed to a profound depression, and he planned to end his own life on February 20, 2009 (*R. c. Turcotte*, 2013, para. 24). Turcotte said he drank several glasses of windshield wiper fluid until he was full, then realized his children would find his body and decided to “bring them with him”. Turcotte, who was 36-years-old at the time, admitted to causing the deaths of five-year-old Olivier and three-year-old Anne-Sophie, but denied intent (“Case of Québec”, 2013). He was discovered by police the next day and admitted to the intensive care unit of the hospital where he practiced cardiology, but transferred at the request of his colleagues (“Autopsies to be done”, 2009). Turcotte said he only remembered the night in flashes, or partial memories, and was unable to place the events chronologically (*R. c. Turcotte*, 2013, para. 25). Evidence tended to support Turcotte’s order of events, but it was impossible to be certain (para. 29). One expert witness compared Turcotte’s level of intoxication to that of consuming one to two bottles of wine, or five to 10 bottles of beer, in one hour, which would impact both judgment and memory (para. 50). All psychiatrists for the defence and Crown agreed that at the time of the events, Turcotte was suffering from an adjustment disorder with anxiety and depressed mood (para. 36). The Crown claimed Turcotte killed the children in a bid for revenge against his ex-wife, Isabelle Gaston (“Case of Québec”, 2013), but the jury questioned Turcotte’s mental state at the time of the murders. On July 5, 2011, he was declared not criminally responsible (*R. c. Turcotte*, 2013, para. 2).

Turcotte was committed to Institut Philippe-Pinel de Montréal and treated there until December 2012, when he was released back into the community with conditions

“Case of Québec”, 2013). Less than a year later, the Québec Court of Appeal overturned the NCR verdict after the Crown argued the trial judge erred in the application of law regarding Turcotte’s voluntary intoxication, and a new trial was ordered. On December 6, 2015, Turcotte was found guilty of second-degree murder on both counts, and sentenced to life imprisonment without the possibility of parole for 17 years (“Guy Turcotte sentenced”, 2016). He is challenging the verdict, as well as his parole eligibility (“Guy Turcotte’s challenge”, 2016).

These cases occurred less than a decade ago and within 10 months of one another, making it possible to evaluate recent, but longitudinal time trends. They were also of interest because of the fundamental differences between their circumstances. While there was no debate as to Li’s mental state at time of offence, the Crown contended that Schoenborn and Turcotte killed their children to exact revenge against their estranged wives. Based on the guilty finding at Turcotte’s second trial, the NCR defence should never have been raised at his first trial. But Turcotte was a respected cardiologist familiar with the healthcare system, unlike Schoenborn, who went unemployed for long periods of time, or Li, who could only find shift work after moving from China. Since both Schoenborn and Li have consistently experienced delusions, they are considered to pose an ongoing risk—and criticism for any suggestion they might be released.

In addition to the social, political, and legal fascination these cases generated, I selected them for their wide, prominent coverage. Major “dailies” are valuable sources for understanding dominant discourses, rather than dissident or idiosyncratic ones (Mautner, 2008, p. 32). Major dailies also afford dissemination to large audiences, which enhances the news media’s ability to shape widely shared constructions of reality (Mautner, 2008, p. 32), an important consideration for a democratic system steered by popular opinion. As such, this study has implications for journalists, policymakers, healthcare consumers and providers, as well as the Canadian public.

Chapter 2.

Literature Review

This study begins with an overview of common techniques and structural elements used by the news media, followed by analytic and legal concepts pertaining to NCR accused persons. Since this is the first study on Canadian news media portrayals of NCR accused persons, a review of Canadian literature on news media portrayals of mental illness is presented instead.

2.1. Techniques and terms

2.1.1. Framing

In order to process the tremendous number of messages and make news intelligible for their audience, journalists use framing. Framing helps organize, present, and interpret information (Sieff, 2003, p. 260); in other words, it simplifies information (p. 266). Framing is both the presentation of information through media vehicles and the subsequent development of internal mental structures (schemas) that ease the burden of information processing by including certain elements, and hiding others (p. 263).

The media template is a particularly condensed frame, drawing on stories that have come to be accepted as common reference points (Hodgetts, Chamberlain, Scammell, Karapu, & Nikora, 2008, p. 52). The media tend to cover stories according to existing news frames that lead to a preponderance of stories that confirm it (Bula, 1996, p. 33), and the repetitive nature of that frame then serves to reinforce it (Sieff, 2003, p. 266). In news stories, framing structures are primarily organized by drawing attention to the article with a strong headline and using the inverted pyramid to focus on pertinent issues (p. 264). In an inverted pyramid, the most important facts are emphasized by appearing first, so that readers can anticipate the storyline through its headline and lead paragraph. Explicit and eye-catching headlines that use framing devices can lead readers to arrive at specific interpretations without ever reading the story, such as depicting

individuals living with mental illness as chaotic, at risk, in crisis, violent, and deviant (McKenna, Thom, & Simpson, 2007, p. 57). Cognitive models of framing illustrate how easy it is to recall frames, and much less so to disentangle them into individual components and consider separately (Sieff, 2003, p. 266). Since stories are the basis for understanding events, organizing information through stories helps retrieve that information, and salient cues in the environment influence activation of them.

Another framing element is the attribution of statements to particular individuals. Calling on experts or officials to comment increases the validity of a claim, whereas trivialization occurs through comments by less desirable individuals, such as those living with mental illness (Sieff, 2003, p. 265). How expertise or authority is constructed within news frames privileges certain sources—experts and their explanations receive much more space, regardless of whether their expertise is relevant (Nairn, 2007, p. 143). And, because journalists believe there are two sides to every story (Nairn, 2007, p. 143; Newman & Newman, 2015, p. 10), sources may be arranged in conflict or opposition to one another. This mechanism invites debate, where the media act as a mirror for public concerns and public opinion can make its choice among them (Bula, 1996, p. 20).

Thus, the study of media frames, and how information is presented and processed, explains why negative portrayals of mental illness are so pervasive. Given the considerable inertia in frames and the pressure to write news that sells, presenting those living with mental illness as productive members of society may be hard for reporters (Sieff, 2003, p. 267). The provision of readily accessible information is why frames are effective and why both journalists and readers rely on them. Drawing from, and building on, a simplified framework that depicts mental illness negatively has become a vicious cycle, and is what permits negative attitudes to persist (Sieff, 2003, p. 266).

Another example of how mental illness has been framed is in its accepted presence among crime stories. In 1992, nearly two-thirds of all news stories involving those with psychiatric diagnoses in the UK could be classified as “crime news”, but only 10 per cent of *all* news stories could be considered crime news (Rose, 1998, p. 221). The vast majority of stories revolved around issues unrelated to crime or violence, such as politics, entertainment, or health. News was not actually dominated by crime stories, but

rather news stories featuring people living with mental illness given this specific and negative focus.

2.1.2. Newsworthiness

Re-framing people living with mental illness may involve re-defining what the news media consider newsworthy. Journalists and editors use a prescribed set of news values to distinguish information that is newsworthy from information that is non-newsworthy (NewsWatch Canada, n.d.). They act as signals to news audiences and provide journalists with a mechanism to quickly sort through, process, and select news from vast amounts of information. In practice, journalists organize their materials to present the appearance of objectivity, while relying on particular values to recognize and produce newsworthy stories (Nairn, 1999, p. 583). Therefore, news is actually prioritized by elements that attract and maintain readership. Extreme instances of psychoses are rare, but news values illustrate why they are more likely to be reported:

Table 2.1 News values

News Value	Description
Reference to something negative	Bad news is more readily reported than good news, partly because it more easily fits with the other news values.
Prominence	Most news refers to elite nations and figures, which is not unusual since actions of various social and global elites appear to be more consequential than those of non-elites.
Predictability / Demand	A range of expected forms of news exist, which reinforce the audience's expectations of society. For example, election news coverage remains fairly constant, from election to election, and from news outlet to news outlet.
Unpredictability / Unexpectedness	Acting as a balance to the preceding news value, the unexpected (unusual or rare) is also caught in the news net.
Frequency / Timeliness	The timeframe needed for the event to unfold itself and acquire meaning. Events that fit into the media's daily production routine are preferred over long-term processes.
Threshold / Intensity increase	An event becomes news if it is significant; bigger, louder, and/or more significant than similar events.
Unambiguity	The event with the clearest interpretation will receive preferred treatment. Events that are complex, or where it is less clear whether they are good or bad, do not fit the news model as well.

News Value	Description
Meaningfulness / Cultural proximity / Relevance	An event must be considered important or relevant to the perceived audiences of Canadian news.
Composition	News editors try to balance between different categories of news, such as local, national, political, and international.

Source: NewsWatch Canada (n.d.)

2.1.3. Sensationalism

News values determine *what* is reported, but not *how* news is reported. There is no one overarching code of conduct that dictates what journalists can and cannot do, but reporters are expected to exhibit honesty, integrity, thoroughness and fairness in reporting stories, headlines, and even in the use of graphics and images (The Canadian Association of Journalists, 2011). Many organizations, associations, and publishers require their journalists to abide by professional standards, as well. The Canadian Association of Journalists, for example, prides itself on accuracy, fairness, right to privacy, independence, transparency, diversity, accountability, upholding promises to sources, and avoiding conflicts of interest (The Canadian Association of Journalists Ethics Advisory Committee, 2011).

Reporters became trustworthy when newspapers established themselves as neutral bodies in the early twentieth century (Bula, 1996, p. 18), shifting from the “yellow journalism” that once prevailed to presenting news in a sober, impartial, and authoritative manner (p. 55). Objectivity became a practical way of dealing with the demands of dailies, as reporters could produce stories quickly and routinely without requiring extensive knowledge of the subject (p. 19). However, that strategy may be problematic for sensitive and complex topics, as is the argument that the three basic dimensions of sensationalism are the foundation of any good storytelling: an emphasis on personalities; a preference for trivial over significant news; and the use of colloquial, personal language (p. 96). This is why stories dealing with crime, public fears, disasters, accidents, and scandals have consistently been described as sensational (Grabe, Zhou, & Barnett, 2001, p. 637).

Research on the effects of sensationalism on consumers is limited, but numerous studies have demonstrated an association between negative media portrayals of people living with mental illness and the public’s negative attitudes (Nawková et al., 2012, p. 23).

In newspapers, people living with mental illness are most often portrayed as violent, and prominently on the front page (Corrigan, Powell, & Michaels, 2013, p. 179). Such prominent placement fuels public perceptions of high rates of violence among people living with mental illness, but research shows that violent crime rates are significantly lower than public perceptions (p. 179). Exposure to even just one shocking image of violent mental illness increases the expectation that anyone living with a mental illness is particularly likely to do harm, and can be so compelling that they override personal experiences (Baun, 2009, p. 32). These distorted and negative associations are woven so deeply into the fabric of public consciousness that sensationalism need no longer occur for the public to equate mental illness with violence (p. 32).

2.2. Analytic concepts

2.2.1. Structural Stigma and Labeling

The effects of sensationalism are further compounded by stigma being the foremost barrier to improvements in the mental health system (Baun, 2009, p. 32; Desai, 2013, p. 30). People living with mental illness often report that the experience of stigma has a more devastating impact on them than the illness itself (Mental Health Commission of Canada, 2012, p. 16). But little is known about why stigmatizing attitudes toward mental illness develop, or how to combat them and their consequences (Arboleda-Flórez, 2005, p. 8). Since the ancient Greeks, stigma—*stizein*—has been understood as a negative, demeaning, and discrediting “mark”. Stigmatizing attitudes tend to worsen if the mark is obvious, perceived to be under the control of the bearer, and if it instills fear by projecting an element of danger. Because mental illness is socially construed as reflecting weakness of character, among the most stigmatized are those who display obvious signs of their condition and threatening behaviours.

Although news media are among the most frequently identified sources of mental health information (Baun, 2009, p. 31; Caputo & Rouner, 2011, p. 602; Nairn, Coverdale, & Claasen, 2002, p. 697; & Stuart, 2006, p. 101), they commonly stigmatize people living with mental illness (Corrigan et al., 2013, p. 179). This has been demonstrated internationally, in Australia (Huang & Priebe, 2003), Brazil (Dubugras et al., 2011), Croatia

(Rukavina et al., 2010), Germany (Nowack et al., 2011), Italy (Magliano et al., 2011), New Zealand (Nairn & Coverdale, 2005), the United Kingdom (Huang & Priebe, 2003), and the United States (Corrigan et al., 2005; Huang and Priebe, 2003; Wahl et al., 2002) (as cited in Corrigan et al., 2013, p. 179). Structural stigma and discrimination occur when an institution like the news media, rather than an individual, broadcasts stigmatizing messages about mental illness (Corrigan, Watson, Gracia, Slopen, Rasinski, & Hall, 2005, p. 551). Hence, whether intentional or not, the news media become social structures for perpetuating stigma (p. 551). This has been shown to trigger discrimination, impede recovery, and create barriers to seeking and finding decent housing, education, and employment (Baun, 2009, p. 33).

Labels are also used to help distinguish some degree of separation between “us” and “them” (Link & Phelan, 2001, p. 367). Especially strong labeling effects emerge when a measure of perceived dangerousness is introduced (Torrey, 2001, p. 893) and an illegal act is involved (Livingston, Rossiter, & Verdun-Jones, 2011, p. 116), which may culminate in a double stigma (p. 119). When a person living with mental illness carries out an illegal act and is court-ordered to receive forensic mental health services, it may signal that the person is more dangerous and/or prone to criminality (p. 116). Furthermore, studies with offender populations in correctional systems have shown that the dual stigma of living with mental illness is perceived as a major challenge for community re-entry.

2.2.2. Not Criminally Responsible on Account of Mental Disorder

In the Canadian criminal justice system, the *Criminal Code* defines mental disorder as a disease of the mind (Criminal Code, 1985, s. 2). If an accused person is, “on account of mental disorder”, unable to understand the nature or object of proceedings, the possible consequences of proceedings, or communicate with counsel on account of mental disorder, the accused person may be found unfit to stand trial. Even if the accused person becomes fit to stand trial, the trial judge or jury may return a special verdict of not criminally responsible on account of mental disorder (NCR or NCRMD).¹ According to section 16(1)

¹ s. 672.34 of the *Criminal Code*.

of the *Criminal Code*, the criteria for a verdict of NCR are that, owing to a mental disorder, the accused person was incapable of appreciating the nature and quality of the act or omission, or of possessing the capacity to know it was wrong at the time of the offence. The verdict is not tantamount to an acquittal. A trial court either makes an immediate disposition or, in most cases, the NCR accused person is diverted to a provincial or territorial Review Board, a quasi-judicial entity that operates independently and has the jurisdiction to make disposition decisions for the majority of NCR accused persons. The court or Review Board must craft a disposition that is “necessary and appropriate in the circumstances”, taking into consideration “the safety of the public, which is the paramount consideration, the mental condition of the accused [person], the reintegration of the accused [person] into society, and the other needs of the accused [person].”

After a finding of NCR, the Review Board may pronounce one of three dispositions under s. 672.54 of the *Criminal Code*:

- a) discharge absolutely, which must be granted when the Review Board or court finds that the accused [person] is not a significant threat to the safety of the public;
- b) discharge subject to conditions considered appropriate by the court or Review Board; or
- c) detain in custody in a psychiatric hospital subject to conditions considered appropriate by the court or Review Board.

The court is required to impose the most restrictive disposition—a custody order—when the finding of NCR includes a “high-risk accused” designation (Department of Justice Canada, 2014). This new designation process in the *NCR Reform Act* is designed to protect the public from NCR accused persons who are found by the court to pose a higher risk of committing acts of violence. It enhances the safety of victims by ensuring they are specifically considered when decisions are being made about NCR accused persons, and notified when such an accused person is discharged, as well as where he or she intends to reside. It also provides for the imposition of non-communication orders between the victim and accused person.

Under subsection 672.64(1), the court may find the accused person to be “high-risk” if found NCR for a serious personal injury offence, the accused person was 18 years of age or more at the time of the commission of the offence, and:

- a) the court is satisfied that there is a substantial likelihood that the accused person will use violence that could endanger the life or safety of another person; or
- b) the court is of the opinion that the acts that constitute the offence were of such a brutal nature as to indicate a risk of grave physical or psychological harm to another person.

This means that individual may not be released from hospital custody until a court revokes the high-risk designation, which could be extended from the normal review period of one year to a maximum of three years.² In order to be considered for release, the “high-risk” NCR accused person must prove he or she is not dangerous through a reverse onus.

However, since 1999, the Supreme Court has acknowledged that “there is no presumption that the NCR accused [person] poses a significant threat to the safety of the public” (*Winko v. British Columbia*, 1999). When rates of probability to commit violence are considered in terms of base rates, mental illness is a poorer predictor of violence than demographic variables such as age, gender, race, or ethnicity (Baun, 2009, p. 32; Corrigan et al., 2005, p. 554). Only a fraction of criminal cases results in a NCR plea, a small number of which are violent acts (Torrey, 2001, p. 894), and recidivism rates are particularly low (Sutton, 2013). Crocker, Seto, Nicholls, and Côté (2013) found that in a national sample of NCR cases, eight per cent committed a serious violent offence, and seven per cent of those re-offended violently during a fixed three-year follow-up period (p. 2). Whereas violent crimes amongst the general population constituted 21 per cent of all police-reported crimes in 2014 (Boyce, 2015, p. 12), a six-year Ontario study showed that the number of individuals with a serious mental illness represented less than one per cent of all individuals with whom police interact (Crocker, Hartford, & Heslop, 2009, p. 91).

But several recent trends have supported the tough-on-crime approach to legislative reforms: the rise in the number of NCR accused persons over the past 20 years, prominent cases, and the growth of victim advocacy groups (Crocker, Seto, Nicholls, &

² s. 672.81

Côté, 2015a, p. 96). To provide a representative portrait of NCR accused persons, forensic experts conducted the largest known study in Canada. The National Trajectory Project examined 1,800 NCR designations between May 2000 and April 2005, including a three-year follow-up review, in Canada's three most populous provinces: Québec, Ontario, and British Columbia. It addressed (mis)perceptions and cross-provincial sociopsychocriminological characteristics of NCR accused persons; criminological outcomes of processing NCR accused persons through the Review Board system; recidivism rates and associated factors; and gender differences and similarities (p. 97).

As each province has a distinct organizational structure of forensic mental health services and varying general crime statistics, the National Trajectory Project found several differences between them, including the likelihood of an NCR verdict (Crocker, Nicholls, Seto, Charette, Côté, & Caulet, 2015b, p. 103). Québec had 6.4 times the number of cases diverted to the Review Board system than Ontario, and five times that of British Columbia. As of 2012, the annual NCR rate per 1,000 cases had increased in Québec (9.27); stabilized in Ontario (1.08); and decreased in British Columbia (0.8), for an overall average annual rate of 1.1 between them. The larger discrepancy between Québec and that of Ontario and British Columbia may be the result of Québec using the NCR defence as a criminal justice diversion option. Major findings from the National Trajectory Project are summarized below in Figure 2.1, followed by supplemental research on mental illness.

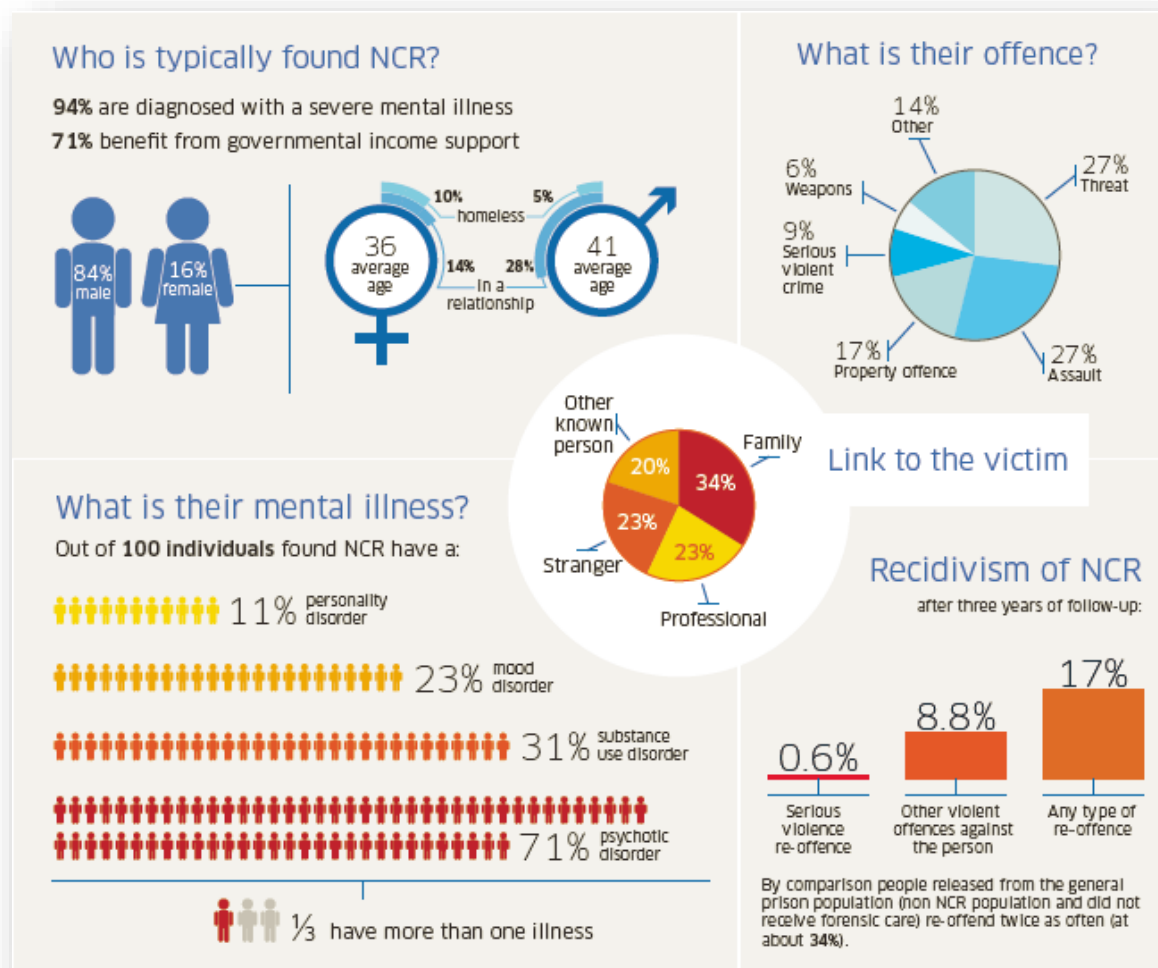


Figure 2.1 Summary of major National Trajectory Project findings

Source: Mental Health Commission of Canada (2015)

2.3. Extant literature

There is limited research on Canadian news media portrayals of mental illness, and even less on accused persons deemed not criminally responsible. It is clear, however, that few issues stir public interest, or generate as much controversy, as the verdict of not criminally responsible (Crocker et al., 2015a, p. 96).

The very first concentrated study on media portrayals of mental illness examined U.S. newspapers, magazines, radio, and television in 1954, and concluded that negative

depictions of mental illness informed public perceptions of it (Olstead, 2002, p. 625). The first Canadian study, conducted between 1977 and 1984, found the media offered a distorted picture of the population living with mental illness, overrepresenting hospital admission rates (Day, 1985, p. 57). Articles sampled from eight major Canadian daily newspapers showed that the ratio of negative statements to positive ones was statistically significant (p. 59), and there was a greater concentration of critical statements made in articles that appeared on the front page (p. 66).

By the end of the twentieth century, the most common theme surrounding mental illness in Canadian news media was still negative. Between 1990 and 1999, *The Globe and Mail* and *Toronto Star* were replete with variations of mental illness associated with criminality in three typecast roles: “mentally ill criminal”, “passive patient”, and “class-based illness” (Olstead, 2002, p. 628). Where the “mentally ill criminal” focused on the apparent irrational, delusional, violent, and unpredictable behaviour of people living with mental illness (p. 641), the “passive patient” was helpless, disempowered, and childlike, who strived to be “normal” (p. 634). The behavioural distinctions between the normal and abnormal, good and bad, and responsible and irresponsible dichotomies were also established by particular class affiliations (p. 641). When describing the narrative of people living with mental illness who were poverty-stricken, the media featured incidents of criminality, violence, and dangerousness, while underscoring explicit markers of poverty, such as homelessness (p. 639). The less privileged were responsible for the illness imposing itself in the form of a body (a monster, a psychopath) on society (p. 640), while the more privileged were represented as agentless against an illness imposing itself on the helpless individual (p. 641).

To address the inaccuracy of such portrayals, an anti-stigma program, Open the Doors, designed a print news media intervention in Calgary, Alberta. It targeted a local newspaper to see if it could increase the number of positive news stories about schizophrenia and mental illness by providing reporters with more accurate background information and helping them develop more positive storylines (Stuart, 2003, p. 652). Positive or anti-stigma stories included accurate descriptions of diagnoses or treatment, profiles of people living with mental illness, commentaries on the need for improved funding or programs, human interest stories, research advances, or stories portraying

people living with mental illness as victims rather than perpetrators of crime (p. 653). At the end of the 16-month intervention, positive stories had increased by 33 per cent and their length by an average of 25 per cent. However, negative stories also increased, by 25 per cent in number and 100 per cent in length (p. 654). The greatest increase was in negative news about schizophrenia—stigmatizing stories increased by 46 per cent, and their length increased from 300 words to 1,000, per story per month. Overall, the intervention made immediate improvements to coverage of mental illness, but local and short-term influences have, at best, limited effects on the broader social stereotypes emanating from various media sources (p. 655).

In 2010, a similar study evaluated perceptions of mental illness and homelessness. It asked whether perceptions had changed in news media coverage of them since the release of a landmark report commissioned by the Parliament of Canada in 2006 (Arezu, 2010, p. 2). Through stories of lived experience with mental health and addiction services, *Out of the Shadows at Last (Out of the Shadows)* explored the social and economic determinants of mental health, stigma and discrimination, service delivery, legislation, offenders living with mental illness, treatment, funding, prevention, and so forth (Parliament of Canada, 2006). The Standing Senate Committee on Social Affairs, Science, and Technology made 118 recommendations, one of which was to initiate and advance changes in deep-rooted public attitudes toward people living with mental illness (Arezu, 2010, p. 2). In the study's 333 articles from *The Globe and Mail* and *National Post*, the findings showed there were a larger number of articles in the three years following its release than the three years prior (p. 34). Themes of stigma, recovery, and integration of services increased in comparison to themes of public safety, inequity, and affordability of housing (p. 30), and there was generally steady reporting of articles in which the primary event or story was violence by an individual who was homeless and/or living with mental illness, with a low overall yearly frequency (p. 53). Overall, Arezu (2010) suggests that *Out of the Shadows* had a lasting and meaningful effect on the public agenda advanced by the national newspaper coverage (p. 59).

However, a more recent and comprehensive analysis of national news trends suggests otherwise. Whitley and Berry (2013) conducted a retroactive analysis of 11,263 articles that referred to “mental health”, “mental illness”, “schizophrenia”, or

“schizophrenic” from 20 of Canada’s best-selling English-language newspapers between 2005 and 2010 (p. 109). Direct themes of danger, violence, and criminality (40 per cent) appeared in more than twice as many articles as treatment (19 per cent), or recovery and rehabilitation (18 per cent). The majority (83 per cent) lacked a quotation from someone living with a mental illness, and when one was included, less than half were positive. Only a quarter included an expert source. In a few instances, a sensationalist or titillating account of an event or person linked mental illness to unpredictable, shocking, or outlandish behaviour through the use of overtly derogatory language. In fact, negative associations between mental illness and violence spiked and remained high during coverage of Vincent Li’s 2008 beheading on a Greyhound bus in Manitoba. In most articles (71 per cent) reporters failed to contextualize mental health issues or events involving people living with mental illness by discussing either resource shortages or poor quality of care. Furthermore, there were no significant changes over time, despite the creation of the Mental Health Commission of Canada in 2007 and its anti-stigma initiative, *Opening Minds*, the largest systematic effort to reduce mental illness stigma in Canadian history.

Each of these studies encountered themes that associated mental illness with criminality in the news, despite very low rates of the NCR verdict. The current study explores that disparity, and the Canadian news media’s role in the rise to prominence of such a small portion of the population.

Chapter 3.

Methodology

Critical discourse analysis aims to show how language is instrumental in constructing certain views and challenge it through deconstruction (Mautner, 2008, p. 33). In order to understand how the news media constructs meaning around NCR accused persons, news accounts of them must be deconstructed. The literature indicates that, in the news, crime is an inevitability of untreated mental illness. This chapter outlines the approach and methods used to investigate that narrative.

3.1. Research Statement and Objectives

This study aimed to examine how a sample of prominent NCR accused persons are portrayed by Canadian news media, and specifically:

- Assess the tone, language, and content characteristic of portrayals of the sample;
- Determine the frequency and types of sources attributed in the sample; and
- Track whether these attributes changed over time (during the period of study).

3.2. Research Design

This mixed methods study is primarily exploratory and descriptive with a relational component, using a singular medium approach. Instead of a large “representative” sample, exploratory research favours a strategic sampling of insightful informants or revealing situations (Palys & Atchison, 2008, p. 41). Descriptive research builds on preliminary understandings by maximizing the thoroughness of the sample, and hence the results (p. 42). While this study focused on a smaller sample, its breadth was still substantial enough to make connections and reach conclusions. However, rather than merely describe the variables, relational techniques help establish and evaluate

relationships among them (Palys & Atchison, 2008, p. 43). This research design was used to identify patterns that might clarify the media's role in the stigmatization of mental illness. Relational indications can by no means be considered causal, but it is the first step toward explaining and understanding phenomena of interest (Palys & Atchison, 2008, p. 43).

3.3. Sampling Technique

To pursue these theoretical aspirations, it was more important to draw on a sample that was rich in data than one representative of a larger, well-defined target population (Palys & Atchison, 2008, p. 123). This was achieved through non-probabilistic methods and purposive sampling. To minimize bias, I limited the sample to national digital news media content in English. For the purposes of this study, digital news media content pertains to news articles that appeared in print and had been digitized, or were exclusively produced digitally. This technique was fitting because the 24-hour news cycle has contributed to a larger quantity of digital news than printed news. To ensure reliability, validity, and transparency, the articles had to originate directly from the news service or be retrieved easily from a text database, both of which the general public could access. Lastly, to investigate Canadian attitudes and implications, only Canadian news was considered. It is worth noting, however, that each case has made international headlines.

3.4. Data Collection

To prevent an exhaustive undertaking, I limited the data to four of Canada's most authoritative and recognized national news services over the course of seven years. Data were retrieved from Canada's only national newspapers, *National Post* (*Post*) and *The Globe and Mail* (*The Globe*), and two complementary national public news broadcasters, *CBC News* (*CBC*) and *CTV News* (*CTV*). The start date, April 7, 2008, was determined by the index offence in the case that occurred first among the sample; that is, the first day news of the Schoenborn children's deaths appeared in the media. The end date, April 7, 2015, was determined by what was considered adequate for a longitudinal timeframe in a similar study (see Whitley & Berry, 2013).

Since there is no database that systematically captures website-born content from major news sources, nor one medium that can search across multiple news media websites, I used a combination of methods to collect my data. I accessed the Canadian Newsstand database for articles from the *Post* and *The Globe*, and cross-referenced them with results from their respective website search engines. I also used full-text databases Factiva, LexisNexis, and Google Search to facilitate customized queries for archived data that were removed from, or had expired on, the *CBC* and *CTV* websites.

Search terms across all platforms were: “Allan Schoenborn”, “Alan Schoenborn”, “Vincent Li”, “Vince Li”, and “Guy Turcotte”, to account for misspellings and abbreviations. The articles had to specifically name Schoenborn, Li, and/or Turcotte in order to qualify for analysis. The data set included editorials and columns, as these reflected the publisher’s perspectives, but excluded letters to the Editor and public commentary. It also excluded non-English-language news, reviews, announcements, classifieds, events, advertisements, obituaries, photos, illustrations, cartoons, and captions. This resulted in a total of 811 items; 341 from *CTV*, 196 from *The Globe*, 151 from the *Post*, and 123 from *CBC* (collectively, “the data set”).

3.5. Data Analysis

As the only researcher, findings were dependent on my choice of methods, criteria, and interpretation of the data. Constructs have been specified, however, so future researchers are able to make the same judgments and satisfy inter-rater reliability (Palys & Atchison, 2008, p. 61).

Articles in HTML format were converted to PDF and uploaded to QSR International NVivo 10, a qualitative research software. I manually entered the properties of the articles NVivo failed to capture (headline, description, reporter, date, location, and news service), and confirmed the rest as I read them. I then alphabetized the articles by headline so their properties would not influence my analysis.

Each article contained certain values I wanted to classify, which had to first be defined. These were type of article, type of source, and tone. Owing to the complexities of

crime reporting, I distinguished between types of articles within the broader context of news: court report, Review Board hearing (hearing), editorial or column, and news. Types of articles were also separated to help qualify the quality of news being reported. Whereas information is simply relayed in court reports and hearings, with the occasional comment or reaction, editorials and columns are opinion pieces. Similarly, I exempted “articles” from tone and source assignments if the news service simply reproduced material, without original material or inflection, such as an official government statement.

I expected fewer sources in coverage of court reports, hearings, editorials, and columns than in news articles, so it was necessary to differentiate types of sources. Originally, I intended only to distinguish “expert” (academic, legal, medical) from “other” (victims, government, general public), but it became clear the sources were much more varied than a binary system—even “victim” was too vague. Furthermore, I was interested in the frequency of sources living with mental illness, as research has shown their voices are often missing (Stuart, 2006, p. 101). I did, however, exclude testimonials in court reports and hearings, as it would have skewed the number of sources deliberately sought by reporters. Based on my observations I categorized sources into:

Table 3.1 Types of source

Type of Source	Description
Expert	Recognized professional in academia, advocacy, law enforcement, or legal or medical field
Family or friend of the accused person	Immediate family member or close friend
Family or friend of the victim	Immediate family member or close friend
General public	No obvious connection to any of the cases
Lived experience	Now or in the past
Media	Reference to itself
Prominent	Government or public figure
Removed (from the accused person or victim)	Distant relative, friend, colleague, employer, roommate, neighbour, or acquaintance
Spokesperson or official	Representative providing a statement
Statistics, research, report, or file	Supporting documentation
Unidentified	Unnamed or source requested anonymity
Witness	Witness in the Schoenborn, Li, or Turcotte case

Lastly, all articles conveyed a tone, regardless of type. Because crime is generally considered “negative news”, which is a basic news value (Leung & Lee, 2015, p. 289), it was important to assess the tone of the *narration* as opposed to the *content*. However, these were still very similar. Negative news tends to elicit sadness, fear, anger, and/or pessimism, and positive news tends to elicit joyfulness, hope, enthusiasm, and/or optimism (Leung & Lee, 2015, p. 290). While most, if not all, of the data set was negative content, I focused on the emotions elicited by the “angle”, and how the articles were framed in terms of the cases. I anticipated the court reports and hearings would be filled with less emotion, and that editorials and columns would be more colourful, so I expanded the basic positive-negative dichotomy to:

Table 3.2 Types of tone

Tone	Description
Positive	Elicits joyfulness, hope, enthusiasm, and/or optimism
Negative	Elicits sadness, fear, anger, and/or pessimism
Neutral	Neither positive or negative; factual
Ambivalent	A combination; mixed

Note. See Appendix A, B, C, and D for examples from the data set of how I categorized each tone.

According to the American Press Institute (2016), news media are supposed to provide their audience with information they need to make the best possible decisions about their lives, their communities, their societies, and their governments. It follows that sensational coverage dramatizes and/or distorts that information, at the expense of accuracy or secondary to it. I considered assigning a sensational tone because of the cases' high-profile statuses, but it was harder to isolate given their rare and controversial circumstances. On occasion, sensational aspects coincided with a negative tone, but they were not mutually exclusive. I concluded that identifying sensationalism was better suited to a print news study where it is possible to analyze placement (i.e., page number, section, above or below the fold), emphasis, and visuals. As such, standardizing sensationalism and measuring it on a relational level, like stigma, were beyond the scope of this study.

I conducted a simple time-trend analysis to determine the average tone in every year of the period of study and track whether it changed over time. Although the start and end dates were not conducive to equal time intervals, an annual overview was still best to observe the trend in tone. I classified each article by year of publication and cross-tabulated them with the tones in a matrix. I also classified the case(s) the article revolved around and the byline and/or news service for trend analyses there.

The first round of coding, or thematic analysis, was a deductive process that built on suppositions from my literature review and research objectives. Since my research intentions were guided by both theory and an interest in generating new theories, I anticipated new themes would emerge in an iterative process, as suggested by Palys and Atchison (2008, p. 41). I engaged in multiple rounds of coding to achieve consistency, refine themes, answer questions raised in preceding rounds, and account for duplicate articles—distinct from identical copies, which were eliminated. Duplicate articles were either compiled by a news agency, such as *The Canadian Press*, and distributed to news services, or published more than once with a different headline, time stamp, and/or noticeable changes in content. I retained duplicates because research has shown that the disproportionate amount of news on crime by someone living with a mental illness gives the mistaken impression that violence by someone living with a mental illness is a frequent and recurring event (Stuart, 2006, p. 102). It is not new information, but is being distributed, consumed, and accepted as such.

In the final round of coding I reviewed the nearly 70 themes that had developed, and consolidated them where appropriate. I ultimately arrived at six of the most frequent, telling, and forecasted ones.

Chapter 4.

Results

The first part of this chapter presents the results of the quantitative variables of interest, and the second part presents the findings of my thematic analysis. Both are discussed in the following chapter and used to contextualize my research statement and objectives.

4.1. Quantitative Findings

Schoenborn, Li, and Turcotte fit the average sociodemographic profile of NCR accused persons as illustrated by the National Trajectory Project, but differ in mental health and criminological characteristics (see Table 4.1). The researchers behind the National Trajectory Project found that 72 per cent of their sample had at least one psychiatric hospitalization prior to the index offence (Crocker et al., 2015c, p. 108), which matched Schoenborn's and Li's history, but not Turcotte's. At the time of offence, homicidal ideation was rare, and attempt at suicide even more so (p. 111). In cases of homicide, family members were the most likely victims, followed by professionals, strangers, and others known to the accused person. Among family members, children of NCR accused persons were the least likely victims, occurring in less than three per cent of cases. The most common diagnosis at verdict was a psychotic spectrum disorder, with Québec having the lowest rate and the highest proportion of mood disorders (p. 108)—the same diagnosis Turcotte received. The following table compares each case with findings from the National Trajectory Project:

Table 4.1 Sample vs. National Trajectory Project (NTP) findings

Characteristics		Schoenborn	NTP	Li	NTP	Turcotte	NTP
Sociodemographic	Province	British Columbia		Manitoba		Québec	
	Sex	Male	84.4%	Male	84.4%	Male	84.4%
	Age	40-years-old	36.56	40-years-old	36.56	36-years-old	36.56
	Marital status	Single	83.6%	Single	83.6%	Single	83.6%
	Residential status	Living alone	31.5%	Living with (former) spouse	43.9%	Living alone	31.5%
	Country of birth	Canada	66%	Other	34%	Canada	66%
	Income	Welfare	71.5%	Own paid work	15.8%	Own paid work	15.8%
Mental Health	Psychiatric history	Prior hospitalization	72%	Prior hospitalization	72%	N/A	
	Time of offence	Delusions	46.1%	Hallucinations	19.8%	Under the influence	23.1%
		Homicidal ideation	6.1%	Homicidal ideation	6.1%	Homicidal ideation	6.1%
		Suicide attempt	1.7%			Suicide attempt	1.7%
	Verdict	Psychotic spectrum disorder	70.9%	Psychotic spectrum disorder	70.9%	Mood spectrum disorder	23.2%
Criminological	Criminal history	Prior offence against person	30.9%	N/A		N/A	
		Other prior offence	41.8%				
	Index offence	Caused death	6.9%	Caused death	6.9%	Caused death	6.9%
	Victim(s)	Offspring	2.6%	Stranger	22.7%	Offspring	2.6%

Note. Highlighted values indicate particularly rare characteristics.

This comparison highlights the particularly rare mental health and criminological aspects of each case, within an already rare population. However, without framing it in that context, steady coverage of the gory details makes such behaviour seem rampant. Though family members are the most likely victims in personal injury offences by NCR accused persons (Crocker et al., 2015c, p. 110), Vincent Li heightened fears of the dangerous stranger.

Table 4.2 Frequency of references per case

Schoenborn		Li		Turcotte	
<i>n</i>	%	<i>n</i>	%	<i>n</i>	%
261	32.2	345	42.5	249	30.7

The results for Schoenborn and Turcotte were similar, but both garnered less attention than Li. While most articles focused on one case, 11 articles referred to two of the cases, and 13 articles referred to all three.

Table 4.3 Overall frequency of tones

Positive		Negative		Neutral		Ambivalent	
<i>n</i>	%	<i>n</i>	%	<i>n</i>	%	<i>n</i>	%
21	2.6	227	28.5	519	65	31	3.9

Note. The missing 13 “articles” are the items that were published, but not produced, by the news media, and thus not evaluated for tone.

The majority of articles carried a neutral tone, followed by negative, ambivalent, and positive. The high number of neutral articles might be explained in part by the 159 court reports and the 79 on hearings—together, nearly half of the neutral count. These types of articles were also the most replicated, with 93 instances of articles supplied by news agencies and reproduced by *CBC*, *CTV*, *The Globe*, and the *Post* in the data set.

Over one quarter of all articles were negative, and less than three per cent were positive. While positive elements were present in more than 21 articles, they were deemed ambivalent when a positive tone was clearly not the only, or driving, one. Much of the ambivalence was tempered by the journalistic practice of showing both sides of the story.

Table 4.4 Case by tone

	Positive	Negative	Neutral	Ambivalent
	<i>n</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>n</i>
Schoenborn	2	88	155	14
Li	19	92	208	17
Turcotte	2	63	176	5

The case that was portrayed the most negatively was also the case portrayed the most positively. Li's interview accounts for most of the positive stories, but there were also more people advocating for, and sympathizing with, him than Schoenborn or Turcotte.

Table 4.5 Tone by year

	Positive		Negative		Neutral		Ambivalent		Total
	<i>n</i>	%	<i>n</i>	%	<i>n</i>	%	<i>n</i>	%	<i>n</i>
2008	4	2.5	41	25.6	112	70	3	1.9	160
2009	4	2.4	52	31.7	98	59.8	10	16.4	164
2010	3	4.8	15	23.8	44	70	1	1.9	63
2011	0	0	36	27.9	89	69	4	3.1	129
2012	4	5	28	35	45	56.3	3	3.4	80
2013	2	2.2	24	26.7	56	62.2	8	8.9	90
2014	2	2.5	21	25.9	58	71.6	0	0	81
2015	3	9.4	10	31.3	17	53.1	2	6.3	32

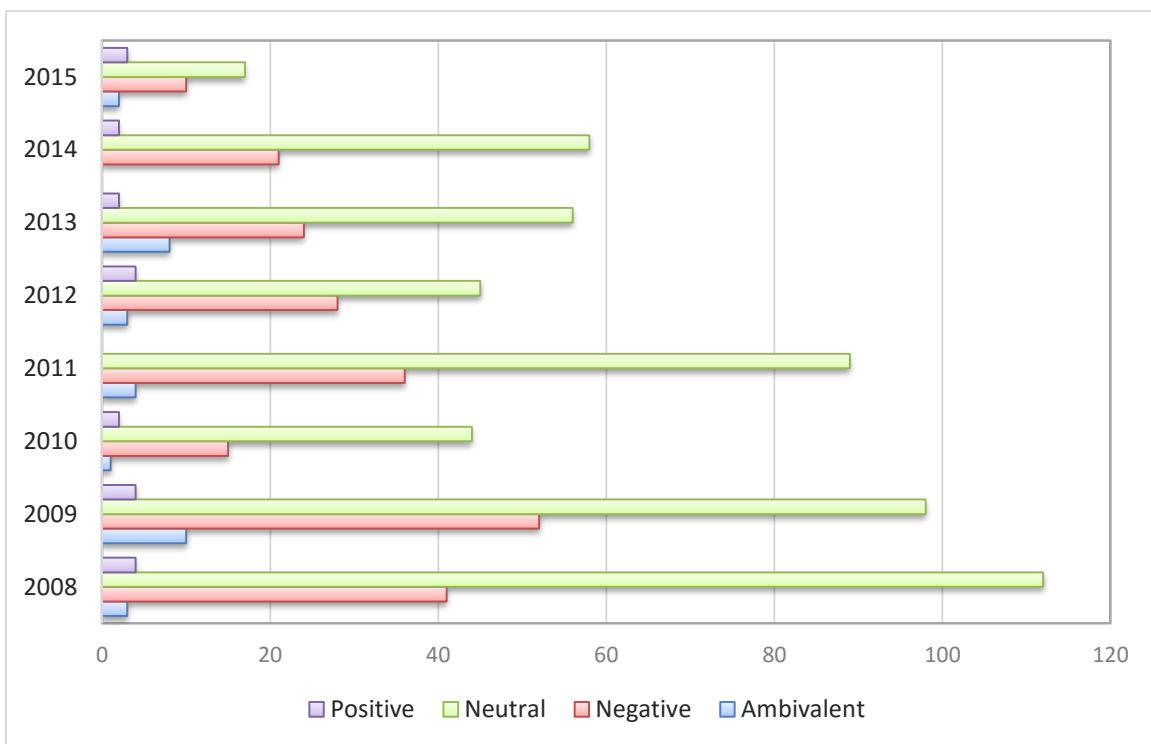


Figure 4.1 Tone by year

The first two years, 2008 and 2009, in which the index offences occurred, produced the highest concentration of articles. The last year under study, 2015, produced the fewest

stories but was only four months in length. The number of stories plateaued in the intervening years, though coverage peaked again in 2011. This was a federal election year, as well as Turcotte’s trial and Schoenborn’s second annual hearing, both of which ignited controversy.

Table 4.6 Tone by news service

	Positive		Negative		Neutral		Ambivalent		Total
	<i>n</i>	%	<i>n</i>	%	<i>n</i>	%	<i>n</i>	%	
CBC	5	4.2	23	19.2	87	72.5	5	4.2	120
CTV	6	1.8	87	26	231	69	11	3.3	335
Globe & Mail	5	2.6	62	32.5	114	60	10	5.2	191
National Post	5	3.3	55	36.2	87	57.2	5	3.3	152

Gauging trends in the tone of each news service was more insightful than gauging trends among individual reporters, as only 109 of the 811 articles (13.4 per cent) were attributed to a reporter, and most of them (62 or 56.9 per cent) were only responsible for a single article in the data set (see Appendix E). However, there was a small subset who consistently covered one of the cases, with 294 articles between them all. This amounts to an average of 2.7 articles per reporter, but is a distorted dispersal. Over the course of seven years only seven reporters contributed 10 or more articles, which suggests very few could be considered well-versed in any of the cases.

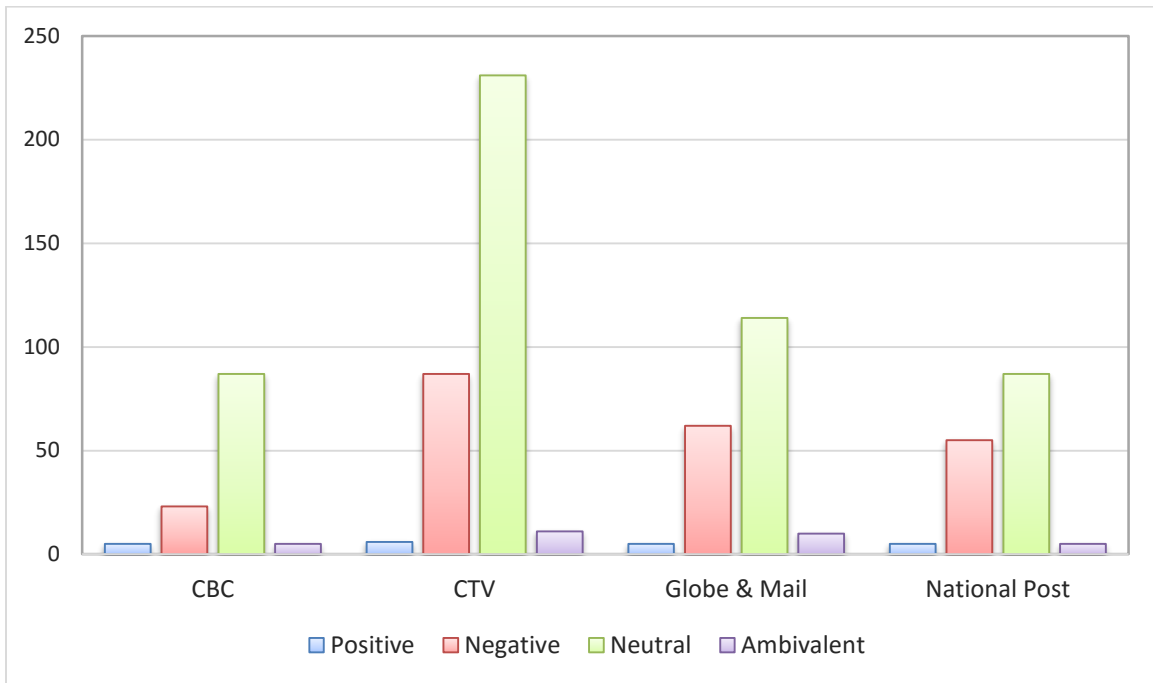


Figure 4.2 Tone by news service

Despite differences in the total number of stories by each news service, *CBC*, the *Globe*, and the *Post* produced the same number of positive stories, and *CTV* just one more. However, as *CBC* had the lowest volume of coverage, it had the highest share of positive stories (4.2 per cent). The *Post* produced less than half the coverage of *CTV*, but its ratio of negative stories was 10 per cent higher than *CTV*, with the highest volume of negative stories overall (36.2 per cent).

Table 4.7 Frequency of number of sources per article

Number	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	11	16
Frequency	278	185	150	98	41	27	14	1	2	1	1
Average	1.9 sources per article										

The concentration of articles with no sources is credited again in part to the 238 court reports and hearings (as testimonials were excluded). Very few articles had more than three sources, with the average falling just shy of two per article.

Table 4.8 Frequency of sources

Type of Source	Frequency	
	<i>n</i>	%
Expert	416	33.6
Family or friend of the victim	260	21
Prominent	141	11.4
Spokesperson or official	118	9.5
General public	104	8.4
Removed	53	4.3
Unidentified	43	3.5
Lived experience	30	2.4
Witness	26	2.1
Media	22	1.8
Statistics, research, report, or file	22	1.8
Family or friend of the accused person	4	0.3
Total	1,239 sources	

An expert source appeared the most, and family or friend of the accused person the least. This was in stark contrast to the number of sources who were a close family member or friend of the victim, which occurred 65 times more frequently.

Limited first-hand contributions from the accused person or someone living with a mental illness were aggravated by the sparse efforts to deconstruct myths surrounding mental illness (74), especially compared with references that vilified it (109). Myths surrounding mental illness were mostly debunked using statistics:

A small fraction of criminal cases—close to 0.2 per cent or 1,000 a year, according to Dr. [Patrick] Baillie—result in a not-criminally-responsible plea, and less than 10 per cent of those involve a serious injury. Individuals found not criminally responsible are also less likely to reoffend than those convicted in a criminal court, researchers say. (“Groups raise concerns”, 2013)

Professional opinions:

“The well-treated, well-supported individual who is no longer actively psychotic is not any more of a risk on your city streets than the guy next to you at the bar,” said Dr. Elisabeth Zoffmann. (“Allan Schoenborn”, 2015)

And character references:

Allan Schoenborn's estranged wife says the accused killer of their three children was a model dad, reluctant to ever spank them and eager to build things for them and play games like Lego. ("Schoenborn was", 2009)

Mental illness was vilified when it was misrepresented by labels, such as "crazy" or "madman", or leading or loaded implications:

The prime suspect in the murders of Kaitlynne, 10, Max, 8, and Cordon, 5, is their own father, Allan Schoenborn. The 40-year-old Vancouver man is considered dangerous and mentally ill. ("Merritt raises money", 2008)

Or when it was misrepresented *and* criminalized:

"Just as a drunk driver who kills didn't mean to do it an individual who is medication dependant and chooses not to take those meds should be held responsible for their subsequent behaviour and crimes," [Carol de Delley] said. ("New legislation would", 2012)

Another challenged the logic of the verdict that saw the killer declared not-responsible for his actions. "If you wanted to use that argument, you could use it for just about any criminal, you could use it for a rapist: 'I raped five women but I wasn't there for the couple of minutes before I did it'," said Darlene Ryan, who participated in the demonstration. ("Hundreds descend", 2011)

Yet, the meaning of "not criminally responsible" was explained only 35 times. That is, there were only 35 instances that went beyond listing NCR as a sentencing option, or the available dispositions that result from the designation. Even then, descriptions were brief, culminating in a sentence or two:

A decision of not criminally responsible by reason of mental disorder isn't an acquittal or a finding of innocence. It means the court recognized that person committed the crime, but wasn't capable of knowing it was illegal. ("After their release", 2010)

Despite the use of labels, there was more person-first language (344) than diagnosis-first (317). Person-first language places the person before the illness:

A judge later ruled Li was suffering hallucinations from untreated schizophrenia at the time of the unprovoked attack. ("Vince Li wins", 2012)

Whereas diagnosis-first language reduces the individual to the illness:

According to Dr. [Stanley] Yaren, Li is a schizophrenic who hears voices. (“Trial for Vince”, 2009)

This practice is revealing because it differs from other diseases (Link & Phelan, 2001, p. 370). A person *has* cancer, heart disease, or the flu—such a person is one of “us”, a person who just happens to be beset by a serious illness. But Li *is* a “schizophrenic”.

There were more neutral references to self-harm and suicide (170) than references that criminalized them (34). Neutral references used plain wording:

Turcotte drank washer fluid later in the evening of the killings in what he says was an attempt to end his own life. (“Guy Turcotte sobs”, 2015)

Whereas self-harm and suicide were criminalized when the wording implied illegality or moral failing (Canadian Journalism Forum on Violence and Trauma, 2014, p. 32):

He then ingested windshield wiper fluid in a failed attempt to commit suicide that night in February 2009. (“Case of Québec”, 2013)

Stigma is thought to be among the contributory causes of suicide (Canadian Journalism Forum on Violence and Trauma, 2014, p. 33), but the stigma of mental illness and/or its effects were only acknowledged in the data set 23 times.

The Manitoba Schizophrenia Society said that while although the tragic case has people talking about mental illness, it has also reinforced negative perceptions and stigmas... (“Bus attack reinforces”, 2008)

Mental health organizations have also expressed concern that the [NCR *Reform Act*] could stigmatize people with mental health problems. (“Ottawa renews push”, 2013)

4.2. Thematic Analysis

These findings were connected by six central themes that emerged: feelings of victimization; tough-on-crime attitudes; perceived injustice; trial by public opinion; a hierarchy of human rights; and negative stereotypes.

4.2.1. Victimization

The overarching theme was of victimization. It was uniting, striking a chord with everyone, but mostly victims' families and witnesses. The intensity with which they were affected almost transcended persecution. Victimization was two-fold: it was perpetuated by "the system" at the individual level as a by-product of the crime, which had broader implications; and, in turn, prompted reaction and/or action.

4.2.1.1. *By the system*

i. Individually

Victims' families and witnesses felt helpless and neglected by the "system", and constantly re-victimized by it, but also dependent on it. The "system" was used as a catch-all for the injustice victims were subjected to.

[Annual hearings are] a process Tim McLean's family has criticized because it says it victimizes them over and over again as they now have to re-live the tragedy every year. ("Date is set", 2009)

"It's been very difficult for us and we didn't even do anything wrong. We were in the wrong place at the wrong time and someone should be there to help us—something to say, 'We're sorry for your loss', because everyone's been hurt by this and everyone on that bus will not be who they once were," [Stephen Allison] said. "They're all changed and, none of them, it was not their fault." ("Beheading still haunts", 2009)

... [Carol de Delley] said she expected Thursday's ruling. "I'm not surprised," she told CBC News. "Disappointed? Absolutely. Terrified? Certainly." De Delley said it is "ironic and ridiculous" that a mental health system that failed to protect her son from Li is now recommending that Li be reintegrated into society. ("Greyhound bus killer gets", 2012)

[Isabelle] Gaston said she does not currently feel safe and that the system is playing Russian roulette with her life. ("10 voices", 2013)

There were also concerns that the rights of NCR accused persons were overshadowing victims' rights.

Outrage from victim Darcie Clarke's family and other community residents highlights the shortcomings of the justice system, which tips the scales in the interests of the offender, said Simon Fraser University criminologist Brenda Morrison. ("Ex-wife should have", 2011)

[Darcie] Clarke's cousin, Stacy Galt, says the system bends over backwards for a murderer when it can't even help the victim. ("Family of murdered", 2012)

[Patrick Gaston] said the court prioritized Turcotte's rights over the rights of the victims and their family. He said his release was done to the detriment of him and the rest of the Gaston family. "They've put me in prison by freeing him," he said. ("Guy Turcotte granted", 2014)

ii. **Collectively**

Many shared in the grief of witnesses and victims' families, and the trauma they endured. Victims' families also projected their feelings of victimization onto others in similar situations—in the past, present, or future—and on society at large.

[Carol de Delley] urged Canadians to lobby politicians for changes to the Criminal Code. "Bear in mind, this isn't going to be saving any of us, we've already had our loss," she said. "It's to save everybody else. And that's been put on us now. And we sure as hell didn't volunteer for that job, but it is ours now." ("Greyhound bus killer found", 2009)

"I am in shock", said Dr. [Isabelle] Gaston, an emergency-room physician (the couple met at medical school). "I am disappointed for Olivier and Anne-Sophie and for all children who could be in danger simply because of a separation, like ours." ("Québec MD", 2011)

"Isabelle Gaston does not deserve to live in fear of her children's killer and neither do victims of similar crimes across Canada," Heritage Minister James Moore told a news conference Thursday. ("Turcotte's release highlights", 2012)

"Canadians expect that their justice system will focus on protecting the rights of victims and safeguarding the public from high-risk individuals. The decision by the Manitoba government not to object to any of the recommendations made to grant Vince Li additional freedoms, including unescorted trips into Selkirk is an insult not only to the family of Tim McLean but to all law-abiding Manitobans." (Former Manitoba MP Shelley Glover, "Full statement", 2014)

4.2.1.2. ***As an agent of change***

The collective identity and notoriety of the cases gave victims' families and their supporters the momentum and leverage they needed to draw national attention to the systems that failed them, and instigate action.

Carol de Delley, McLean's mother, said her son didn't die in vain. His death highlights concerns about the justice system, she said. "Now people are aware that there is a problem." ("Bus beheader not", 2009)

Isabelle Gaston, the mother of the two children Turcotte stabbed to death, joined protesters outside the Montreal courthouse. She... said Canada's justice system urgently needs reform. ("Acquitted killer's ex-wife", 2011)

"When we look at the experience of this family and these three children, we find out that the child protection system, justice, mental health system didn't work effectively despite many opportunities. And these children died. That's a very significant wake-up call to our systems that we have to do better." (Mary Ellen Turpel-Lafond, "B.C. children's watchdog", 2012)

The Harper government, which rarely misses the opportunity to burnish its tough-on-crime armour, seized on the chance to repeat its promise to tighten up the rules on such releases in the name of victims' rights. ("Federal government denounces", 2012)

Several cases like Turcotte's, including the 2008 bus-beheading in Manitoba and the Schoenborn child-killings in B.C., have prompted a federal policy change. ("Shock and anger", 2012)

4.2.2. Compelled to crusade

Victims' families eventually transitioned from a less passive to more active role, becoming agents of change themselves. Compelled to overhaul the "system" and right the wrongs that resulted in their victimization, they embraced an all-consuming crusade. In the news their loss was synonymous with their plight.

Carol de Delley said after the ruling that she would do everything in her power to ensure Li is never released from secure custody. ("Greyhound bus killer found", 2009)

Since Li's trial, [Carol] de Delley has been campaigning for the creation of a new law—called "Tim's Law"—which would result in an automatic life-sentence for anyone convicted of taking a life, no matter what their mental state. ("A year after", 2009)

In a handwritten statement prepared for a community rally Wednesday in support of her situation, Ms. [Darcie] Clarke urged people to sign a petition that sets out several goals, including no release for Mr. Schoenborn "at this time". She also called for reforms to the laws and practices that allowed him to come up for release. ("Child killer's ex-wife", 2011)

For [Isabelle] Gaston, justice for her young children remains a personal mission. The verdict appeal is the next step in that long, painful process... Gaston has turned her attention to other causes—namely the issue of paid experts testifying as defence witnesses... Gaston is calling on Québec's College of Physicians to introduce new controls and reviews for such experts. ("Appeal of Guy", 2013)

4.2.2.1. Making it political

It has been said that Schoenborn, Li, and Turcotte "helped inspire" changes to the Canadian criminal justice system ("Arrest warrant issued", 2013).

Review board officials and mental-health organizations say the bill is a politicized, "knee-jerk" response to three particularly reviled cases ("Film explores", 2013).

It was a horrific crime, so grotesque that Allan Schoenborn, the B.C. father found not criminally responsible for killing his three children, became the poster boy for changing the law to keep mentally ill offenders in detention for longer periods of time. ("Not criminally responsible", 2013)

These changes, however, were instigated by victims' families who implored the government to adopt their cause, and gained traction because it resonated with their tough-on-crime agenda.

[Federal Conservative candidate James] Moore promised that should the Conservatives form the next government, regulations to create more checks and balances in the review board process will be part of a crime-bill package that will be introduced within the first 100 days in office. "This is a failure of the review panel to take into account the impact to the victim, and if we have to legislate common sense into the review panel, that's what we'll do," Moore said. ("Residents oppose day", 2011)

Manitoba's senior federal cabinet minister, Shelly Glover, is criticizing a provincial Crown attorney for not opposing Vince Li's new privileges at a hearing earlier in the week. The province quickly accused Glover of trying to score political points by ignoring that politicians cannot tell Crown attorneys what to do... ("Vince Li decision", 2014)

It also appeared to be a selfless act in the name of victims' rights. Both James Moore and Shelly Glover demonstrate their personal commitment, despite being Minister of Canadian Heritage and Official Languages at the time of their declarations, a portfolio dedicated to Canadian culture and identity, not justice.

A group representing more than 4,000 Canadian psychiatrists has condemned the Manitoba government's decision to prevent killer Vince Li from taking short supervised outdoor strolls, calling it "the worst kind of political pandering and fear-mongering." ("Denying Li's walks", 2010)

While a spokesperson for the Department of Justice Canada has said that "[p]ublic opinion research is not used... to test-run government of Canada intentions/directions" ("After their release", 2010), a trial is unnecessary for a government that has already reached its verdict.

4.2.3. Getting away with murder

A common misperception is that the NCR designation is a "get-out-of-jail-free" card, and one that is being exploited regularly and extensively. Because NCR accused persons are treated as patients instead of criminals, many believe they unfairly escape punishment and justice.

"Everybody thinks when you get an NCRMD verdict you got away with murder, you're free, you're not in jail, blah, blah, blah," Mr. [Bernd] Walter said. "And that's just so wrong." ("After their release", 2010)

The widespread public belief is that being sent to a forensic psychiatric institution is a cozy alternative to prison, that it's a scam that is widely exploited. ("Violence and mental", 2012)

"I completely understand the need for a sense of justice, of retribution," said Dr. [Stanley] Yaren. "It would be in some sense easier if Mr. Li was an anti-social psychopath with a history of malicious behaviour..." ("Accused killer acted", 2009)

That belief is also held—and condemned—by victims' families. However, of the three cases, Turcotte was the one most believed to be getting away with murder.

McLean's family has dismissed the trial as a "rubber stamp" that is allowing Li to get away with murder. ("Li not criminally responsible", 2009)

"Casey [Anthony] is free. O.J. Simpson is free. Guy Turcotte will be free one day. It's terrible but it's our law." (Isabelle Gaston, "Acquitted killer's ex-wife", 2011)

"[Turcotte] was depressed during the preliminary inquiry, he was depressed during his trial, and then, miraculously, after his verdict, my goodness, he

doesn't need his antidepressants anymore? He's functional? He's happy, he's got goals, he wants kids, he wants a new girlfriend?" (Isabelle Gaston, "Child killer Turcotte", 2012)

"[Turcotte] stabbed his children 46 times. He was freed after 46 months." ("Québec cardiologist", 2012)

"[Schoenborn] still has anger issues," [Stacy Galt] said. "He got away with this murder, as far as I'm concerned. He killed the children out of anger, it was a crime of passion and he should be in jail." ("B.C. man", 2015)

4.2.4. Court of public opinion

Not only did victims' families believe Schoenborn, Li, and Turcotte were getting away with murder, others did as well. They represented the court of public opinion, an alternative system of justice very different from the traditional court system based on reputation, revenge, public shaming, and the whims of the crowd (Schneier, 2013).

News of the verdict spread like wildfire on the internet, with hundreds of people turning to Twitter and other social media to discuss the outcome. Several major Québec television personalities even weighed in to express their own personal disgust. "Very, very, very disappointing verdict. Criminally not responsible! I don't believe it," wrote Guy A. Lepage, host of the popular television talk show *Tout le monde en parle*, on his own Twitter account. Another prominent Québec TV personality, Julie Snyder, wrote that she was crying while thinking of the verdict: "I'm astonished," she added. ("Québec MD", 2011)

If there is one Québécois who represents the face of pure evil in the eyes of the public, it would be Guy Turcotte... if he chooses to remain in Quebec, he will find little sympathy from even the most open-minded of citizens. ("Tout le Québec", 2012)

Their trials by public opinion were in many ways similar to mob or vigilante justice (Schneier, 2013).

Police are especially concerned that someone may go after Mr. Li, who attracted worldwide outrage after he was charged with killing the sleeping Mr. McLean in front of three dozen witnesses. A Google search reveals nearly 100,000 online entries under his name, including many that call for him to be executed and for Canada to bring back capital punishment. ("Li murder trial", 2009)

The public outcry is still palpable in Québec, one month later, over a jury's decision to find a man who stabbed to death his two children not criminally

responsible for his actions. That anger will be on display Saturday, as people demonstrate at 14 cities across Québec. (“Angry Québeckers”, 2011)

In the court of public opinion, having a good story is more important than having the law on your side; being a sympathetic underdog is more important than being fair; and, facts matter, but there are no standards of accuracy (Schneier, 2013).

The horrific nature of Li’s act has demonized him in the public’s mind, said [Chris] Summerville. “I don’t think [he will be released] anytime soon because of public sentiment,” he said, adding the perception of Li is “rooted in fear and in some people, in hate and in vengeance.” (“Greyhound killer believed”, 2012)

In a court that delivers reputational justice (Schneier, 2013), if public opinion has ruled on one case it has ruled on them all.

... the federal Justice Department... commissioned a national survey that found that nearly 90 per cent of Canadians polled believe offenders found either unfit to stand trial or not criminally responsible should remain under supervision indefinitely for public safety reasons. (“Ottawa to introduce”, 2012)

But entering public opinion as evidence has the very serious potential to prejudice courts, and sets a dangerous precedent for a process that relies on determining the truth, popular or not.

Crown attorneys presented the panel of three appeals court justices with media reports critical of the decision to grant Turcotte bail. Lawyers argued the newspaper articles were “the real public opinion”. The appeals court rejected the Crown’s premise, writing in its decision that using newspaper articles to justify an argument was a “dangerous” strategy. (“Guy Turcotte to remain”, 2014)

4.2.4.1. *Everyone is an expert*

The court of public opinion was fueled by the media’s tendency to treat “victims’ families as instant experts on law enforcement and criminal justice” (What ‘Tim’s Law”, 2008).

"I don't believe review boards should exist in cases of NCR [not criminally responsible] killings. I think if a person is that deficient, they should never be free," [Carol de Delley] said. ("Bus beheader seeks", 2012)

"[Schoenborn's] not fit to be in this community. He's not fit to be around children, to be around people. He should be in jail, where he belongs," [Stacy] Galt said. ("Victims' family frightened", 2011)

[Isabelle] Gaston said that Turcotte's fate never should have been left to a jury to decide; in cases with complex psychiatric evidence, she said, only psychiatrists and judges are qualified to rule. ("Acquitted killer's ex-wife", 2011)

But victims are not experts. Their claims are based on suffering, which suggests it "is either therapy for them or voyeurism for us; either way, it is hard to justify" and not much can be gained from them ("What 'Tim's Law'", 2008).

The mother of a young man beheaded on a Greyhound bus in July says Canada's most dangerous criminals should either be locked up forever or executed. Carol de Delley says she's going to be pushing for legislation she's calling "Tim's Law" that would bring back capital punishment in cases where there is "no doubt" of guilt, or at least set the punishment at life with no chance of parole. "I believe that if you voluntarily take an innocent life... you should forfeit your own." ("Mother seeks death", 2008)

De Delley's belief that Li should be punished for "voluntarily" taking her son's life shows she is not an expert. The NCR designation means that, owing to a mental disorder, the accused person was incapable of appreciating the nature and quality of the act or omission, or of possessing the capacity to know it was wrong at the time of the offence.³ That important distinction was not clarified by the news media, which suggests to readers that her argument has merit. Victims' families further exemplified the expert pretense, over experts themselves, in the government's crafting of the *NCR Reform Act*.

None of them was consulted about the bill when it was being written, and [Chris] Summerville said he found it awkward to be pleading with the government to work with the mental health community on a bill that is entirely about mental health. ("10 voices", 2013)

³ s. 672.34 of the *Criminal Code*.

4.2.5. All the same

Just as a small number of opinions have dictated news media portrayals of criminal responsibility, the *NCR Reform Act* is founded on a small number of cases and, specifically, making it harder for each one to gain freedom (“Appeal of Guy”, 2013).

[Ontario Review Board chair] Judge [Richard] Schneider warned that the government is threatening to destroy an intricate balance between civil liberties and the safety of the public based on three notorious crimes committed by men who had never even been in the forensic psychiatric system. The cases involved Vincent Li, who decapitated and cannibalized a bus passenger, and two men who murdered their children while in psychotic states—Allan Schoenborn and Guy Turcotte. Judge Schneider said it is perverse to indict the NCR regime based on a trio of “outlier” cases that involved men who had never been assessed under the review-board system. (“Critics slam new”, 2013)

[David] Parry [from the Canadian Bar Association] said that the very small number of high-profile cases of NCR [accused persons] should not be used to set policy for all NCR cases. (“10 voices”, 2013)

Even though findings of NCR are rare, these three cases embodied a shared victimization, the need for just deserts, compelling advocates, a political movement, and enduring stereotypes. The NCR regime was unfamiliar to so many before 2008 that Schoenborn, Li, and Turcotte ended up personifying the NCR designation.

“...if you’re living with psychosis or schizophrenia in Manitoba... the assumption is, ‘oh my [G]od, you have schizophrenia? How do I know you’re not going to be one of those high profile cases?” [Chris] Summerville said, referring to the case of Vince Li, who was found not criminally responsible for beheading a fellow passenger on a Greyhound bus in 2008, just outside Portage la Prairie. (“Stigma of mental”, 2014)

Victims’ families then seized the controversy and, through the news media, catapulted issues of public safety into the spotlight.

Turcotte’s case was one of a handful of high-profile ones cited by the Harper government as it introduced the changes. Others included that of Allan Schoenborn, a B.C. man who killed his three children, and Vince Li, who beheaded a man on a Greyhound Bus in Manitoba. (“Appeal of Guy”, 2013)

...the Li case and others like it prompt emotional debates and on Wednesday, the justice committee studying Bill C-54 will hear from McLean's mother and other crime victims. ("Psychiatrist wary", 2013)

"...We should be able to walk the streets without fear, we should be able to know that our families are safe and we should be kept safe from people like Allan Schoenborn." (Stacy Galt, "B.C. child killer", 2015)

Other cases involving mental illness also tended to be associated with Schoenborn, Li, and/or Turcotte, and/or they were grouped together as a single entity, no matter how long ago.

"I think Canada needs to do better in the way we treat mentally ill killers and what we do with them. I don't think we should be treating and releasing them," [Carol de Delley] said. ("Schizophrenia group supports", 2012)

An unprecedented view into the life of a man found not criminally responsible for a death almost 20 years ago is fuelling debate around the issue of what happens to these offenders once they are released. ("Jeffrey Arenburg's story", 2014)

And there is good cause to be careful. In 1967, Victor Hoffman, then 21, killed nine members of one family, including seven children, in Shell Lake, Sask[at]chewan]. Hoffman had been released from a mental hospital just weeks before the shootings. ("After their release", 2010)

Not only are they considered all the same, they are considered all the same all the time: Li is known as the infamous "bus beheader", while Schoenborn and Turcotte are "child killers". The news media presumably ascribe these labels to help readers identify with the subject's background story more quickly, but cast new identities in doing so. They become subsumed by their labels, making it seem as if Li is a serial beheader with an affinity for buses, and Schoenborn and Turcotte repeat offenders. There were 93 references (11.5 per cent) to Li as either a "beheader", "beheading suspect", "bus beheader", "bus butcher", "bus killer", "Greyhound bus beheader", "Greyhound killer", or simply "killer", usually in the headline, but also in the body. Li's name even came second to these labels in some of the news media's condensing of his exclusive interview, which was done in an effort to help restore his humanity. In such a one-dimensional depiction, people living with mental illness become less than fully human; the mental illness—and in Li's case, criminality—become an enveloping identity (Edney, 2004, p. 4).

“Greyhound bus beheader Vince Li: ‘I don’t hear voices’” (“Greyhound bus beheader”, 2012)

“Doc asks that bus beheader be allowed to go to beaches, Winnipeg” (“Doc asks that”, 2013)

There were 53 references (6.5 per cent) to Schoenborn and Turcotte as a “child killer” or “child murderer”, which included references to Turcotte as a “killer doctor” and “killer cardiologist”.

“Child killer Guy Turcotte hopes to be doctor again” (“Child killer Guy”, 2012)

“Allan Schoenborn, child-killer, denied day pass” (“Allan Schoenborn, child-killer”, 2014)

4.2.6.1. “Us” versus “them”

Labels also separate “them” from “us”.

“These are very, very dangerous, violent killers and they need to be treated as such,” [Carol de Delley] said. (“Greyhound victim’s mother”, 2011)

“Put [Li] in a locked facility, build a facility that can house individuals that are this dangerous, and leave them there for the rest of their days,” [Carol] de Delley said. (“Review board grants”, 2010)

Prime Minister Stephen Harper announced that the government will introduce legislation to keep criminals “too cruel and dangerous to be put back into freedom” locked up permanently... (“With his new”, 2015)

Further to the belief that victims’ rights are eclipsed by the rights of NCR accused persons, the implication is that there is a hierarchy of human rights, of who is (more) deserving or considered lesser than.

“My son’s human rights were violated in the most horrific manner, and that’s completely disregarded and forgotten... I would like to be doing a job and enjoying my life again but we haven’t had one iota of closure. Each year, Mr. Li is going to begin to receive more and more freedoms, more and more of a life back. And I don’t think that he should.” (Carol de Delley, “Greyhound killer Li”, 2010)

[Carol de Delley] also wondered why Li, who was born in China, was granted citizenship even after he had been diagnosed with schizophrenia. (“Vince Li not”, 2009)

Allan Schoenborn lives in isolation, shunned by his fellow inmates—so ostracized, he said, that even the prison chaplain avoids him. (“Accused child-killer”, 2009)

“I read [Schoenborn] in the paper there yesterday that he wants to go to the mall and have a coffee. What about that pretty little girl that will never have any children? What about those boys who will never play baseball or go fishing or do something?” said [Kim] Robinson. (“B.C. father who”, 2011)

Federal Heritage Minister Shelly Glover, who is member of Parliament for the Manitoba riding of Saint Boniface, issued a statement late Friday expressing concern about letting Li “walk freely amongst innocent Canadians.” (“Manitoba bus beheader”, 2015)

4.2.6. “People don’t want to hear Vince Li is getting better”⁴

Despite the plethora of expertise, “the general public is, on the whole, not necessarily very well informed about what happens when someone is found not criminally responsible” (Dr. Elizabeth Zoffmann, “Greyhound victim’s family”, 2008). Or that “there is simply no evidence to indicate that brutality of the offence is a major determinant of risk” (Dr. Stanley Yaren, “Psychiatrist wary”, 2013). People also question speedy and full recoveries (“Rob Ford in”, 2013).

Mr. Li’s doctors said he willingly takes his medication and understands the importance of doing so. [Carol] de Delley is not convinced... [She] has been running a website, timslaw.ca, where she highlights cases across the country in which people found not criminally responsible for crimes reoffend after being released. “They get to a point where they’re feeling well, that they don’t require the medication, that it’s everybody else that is sick,” she said. (“Man who beheaded bus”, 2014)

Critics argue Li can never be safely managed in the community, that nothing less than zero risk is acceptable (“People don’t want”, 2014).

[Carol de Delley] suggested again this week that unless Mr. Li is under constant supervision, there is no guarantee that he will continue to take his medication. (“Bus beheader Vince”, 2012)

⁴ “People don’t want”, 2014.

“Can you guarantee me that [Li’s] not going to eat somebody else’s eyes, somebody else’s heart? Slaughter another individual? No, nobody can guarantee me that,” said Carol de Delley, who spoke outside a Winnipeg court. (“Panel hears”, 2012)

There is, of course, no guarantee for anyone (“People don’t want”, 2014)—in the criminal justice system or not. The best assessment possible is very low risk, which has become a reality for Li. “But reason has taken a backseat to emotion, with little attention paid to Li’s particular circumstances. The real truth... is a lot of people don’t want to be told Li is getting better” (“People don’t want”, 2014).

The unjustified public fears about Li will probably keep him in a mental-health hospital longer than necessary, [Chris] Summerville said. The horrific nature of Li’s act has demonized him in the public’s mind, said Summerville. “I don’t think [he will be released] anytime soon because of public sentiment,” he said, adding the perception of Li is “rooted in fear and in some people, in hate and in vengeance. [People] hold a characterization of him that is just not true of him.” While he is not advocating Li’s immediate release, Summerville said there is little public understanding of the nature of schizophrenia and its treatment with medication. (“Greyhound killer believed”, 2012)

4.2.5.1. *Dangerous minds*

People are more likely to believe that, based on his one “unspeakable act that shocked Canadians” (“Suspect charged with”, 2009) Li will always be dangerous and unpredictable. Since predicting human behaviour is not an exact science, the only certainty for the victim’s family lies in detaining Li indefinitely.

Tim McLean's mother, Carol de Delley... says she believes that Li is “a very unpredictably dangerous person”. (“Schizophrenia group supports”, 2012)

[Carol d]e Delley is unconvinced that Li no longer poses a threat to society and says no apology can replace the loss of her son. “Mentally ill killers that are this unpredictable and dangerous—I think they have to stay (in custody) forever,” said de Delley. (“Voices told Li”, 2012)

The same logic applies to Schoenborn and Turcotte.

“He is not to be trusted,” [Crown lawyer Lyle] Hillaby said of Schoenborn. “He had a terrible history with violence and anger.” (“B.C. father who”, 2011)

Following the hearing Friday, Patrick Gaston, the brother of Turcotte's former wife Isabelle Gaston, said his biggest worry is that no one completely understands what Turcotte is capable of. "I'm worried about the outcome of the commission and, if he gets out, who knows what he is going to do," he said. ("Doctor who killed", 2011)

Exposure to these shocking incidents increased the expectation that *anyone* living with a mental illness is particularly likely to do harm (Baun, 2009, p. 32). The government was able to frame Schoenborn, Li, and Turcotte in such a way that the public would equate them, and mental illness, with violence, danger, and high risk.

Chapter 5.

Discussion

There is no question that these cases ended in tragedy, for all involved. My intention was not to take sides or criticize any one side, but to understand them and how they fit into the larger narrative on NCR accused persons and mental illness. To do that, I could not sit back dispassionately and be a casual observer; I had to be an active participant in their stories. What if the roles of Vincent Li and Tim McLean had been reversed? What if I was in Li's place? What if Li had killed a family member, friend, colleague, or acquaintance of mine? Although it may seem like these stories are only about Li, Schoenborn, Turcotte, and their victims, they are really about all of us (Canadian Forum on Violence and Trauma, 2014, p. 9). Given my training in journalism, I naturally imagined being there, on scene. I imagined being assigned to "breaking" news, on a tight deadline, with this complex issue, competing for space, and no answers. I imagined just how daunting it would have been for broadcasters:

A live, breaking news report is the highest tightrope walk in television. There's no script in the teleprompter, the story is developing in real time and initial reports are often unreliable. One mistake, or one fact misreported, can ruin your own reputation as well as the credibility of your news organization. You are often alone on centre stage, speaking without a pause, repeating what you know for sure over and over again, weaving in new facts as they're fed to you by producers who are frantically working the phones and scouring the internet... [i]t's improv, minus the comedy, and you need to be able to think quickly and craft a storyline on the fly." (Newman & Newman, 2015, p. 95)

I imagined reporting on it years later, and the many opportunities that afforded to become well-informed on everything that might have been lost on the first assignment. As I became more "involved" in their lives it became more interactive, but I wondered if others experienced the opposite effect. News of these crimes incentivized some, but the spectacle of it—especially in Li's case, to become dinner conversation—must have desensitized more:

We seemingly couldn't get enough of the incessantly repeated eyewitness reports, preceded by that slightly officious "and we must warn you, what

you are about to hear is extremely graphic” proviso, which probably made more people rush to turn up the radio than to turn it off. Almost 10,000 of us clicked on a link online to hear an unauthorized-for-release, 80-second radio transmission between RCMP officers racing to the scene... the tenor of many conversations about the bus murder involved people trying to top each other with these details, sharing gorier and gorier bits under the guise of talking about the news. (“When beheadings become”, 2008)

Coverage of these three cases dominated enough headlines to become “household names”, making them prominent, and a relationship between mental illness and violence seem prevalent. It was a tough-on-crime trifecta, and the advent of the mass media enabled endless coverage of it.

“I think the media have been more favourable to the McLean family, probably because public sentiment is on their side and we as a country have entered a period of ‘tough on crime’, with little attention paid to restorative justice, rehabilitation, recovery and redemption, or the influence and role of mental illness in this particular most unfortunate incident.” (Chris Summerville, “Greyhound killer believed”, 2012)

But high-profile should not be mistaken for high prevalence; in reality, the “chances are greater of being struck by lightning than being killed by an NCR [accused] person” (Chris Summerville, “Offenders deemed not”, 2015). Indeed, these cases were so unusual they were almost unbelievable. One of the Greyhound witnesses said that late summer night was surreal, straight out of a horror movie (“Beheading still haunts”, 2009).

Before February 20, 2009, Canadians had not seen the likes of three such cases within such a short period, nevermind one. Perhaps, then, a comprehensive examination of this magnitude was not possible until February 20, 2009. Yet, this study only looked at coverage among four national news services; there is much more at the provincial, territorial, and local levels, including blogs. A Google News Canada search with the same criteria yields 4,840 hits for Turcotte, compared with my 248. Since the period of study afforded Turcotte the least amount of coverage, I expected his case would produce the least number of references, and it did (30.6 per cent). But Li produced the most (42.5 per cent) despite his index offence occurring almost four months after Schoenborn’s (32.2 per cent). I also expected them to be grouped together in more than 24 articles, but that pattern only materialized with the introduction of the *NCR Reform Act*. Although it was introduced

in 2013 and passed in 2014, there were no substantive changes in volume or tone from 2012 onward.

Until 2012, Canada was the only G7 country without a national mental health strategy (Jagdeo et al., 2009, p. 763). There were fewer stories in 2012 than 2011, but the number with a negative tone declined thereafter, and a positive tone constituted five per cent of all stories in 2012, compared with its nonexistence in 2011. According to the time trend analysis (see Table 4.5 and Figure 4.1), the most number of stories occurred in 2008 and 2009, during the index offence years. Most articles were neutral in tone, annually and overall. Just over a quarter (28.5 per cent) of stories conveyed a negative tone, 10 times more than a positive tone (2.6 per cent). Themes of positive stories included lived experience of mental illness, treatment, rehabilitation, and recovery; improvements needed in the mental health and criminal justice systems; and the denunciation of stereotypes and stigma. As such, a positive tone was associated with articles farther into the trajectory of each case. That reduced the possibilities for a positive tone, but a neutral tone was more appropriate for earlier coverage where reporting what happened in court or at a hearing was the story (McKercher & Cummings, 1998, p. 232).

The low number of positive stories is also related to the low number of sources with lived experience (2.4 per cent). These stories were usually framed anecdotally to illustrate how Schoenborn or Li “slipped through the cracks”, or to show the “other side” of mental illness. Of the 30 contributors, two had received a NCR verdict, but neither was Schoenborn or Turcotte. In fact, not one news article included the voices of Schoenborn or Turcotte; they were only relayed through testimonies in court reports and hearings. Li’s wishes were only conveyed in one news article (“Greyhound bus killer”, 2009) where his lawyer addressed the news media on his behalf. However, there was clearly interest in Li’s “side of the story” for his transcript to be published or referred to 11 times, representing a third of all sources living with mental illness. This finding was consistent with a New Zealand media study in which primary sources of people living with mental illness was rare (Nairn & Coverdale, 2005, p. 282). Only five (0.8 per cent) among the 600 articles collected over a four-week period in 1997 met the criteria for a source with lived experience. In Whitley & Berry’s (2013) more recent Canadian newspaper study, the

majority (83 per cent) of articles on mental illness also lacked a quotation from someone living with a mental illness (p. 109).

The scarcity of first-person accounts by people living with mental illness in news stories limits the perspectives available to readers and gives them the impression that people living with mental illness are incapable of developing opinions and speaking on their own behalf (Edney, 2004, p. 3). Another danger lies in distorting news coverage by ignoring the voices of one-fifth of the Canadian population and, similarly, runs the risk of alienating one-fifth of news consumers (Canadian Journalism Forum on Violence and Trauma, 2014, p. 21).

Instead, one-fifth (21 per cent) of sources in the data set was credited to close family members and friends of the victim, a stark contrast to the number for NCR accused persons (0.3 per cent)—and even the general public, who were represented in almost one-tenth of sources (8.4 per cent). Nonetheless, it is the incorporation of authoritative sources that is central to the task of creating a credible, objective report (Nairn, 1999, p. 583), and experts comprised one-third (33.6 per cent) of all sources. Recognized professionals in academia, advocacy, law enforcement, and the legal and medical fields are capable of changing negative perceptions of mental illness through their expertise and from these experiences. Psychiatrists, especially, are valued experts because they are able to attribute certain behaviours to a clinical diagnosis that helps society make sense of invisible—and not visible—differences (Nairn, 1999, p. 586).

Expert opinion was indispensable in the absence of contributions from Schoenborn, Li, and Turcotte. In the 798 news articles that featured one, both, or all three, none of them were interviewed. While it could be considered contempt of court to interfere with their right to a fair trial, and while they may have been unavailable or unwilling to speak to the press after the verdict, there are no indications that requests were ever made (to them, or to their legal counsel or guardian). Freedom of the press is constitutionally protected so that the public may understand and monitor the functioning of its institutions, thus, the media is seen as serving the public interest, but not all members of the public (Justice Kelly, 1995).

The right to privacy is also one of the most fundamental rights in a liberal society, and a guarantee that the state will keep confidential certain information to which authorities or regulatory bodies may need to access, but which no one else should (“Privacy, the internet and the impossibility”, 2014). As such, the very intimate details made public—psychiatric histories, psychiatric assessments, confidential disposition decisions—might be perceived as an invasion of privacy and/or a violation of patient rights. The public’s “right to know” is a delicate balance, for “[e]ven balanced coverage of crimes by people living with mental illnesses reinforces public perceptions of violence and risk (Stuart, 2003, p. 652). This is particularly true when the coverage is lurid, sensationalized, or incorrect.

“This is a time when the principles underlying our system of justice are most vulnerable. There is no place for conjecture, speculation or rumour in the trial process.” (Stan Lowe, “B.C. father charged”, 2008)

The old adage, “if it bleeds, it leads”, implies news is hierarchical and that fear-based news is given priority. This is the same formula for a tough-on-crime government, and the common denominator in their symbiotic relationship. Therefore, the *NCR Reform Act* tells one part of the story; the National Trajectory Project shows the whole story. The authors note that most of their sample had been under the purview of civil psychiatric services, and the first psychiatric consultation occurred much earlier than their NCR verdict (Crocker et al., 2015c, p. 114). This suggests that violence risk assessment training and interventions to reduce further mental health deterioration and criminal offending are a priority in civil psychiatric services. The “warning signs” were there, but the resources inadequate (“Case demonstrates need”, 2016).

[Mary Ellen] Turpel-Lafond said police, social workers and corrections workers failed to investigate the severity of the father's mental illness, even though child welfare workers said it was a problem as early as 1999. The various agencies also neglected to collaborate and share information. “The representative concludes that the answer to the question of whether the killing of these children was preventable is clearly ‘yes’,” the report says. (“Murder of Schoenborn”, 2012)

Seeking further restrictions on when and how a person found NCR in a high-profile case might be released, as outlined in the *NCR Reform Act*, does nothing to prevent similar tragedies (“Case demonstrates need”, 2016). It has also become clear that the virtue of reducing crime through the public expression of disapproval for crime does not

apply to NCR accused persons (Traynor, 2002). Traditional deterrence strategies do not have the same effect because in many cases there is a lack of comprehension of wrongdoing or intent to commit crime. Being deemed NCR means that a person's mental illness or condition had a causative role in the commission of the offence and, consequently, the handing down of a NCR verdict is an inappropriate vehicle to use as an example to others (Traynor, 2002). Moreover, the NCR verdict was considered undesirable long before the *NCR Reform Act*, for "the only thing worse than being a vilified murderer is being labelled mentally ill" (Anders Breivik, "Violence and mental", 2012). Stigma is so pervasive that Schoenborn refused an earlier opportunity for treatment, thinking "it would be like *One Flew Over the Cuckoo's Nest*" and "he might be lobotomized" ("Dad admits to", 2009).

The *NCR Reform Act* reinforces these misperceptions by making it seem as if past behaviour of NCR accused persons is the only predictor of their future behaviour. By making it political, the Conservative government not only signalled to its constituents that they needed protection, it criminalized a defence situated in treatment.

[Chris] Summerville said the bill does little to help Canadians understand the complexity of mental illness and that while his group fully supports more involvement of victims in the NCR system, he asked why the bill doesn't include more services for victims. ("10 voices", 2013)

[Dr. Stanley] Yaren said everyone is on side with supporting victims but that in his experience victims say what they need is more services to help them cope. "You wonder whether the money would be better spent providing counselling services and support for families and victims," he said. ("Psychiatrist wary", 2013)

While the *NCR Reform Act* may have transpired under the guise of victims' rights, it did not actually advance victims' rights. A couple who witnessed Li kill McLean said Greyhound Canada paid for six counselling sessions, which was not enough for a traumatic event that "changed their lives, probably forever" ("Greyhound pays", 2009), but is more than the Conservative government ever offered victims' families or witnesses.

Victims were underserved by the *NCR Reform Act*, as were NCR accused persons, who are also victims of mental illness. However, references were few and far between. When victims' families, witnesses, or first responders experienced symptoms of

mental illness, there was a disconnect. There was no acknowledgement or comprehension that “all of us in time are likely to slide back and forth along the continuum between mental health and mental illness” (Canadian Journalism Forum on Violence and Trauma, 2014, p. 9). Their symptoms were distinct from the symptoms that could lead to psychosis, and especially crime. Since it was harmless and a side effect of victimization, it was more acceptable and deserving of sympathy. The news media framed “them”—Schoenborn, Li, and Turcotte—very differently, and as being manifestly different from “us”.

This is why some may find it hard to accept, rather than not wanting to be told, Li is getting better: because they have only been exposed to one side of him. That fixed identity is reinforced every time the news media recount his index offence and accompany it with the same photo from 2008 (see Appendix B). Even though the Review Board is confident Li can live independently, he is still depicted as a prisoner, frozen in time. Similarly, the headshot of Schoenborn that remains in circulation was taken after he was apprehended from the 10-day “manhunt” for him. He appears menacing (see Appendix A), but had frostbite, was dehydrated, and down to 130 lbs.—all of which contributed to his reflection as the picture of illness, but which ultimately had nothing to do with mental illness. In photos of Turcotte he is usually wearing medical scrubs (see Appendix C), perhaps to highlight the irony that he once saved lives instead of taking them. Thus, with every story it becomes harder and harder to convince the public “they” can get better.

Furthermore, the protests across 14 Québec cities and on social media that surfaced after Turcotte’s NCR verdict (“Angry Québeckers”, 2011), the support for the overturning of that verdict (“Guy Turcotte to remain free”, 2014), and his eventual conviction (“Guy Turcotte sentenced”, 2016) call into question the role of public outcry and media influence in the criminal justice system. But the task of convicting the accused belongs to the courts, not the media (Crawford, 2008, p. 537).

Chapter 6.

Conclusion

Mental health and illness sit on a spectrum, and symptom management is possible with treatment. While a particular moment or act may be the initial newsworthy event, good journalism does not just tell one part of the story; it shows the whole story. Nor would it be accurate to recount that initial event repeatedly, as if it were a static event; it is a glimpse in time that should not define anyone's life.

Thorough investigation and complete coverage are imperative because of the complexity and stigma of mental illness, and because of its significance in everyday life (Canadian Journalism Forum on Violence and Trauma, 2014). One in five Canadians will directly experience a mental health issue in their lifetime (Canadian Mental Health Association, 2014), and the rest will be affected indirectly through family, friends, and colleagues. While the general population will grow 26 per cent from 2011 to 2041, it is estimated that there will be a 31 per cent increase in the number of people living with a mental illness (Mental Health Commission of Canada, 2013)⁵—a substantial portion to misrepresent, as sources or subjects.

This should be a natural concern for journalists, who are not immune (Canadian Journalism Forum on Violence and Trauma, 2014, p. 8). Yet, the news media only tend to report on mental illness when someone experiences a psychotic episode and immortalizes a gruesome act (Canadian Journalism Forum on Violence and Trauma, 2014, p. 4). This selective portrayal gives the impression that violence among those living with mental illness is a frequent and recurring event (Stuart, 2006, p. 102), but very few living with mental illness ever come into conflict with the law and findings of NCR are especially rare. Consequently, the surge in “tough on crime” measures is perhaps both related to the belief that people living with mental illness are not only violent, but more violent than in the past

⁵ That is, nine million people. Recorded incidence of mental illness may be on the rise worldwide because of improved detection and broader research, rather than increased occurrence (Canadian Journalism Forum on Violence and Trauma, 2014, p. 19). Epidemiologically, rates of mental illness are generally stable unless there is a major social conflict or crisis, such as war or an economic depression (Whitley, 2015).

(Torrey, 2001, p. 893). It may also be related to the fear that mental illness is used as a “get-out-of-jail-free” card that relieves these individuals of responsibility for their actions. Negative and inaccurate news media portrayals have long since existed, but only recently have they affected more than public opinion.

To that end, this study aimed to examine how a sample of prominent NCR accused persons are portrayed by Canadian news media. The results indicate that, between 2008 and 2015, two-thirds of stories conveyed a neutral tone, but there were limited perspectives with lived experience, and no significant improvements in reporting trends over time. The news media’s focus on three cases reinforced negative stereotypes about mental illness and gave credence to the need for punishment. This was prompted by victims’ families who felt neglected, overshadowed, and as though they were constantly being re-victimized. They used their notoriety and public sympathy to draw national attention to perceived injustices, and instigate action from policymakers. Calls to reform the NCR regime started with Schoenborn, Li, and Turcotte, but soon became much bigger than them in the name of public safety. However, public safety has always been the paramount consideration in dispositions for NCR accused persons.

6.1. Implications and Recommendations

The news media often insist on their “right to know”, but the public also have a right to news that is accurate, balanced, and fair. If the news media frame people living with mental illness as dangerous, the public may treat them as such (Whitley & Berry, 2013, p. 108), and policy will echo those fears.

Many studies have traced a connection between negative media portrayals of mental illness, ensuing negative attitudes, and policy implications. If public perception of mental illness is based on incomplete or false realities, there is a higher likelihood that public systems will react accordingly, rather than on the true needs and issues of people living with mental illness (Edney, 2004, p. 8). If the public and powers that be believe people living with mental illness threaten public safety, they will be more inclined to enforce containment and control. Similarly, a belief that people living with mental illness are inherently violent dictates that scarce healthcare resources should be used to safeguard

the public, as opposed to filling gaps in psychiatric and community mental health services. In the United Kingdom, this sentiment culminated in the more controlling mental health policy framework that emerged in the 1990s, which was due in part to a media-fuelled “moral panic”—a public feeling of fright that people living with mental illness are morally deficient, and thus a danger to society. In Canada, it has resulted in the *NCR Reform Act*.

Despite being packaged as a public utility, the news media are, after all, a commercial enterprise (Bula, 1996, p. 14) and sensationalism sells (Stuart, 2003, p. 652). Reports can increase the willingness of individuals to seek care and raise expectations, or they can dash hopes and provoke alarm (Larsson, Oxman, Carling, & Herrin, 2003, p. 324). It becomes excessive and inappropriate when journalists tell only half the story to land the front page or lead the news in the name of attracting higher ratings, or are motivated by profit (Crawford, 2008, p. 136). Since journalists have been found to be no more authoritarian, distant, or restrictive than other groups in their attitudes toward mental illness (Stuart, 2006, p. 104), coverage may be negative as a result of broader industry pressures that foster particular angles or storylines (p. 104), as a response to market forces (Stuart, 2003, p. 652). In a study on barriers to accurate reporting, commercialism was identified as one of nine major barriers (Larsson et al., 2013, p. 323). Larsson et al. (2003) also identified: lack of time, space, and knowledge; competition for space and audience; difficulties with terminology; problems finding and using sources; and problems with editors (p. 323).

Many journalists entered the industry with a desire to make a difference, and that is reflected in the abundance of excellent journalism on mental health (Canadian Journalism Forum on Violence and Trauma, 2014, p. 10; Stuart, 2006, p. 99). The news media have presented a wide array of health stories, both reflecting and informing public discourse (Hodgetts et al., 2008, p. 44). However, positive and more well-rounded stories on mental health and illness tend to appear as a series or in a special edition. This makes them seem unusual or abnormal, and as though we need only address it when it becomes “newsworthy”—usually to answer questions or concerns that have been triggered by an unexpected or traumatic event. Then, once the series has reached the end of the “issue” it confronted, the news media return to their regular programming. Efforts to normalize mental illness are lost, and the normalcy of mental illness is easily forgotten by the public,

until the next trigger. Since the everyday, or less riveting, aspects of mental illness are considered non-newsworthy, this has created a distorted and disproportionate picture of mental illness, as well as those living with it.

Instead of faulting the news media for the prominence it has given to stories of violence by those living with mental illness, it is more prudent to ask:

- To what extent does journalism compound the problem?
- What can be added to stories involving violence that puts them in perspective?
- What is the news media doing to help the public understand mental illness and the mental health system, to combat myths?

The Canadian Journalism Forum on Violence and Trauma (2014) poses these questions in *Mindset: Reporting on Mental Health*, a pocket-sized field guide for journalists that contains basic information for reporting on mental health. It was prepared by veteran Canadian journalists and mental health and legal professionals in 2014, and is available as a free, digital copy through its website, or in print by request. *Mindset* covers stigma, treatment, interviewing, legislation, suicide, and addiction, and includes a reference compendium with “do’s and don’ts” and best practice checklists on each of the aforementioned subjects. The guide is based on the following three propositions:

- The vast majority of stigma is generated and reinforced by very rare, highly shocking, well-publicized instances of violence by people living with very serious untreated illness;
- Attempts to offset the emotional impact of such stories by generating more positive news about mental illness are commendable, but unlikely to succeed on their own; and
- Censoring or minimizing coverage of major incidents of psychosis-induced behaviour leading to death or serious physical harm is not an option in an open society (Canadian Journalism Forum on Violence and Trauma, 2014, p. 11).

As well as what journalists can actually do to make a real difference:

- Ask “why?” The best way to reduce the number of stories on violence by people living with mental illness is to explore why violence occurs. Journalists should investigate these mental health issues with persistence, fearlessness, and vigour.

- Strive to reduce the reinforcement of stereotypes—not just in stories on mental illness, but in all their work (p. 12).

As evident from the literature review in Chapter 2.3, making a real difference goes beyond advice, courses, and interventions. For meaningful change to occur, journalists must be conscious of their failings, of the shortcomings in coverage of mental health issues, and address them systematically (Canadian Journalism Forum on Violence and Trauma, 2014, p. 5). Larsson et al. (2003) asked respondents/journalists in their study what would improve the informative value of their work (p. 326). Suggestions included access to reliable, up-to-date background information on various topics; access to experts in diverse areas of health; help translating scientific and medical terminology; and strategies to prepare more informative reports that are still entertaining and “saleable” (p. 327). For those required to tell entertaining stories within deadlines and/or space restrictions, discursive resources that are conveniently available, familiar to journalists and consumers, widely understood (Nairn, 2007, p. 144), and easy to absorb, are invaluable. According to the Canadian Journalism Forum on Violence and Trauma (2014), the single most influential change the news media can make is practicing equality; treating mental illness the same way they do physical illness: with curiosity, compassion, and a strong dose of righteous indignation when people are mistreated or wronged (p. 3).

Equality starts with language. The labels “schizophrenic” and “mentally ill” are one-dimensional and denote deficiency. As with physical diseases and ailments, a person is more than their diagnosis. He or she “has” schizophrenia or “lives with” mental illness. Moreover, it is common to live *well* with mental illness. Pejorative terms, such as “psycho” and “crazy”, are demeaning and inappropriate. “Incurable” is inaccurate, as many who receive treatment can manage their symptoms and substantially improve their quality of life, to “recover in mental illness” (Canadian Journalism Forum on Violence and Trauma, 2014, p. 23). Clinical recovery, or “recovery from mental illness”, defined as returning to the state the person was in before onset of the illness, is also possible with treatment. An NCR accused person has not been convicted of a crime and is therefore not an “offender”. Similarly, saying someone “committed” suicide implies a crime has been committed. Suicide is not “successful” nor is attempted suicide “unsuccessful”; death is not a matter of success, and the reasons for self-harm and suicide are complex (Canadian Journalism Forum on Violence and Trauma, 2014, p. 32). Euphemisms like “died suddenly” should

be replaced with more precise language, such as “took his own life”, “killed herself”, or “died by suicide”, and “snapped” should be replaced with “experienced a psychotic episode” (p. 5). Suffering is relative; nobody can presume to know the degree to which any one person suffers, or compare it absolutely.

Context comes next. Instead of reinforcing the idea that those living with mental illness are violent, it should be clear that they are, in fact, more likely to be victims of violence (Canadian Journalism Forum on Violence and Trauma, 2014, p. 5; Desai, 2013, p. 8; Inman, 2012; Whitley & Berry, 2013, p. 108). When stories associating mental illness with violence do appear, journalists should ensure it is within the appropriate context, include research findings that confirm such behaviour is uncharacteristic, not submit (untreated) mental illness as the sole determinant of a tragic outcome (Wahl, 2003, p. 1599), and clarify that recovery is not only possible, but the norm (Canadian Journalism Forum on Violence and Trauma, 2014). It is also important to address inaccuracies from sources, and differentiate opinion from fact.

Stories are framed by journalists’ consideration of their target audience, professional norms, and institutional practices as much as the sources they draw on (Hodgetts et al., 2008, p. 43). This results in the omission of stories that have relevance for minority and disadvantaged groups, and limits the nature of stories to ones that reflect the views of the majority (p. 43). But mental illness and the loss of liberty do not negate freedom of expression, which the media has worked so hard at to protect. Instead of excluding the 20 per cent of the population living with mental illness, the news media should seek out, listen to, and relay their voices in order to portray their varied situations accurately and break down the false notion of a division between “us” and “them” (Canadian Journalism Forum on Violence and Trauma, 2014). Stories about people living with mental illness should naturally include their voices. Giving a voice to the people who are actually living the experience makes for better storytelling, and better journalism (Canadian Journalism Forum on Violence and Trauma, 2014, p. 21).

[S]torytellers... may be the best hope of reducing the enduring stigma that people [living] with mental illness are afflicted with. Not much else appears to be working. (“Mentally ill and”, 2012)

Increasing the range of voices involves a significant shift in frames of reporting; away from the episodic, conflict-dominated frame to a more explanatory frame (Hodgetts et al., 2008, p. 46). The traditional conflict frame tends to narrow the story to opposing viewpoints, whereas the explanatory frame delves into an issue so consumers fully grasp the issue's scope, relevance, and potential impact on themselves (p. 47). In order to eliminate the stigma propagated by negative framing, it is essential that sources who challenge the generic, depersonalized stereotypes of mental illness are supported and authorized, and that the mental health community work with media personnel to achieve more diverse and accurate portrayals of mental illnesses (Nairn, Coverdale, & Claasen, 2001, p. 658). McKercher & Cumming (1998) recommend that journalists:

- Be careful to avoid doing careless or gratuitous harm to the least powerful sectors of society;
- Avoid smearing people by innuendo or implying guilt by association;
- Avoid thoughtless writing that reinforces racial, sexual, or physical stereotypes; and
- Protect the right to a fair trial of everyone, even those held in the most contempt (p. 385).

Journalists should review court and Review Board hearing transcripts to verify the information they report and make corrections, as necessary. This should still be done even if transcripts are unavailable before deadline, as inconsistencies can undermine the report and the public's understanding of the justice system.

When reporting on Review Board hearings, journalists should:

- Be clear the patient is not a criminal.
- Focus on rehabilitation, not vengeance. A review hearing is not a re-trial.
- Check the "facts" contained in statements made outside the hearing.
- Carefully consider the fairness of relaying characterizations of the patient made outside the hearing.

- Not reproduce offensive language that casts stigma on people living with mental illness unless it is critical to the story.
- Consider doing a more in-depth follow-up story, which may generate more light than heat.
- Ensure their editor(s) review these recommendations before writing headlines (Canadian Journalism Forum on Violence and Trauma, 2014, p. 39).

Reporting on mental illness need not be about self-censorship or changing the definition of news, but merely getting the facts right, vanquishing myths, and placing stories in perspective (Canadian Journalism Forum on Violence and Trauma, 2014, p. 9). When properly performing its watchdog function, the media serve as an agent of the public in diffusing ideas and information critical to democratic self-governance and informed living (Oliphant, 2013, p. 295). Journalists are thus urged to acquire a basic knowledge of risk assessment procedures and, where feasible, seek an informed and independent evaluation of the potential consequences of their reporting (Crawford, 2008, p. 544).

If it bleeds, take heed.

6.2. Limitations

The findings of this study should be measured against its limitations, as well as the implications of its delimitations.

This purposive sampling choice may simply reaffirm, rather than challenge, the current understanding of the relationship between the news media and attitudes toward NCR accused persons and/or mental illness. Since most living with mental illness are not violent, the data set might be an example of extreme or deviant case sampling, where the sample is atypical and merely reflects the processes of interest more obviously (Palys & Atchison, 2008, p. 125). Therefore, neither the sample or results can be generalized to all NCR accused persons, or all news media coverage of them. Accordingly, this study also lacks analysis of diversity in ethnicity, as well as analysis of women and transgender persons deemed NCR. However, the population from which to sample is relatively small,

and the purpose of the study was to provide an in-depth examination of cases the public are exposed to, and influenced by.

The extreme circumstances of Schoenborn's, Li's, and Turcotte's cases are ideal to explore the presence and effects of sensational news, especially in a matched comparison study with three similarly prominent, but disconfirming, non-NCR cases. Furthermore, without more data on news media portrayals of other NCR accused persons, or data on the proportion or quality of stories on mental illness, it was not possible to determine the level of prominence the news media assigns to NCR accused persons.

I relied on court transcripts to verify information the news media used to portray Schoenborn and Turcotte, but one was not published in Li's case because the Crown agreed to his NCR plea. Instead, I corroborated the details of Li's case with reports consistently paralleled by the news media, which included, but was not limited to, my data set. I was bound by what was available, but am nonetheless more confident in the facts presented in Schoenborn's and Turcotte's cases.

Good journalism depends on transparency and accountability, but certain details revealed about Schoenborn, Li, and Turcotte by the news media might be construed as an invasion of privacy. Such details unquestionably paint a vivid picture of their lives, but they also raise questions about when, and to what extent, individual suffering and distress should be exposed (McKercher & Cumming, 1998, p. 373). There is no one rule that governs all restrictions or limits of privacy, but revenge, extra-judicial punishment, frustration with the law, or the fact that other news media are running with the story do not justify violating it (Crawford, 2008, p. 544).

Another difference between the news media and qualitative research is source selection. While the news media will validate a report by meeting a minimum number of sources—ideally three or more—it is at the reporter's discretion and can range from "streeteer" to expert. Qualitative researchers consider an ideal informant to be someone who is very familiar with a situation (Palys & Atchison, 2008, p. 41).

None of the cases had reached a definitive conclusion by the end of the period of study, which prevented measurement in their entirety. Shortly after I ceased data

collection, the Crown's application for Schoenborn's retroactive "high-risk" status was accepted; Li was granted conditional release; and Turcotte was convicted of second-degree murder. News coverage of these developments surely would have enhanced my findings, as would French-language news, especially from local Québec news media that covered the Turcotte case(s).

Yet, there was still no shortage of coverage. I continued to find relevant articles absent from my data set after the collection stage (which were subsequently added), but it is possible my data set remains incomplete. I may have also missed identifying replicate articles due to the sheer size of the data set.

6.3. Future Research

The creation and perpetuation of news coverage stigmatizing people living with mental illness is a potent ingredient in a broader social process that denies social and legal entitlements through neglect, avoidance, and discrimination (Stuart, 2003, p. 655). It may also sabotage the rehabilitation and reintegration process for NCR accused persons, and ultimately frustrate the underlying objectives of the *Corrections and Conditional Release Act* (1992). To better understand the news media's influence on public opinion, policy, and stigma, further consideration should be given to:

Comparison coverage. It might be constructive to compare these results with themes and trends in coverage of mental illness, as well as general crime news to observe similarities (and differences) in reporting. Which is more accurate? Or sensational? It might also be helpful to compare these results with health news to steer best practices.

Journalists. What do journalists think of their portrayals of mental illness and NCR accused persons? More research is needed on barriers to reporting on mental illness in Canada, and suggestions for improving coverage. Change must come from within, and journalists on the frontlines offer the greatest hope of effecting it.

Public perceptions. Letters to the Editor and comments by news consumers offer insight into the "real public opinion". Comments are often more colourful and adversarial

than letters to the Editor, but both can still be useful in identifying public attitudes toward mental illness and NCR accused persons, as well as areas that might benefit from education and/or (more) news coverage.

The bigger picture. As noted in Chapter 5, visuals of Schoenborn and Li tended to criminalize them and/or reinforce stereotypes of mental illness. The stock photos used by news services are either outdated, misleading, or both. If NCR accused persons are only represented as one-dimensional the public is more likely to see them in that capacity. How else do photos, court sketches, and illustrations influence representations of mental illness, and can they be harnessed as a tool for change?

Gender differences. What role, if any, does gender play in portrayals of NCR accused persons? Is it a mitigating or aggravating factor? Crocker et al. (2015c) found women represented 16 per cent of their sample of NCR accused persons (p. 108), but there is no information on transgender persons. Furthermore, less than seven per cent of all NCR verdicts involve attempted murder or homicide (i.e., a newsworthy event) (p. 110), which limits the prospect of acquiring a sample who have been consistently portrayed by (national) news media.

Stigma. Smith (2007) suggests that reports on mental illness either challenge stigma or promote it, but little is known about why stigmatizing attitudes toward mental illness develop, or how to combat them and their consequences (Arboleda-Flórez, 2005, p. 8). Monitoring news coverage for changes in portrayals of NCR accused persons and mental illness before and after a prominent event, such as Li's conditional release, or an anti-stigma effort, such as the release of *Mindset* in 2014, could help determine what perpetuates stigma, and what might be effective in recognizing and addressing it.

The news media could be an important ally in challenging public prejudices, initiating public debate, and projecting positive, human-interest stories (Stuart, 2006, p. 99), but “we are going to need at least as much compassion as crackdown” (“We can't legislate”, 2014).

References

- 10 voices on the 'not criminally responsible' reform bill. (2013, June 6). *CBC News*. Retrieved from <http://www.cbc.ca/news/politics/10-voices-on-the-not-criminally-responsible-reform-bill-1.1330502>
- A year after bus beheading, vigil held in Winnipeg. (2009, July 30). *CTV News*. Retrieved from <http://www.ctvnews.ca/a-year-after-bus-beheading-vigil-held-in-winnipeg-1.421384>
- Accused child-killer Schoenborn talks to his slain children, court told. (2009, December 1). *National Post*. Retrieved from <http://www.nationalpost.com/m/accused+child+killer+schoenborn+talks+slain+children+court+told/2291079/story.html>
- Accused in bus slaying ordered to get psychiatric assessment. (2008, August 5). *CBC News*. Retrieved from <http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/accused-in-bus-slaying-ordered-to-get-psychiatric-assessment-1.722962>
- Accused killer acted 'to save himself'. (2009, March 4). *Winnipeg Free Press*. Retrieved from http://www.winnipegfreepress.com/local/accused_killer_acted_to_save_himself-40702912.html
- Acquitted killer's ex-wife joins protest. (2011, August 6). *National Post*. Retrieved from <http://news.nationalpost.com/news/canada/acquitted-killers-ex-wife-joins-protest>
- After their release, most mentally ill offenders left unchecked. (2010, December 10). *The Globe and Mail*. Retrieved from <http://www.theglobeandmail.com/news/national/after-their-release-most-mentally-ill-offenders-left-unchecked/article1319586/>
- Allan Schoenborn: a psychiatrist's view on patients' risk of re-offending. (2015, February 26). *CBC News*. Retrieved from <http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/british-columbia/allan-schoenborn-a-psychiatrist-s-view-on-patients-risks-of-re-offending-1.2974727>
- Allan Schoenborn, child-killer, denied day pass. (2014, February 12). *CBC News*. Retrieved from <http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/british-columbia/allan-schoenborn-child-killer-denied-day-pass-1.2533916>
- American Press Institute. (2016). *What is the purpose of journalism?* Retrieved from <https://www.americanpressinstitute.org/journalism-essentials/what-is-journalism/purpose-journalism/>

- Andover, M. S., Schatten, H. T., Crossman, D. M., & Donovan, P. J. (2011). Neuropsychological functioning in prisoners with and without self-injurious behaviors: Implications for the criminal justice system. *Criminal Justice and Behavior*, 38(11), 1101-1112.
- Angry Québeckers set to protest over verdict in Turcotte child-murder case. (2011, August 4). *The Globe and Mail*. Retrieved from <http://www.theglobeandmail.com/news/national/angry-quebeckers-set-to-protest-over-verdict-in-turcotte-child-murder-case/article4257273/>
- Appeal of Guy Turcotte's verdict to return to Québec's highest court. (2013, September 29). *CTV News*. Retrieved from <http://www.ctvnews.ca/canada/appeal-of-guy-turcotte-s-verdict-to-return-to-quebec-s-highest-court-1.1475667>
- Arboleda-Flórez, J. (2005). Stigma and discrimination: An overview. *World Psychiatry*, 4(1), 8-10.
- Arezu, M. (2010). *News media, mental illness and homelessness in Canada: Has depiction of mental illness and homelessness changed in Canadian national newspapers since the release of 'Out of the Shadows at Last'?* (Master of Public Health thesis). Retrieved from Simon Fraser University Summit.
- Arrest warrant issued for Québec doctor who stabbed his kids to death. (2013, November 13). *The Globe and Mail*. Retrieved from <http://www.theglobeandmail.com/news/national/new-trial-ordered-for-quebec-doctor-who-stabbed-his-children-to-death/article15412523/>
- Autopsies to be done on Québec doctor's 2 children. (2009, February 23). *CBC News*. Retrieved from <http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/montreal/autopsies-to-be-done-on-quebec-doctor-s-2-children-1.774743>
- Baun, K. (2009). Stigma matters: The media's impact on public perceptions of mental illness. *OttawaLife Magazine (Mental Health Series: A Friend, A Home, A Job)*. Retrieved from http://ontario.cmha.ca/files/2012/07/olm_stigma_matters_200902.pdf
- B.C. child killer had 13 altercations since last year: case worker. (2015, February 26). *CTV News*. Retrieved from <http://bc.ctvnews.ca/b-c-child-killer-had-13-altercations-since-last-year-case-worker-1.2254717>
- B.C. children's watchdog wants dramatic changes. (2012, March 2). *CTV News*. Retrieved from <http://www.ctvnews.ca/b-c-children-s-watchdog-wants-dramatic-changes-1.776326>
- B.C. father charged with murder of three children. (2008, April 23). *The Globe and Mail*. Retrieved from <http://www.theglobeandmail.com/news/national/bc-father-charged-with-murder-of-three-children/article18449257/>

- B.C. father who killed 3 kids gets escorted leave. (2011, April 6). *CBC News*. Retrieved from <http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/british-columbia/b-c-father-who-killed-3-kids-gets-escorted-leave-1.1041104>
- B.C. man who viciously killed his three children, should be granted supervised releases, his psychiatrist says. (2015, February 13). *National Post*. Retrieved from <http://news.nationalpost.com/news/canada/b-c-man-who-viciously-killed-his-three-children-and-still-poses-significant-safety-risks-should-be-granted-supervised-releases-his-lawyer-says>
- Beheading still haunts bus passengers. (2009, July 30). *CBC News*. Retrieved from <http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/manitoba/beheading-still-haunts-bus-passengers-1.827280>
- Boyce, J. (2015). Police-reported crime statistics in Canada, 2014. *Juristat*, 35(1). (Catalogue no. 85-002-X.) Retrieved from <http://www.statcan.gc.ca/pub/85-002-x/2015001/article/14211-eng.htm#wb-tphp>
- British Columbia Review Board. (2010). *Reasons for disposition in the matter of Allan Dwayne Schoenborn*. Retrieved from <http://www.bcrb.bc.ca/Decisions/all%20cases%20together/schoenborn,%20allan%202010-APR-06%20reasons.pdf>
- British Columbia Review Board. (2015a). *Reasons for disposition in the matter of Allan Dwayne Schoenborn*. Retrieved from <http://www.bcrb.bc.ca/Decisions/all%20cases%20together/Shoenborn,%20Allan%20Reasons%20Apr%2030,%202015.pdf>
- British Columbia Review Board. (2015b.) *Reasons for disposition in the matter of Allan Dwayne Schoenborn*. Retrieved from <http://www.bcrb.bc.ca/Decisions/all%20cases%20together/Schoenborn,%20Allan%20Disposition%20and%20WOC%20May%2029,%202015.pdf>
- Bus attack reinforces negative stigma. (2008, August 7). *CTV News*. Retrieved from <http://winnipeg.ctvnews.ca/attack-reinforces-negative-stigma-1.313920>
- Bus beheader not criminally responsible. (2009, March 5). *CTV News*. Retrieved from <http://montreal.ctvnews.ca/bus-beheader-not-criminally-responsible-1.376378>
- Bus beheader seeks passes from hospital. (2012, May 14). *CBC News*. Retrieved from <http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/manitoba/bus-beheader-seeks-passes-from-hospital-1.1293439>
- Bus beheader to stay locked up. (2009, June 4). *Winnipeg Free Press*. Retrieved from <http://www.winnipegfreepress.com/local/bus-beheader-to-stay-locked-up-46897557.html>

- Bus beheader Vince Li wins right to escorted trips into community. (2012, May 17). *The Globe and Mail*. Retrieved from <http://www.theglobeandmail.com/news/national/bus-beheader-vince-li-wins-right-to-escorted-trips-into-community/article4184785/>
- Bula, F. (1996). *No news here: The feature genre, newspapers' "other" storytelling form* (Master of Arts thesis). Retrieved from Simon Fraser University Summit. (ISBN 0612168174)
- Canadian Mental Health Association. (2014). *Fast facts about mental illness*. Retrieved from <http://www.cmha.ca/media/fast-facts-about-mental-illness/#.VHUXFF-IB>
- Canadian Journalism Forum on Violence and Trauma. (2014). *Mindset: Reporting on mental health*. Retrieved from <http://mindset-mediaguide.ca/>
- Caputo, N.M. & Rouner, D. (2011). Narrative processing of entertainment media and mental illness stigma. *Health Communication*, 26(7), 595-604. doi: 10.1080/10410236.2011.560787
- Case demonstrates need for mental-health reform. (2016, February 23). *Winnipeg Free Press*. Retrieved from <http://www.winnipegfreepress.com/opinion/analysis/vincent-li-case-shows-need-for-mental-health-reform-369841731.html>
- Case of Québec doctor who killed his kids, then walked free, returns to court. (2013, September 29). *National Post*. Retrieved from <http://news.nationalpost.com/news/canada/case-of-quebec-doctor-who-killed-his-kids-then-walked-free-returns-to-court>
- Child killer Guy Turcotte hopes to be doctor again. (2012, January 12). *CBC News*. Retrieved from <http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/montreal/child-killer-guy-turcotte-hopes-to-be-doctor-again-1.1245253>
- Child killer Turcotte 'ideal candidate' for release. (2012, March 15). *CBC News*. Retrieved from <http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/montreal/child-killer-turcotte-ideal-candidate-for-release-1.1135706>
- Child killer's ex-wife speaks out against his release. (2011, April 20). *The Globe and Mail*. Retrieved from <http://www.theglobeandmail.com/news/british-columbia/child-killers-ex-wife-speaks-out-against-his-release/article552981/>
- 'Compassion and revulsion': Book imagines perspective of Greyhound bus beheader. (2015, March 23). *CTV News*. Retrieved from <http://www.ctvnews.ca/canada/compassion-and-revulsion-book-imagines-perspective-of-greyhound-bus-beheader-1.2292675>

- Corrections and Conditional Release Act (1992, c. 20). Retrieved from the Government of Canada website: <http://laws-lois.justice.gc.ca/eng/acts/C-44.6/>
- Corrigan, P. W., Powell, K. J., & Michaels, P. J. (2013). The effects of news stories on the stigma of mental illness. *The Journal of Nervous and Mental Disease*, 201(3), 179-182.
- Corrigan, P. W., Watson, A. C., Gracia, G., Slopen, N., Rasinski, K., Hall, L. L. (2005). Newspaper stories as measures of structural stigma. *Psychiatric Services*, 56, 551-556.
- Court hears of voices, fear and rage as it weighs question of responsibility. (2009, March 3). *The Globe and Mail*. Retrieved from <http://www.theglobeandmail.com/news/national/court-hears-of-voices-fear-and-rage-as-it-weighs-question-of-responsibility/article1149531/>
- Crawford, M. G. (2008). *The journalist's legal guide* (5th ed.). Toronto, ON: Thomson Canada Limited.
- Criminal Code (1985, c C-46). Retrieved from the Government of Canada website: <http://laws-lois.justice.gc.ca/eng/acts/C-46/>
- Critics slam new 'high-risk' designation for mentally ill offenders. (2013, April 28). *The Globe and Mail*. Retrieved from <http://www.theglobeandmail.com/news/national/critics-slam-new-high-risk-designation-for-mentally-ill-offenders/article11603053/>
- Crocker, A. G., Hartford, K., & Heslop, L. (2009). Gender differences in police encounters among persons with and without serious mental illness. *Psychiatric Services*, 60(1), 86-93. <http://dx.doi.org.proxy.lib.sfu.ca/10.1176/ps.2009.60.1.86>
- Crocker, A. G., Seto, M. C., Nicholls, T. L., & Côté, G. (2013). *Description and processing of individuals found not criminally responsible on account of mental disorder accused of 'serious violent offences'*. Retrieved from https://ntp-ptn.org/NCRMD-SVO-NTPteam_March_2013.pdf
- Crocker, A. G., Seto, M. C., Nicholls, T. L., & Côté, G. (2015a). The national trajectory project of individuals found not criminally responsible on account of mental disorder in Canada. *Canadian Journal of Psychiatry*, 60(3), 96-97.
- Crocker, A. G., Nicholls, T. L., Seto, M.C., Charette, Y., Côté, G., & Caulet, M. (2015b). The national trajectory project of individuals found not criminally responsible on account of mental disorder in Canada. Part 1: Context and methods. *Canadian Journal of Psychiatry*, 60(3), 98-105.

- Crocker, A. G., Charette, Y., Seto, M.C., Nicholls, T. L., Côté, G., & Caulet, M. (2015c). The national trajectory project of individuals found not criminally responsible on account of mental disorder in Canada. Part 2: The people behind the label. *Canadian Journal of Psychiatry*, 60(3), 106-116.
- Dad admits to killing kids in jail-house recording. (2009, October 13). *CTV News*. Retrieved from <http://bc.ctvnews.ca/dad-admits-to-killing-kids-in-jail-house-recording-1.443081>
- Date is set for review of Vince Li's case. (2009, March 10). *CTV News*. Retrieved from <http://winnipeg.ctvnews.ca/date-is-set-for-review-of-vince-li-s-case-1.378078>
- Day, D. M. (1985). *Portrayal of mental illness in the media: A content analysis of Canadian newspapers. (Master of Arts thesis)*. Retrieved from <http://scholar.uwindsor.ca/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=4131&context=etd>
- Denying Li's walks 'political pandering'. (2010, June 5). *Winnipeg Free Press*. Retrieved from <http://www.winnipegfreepress.com/local/denying-lis-walks-political-pandering-95678234.html>
- Department of Justice Canada. (2014). *Protecting Canadians from high-risk accused persons found not criminally responsible on account of mental disorder*. Retrieved from <http://news.gc.ca/web/article-en.do?mthd=index&ctr.page=1&nid=832409>
- Desai, A. (2013). *Towards an integrated network: Working together to avoid criminalization of people with mental health problems (2nd ed.)*. Retrieved from <http://www.publicsafety.gc.ca/lbrr/archives/cn63638129-eng.pdf>
- Doc asks that bus beheader be allowed to go to beaches, Winnipeg. (2013, May 13). *CTV News*. Retrieved from <http://winnipeg.ctvnews.ca/doc-asks-that-bus-beheader-be-allowed-to-go-to-beaches-winnipeg-1.1278933>
- Doctor who killed kids has 'rage and anger' issues. (2011, November 4). *CBC News*. Retrieved from <http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/montreal/doctor-who-killed-kids-has-rage-and-anger-issues-1.1061306>
- Edney, D. R. (2004). *Mass media and mental illness: A literature review*. Retrieved from http://ontario.cmha.ca/files/2012/07/mass_media.pdf
- Emotional Stephen Harper tears up over controversial bill to keep mentally ill murderers in prison longer. (2013, February 8). *National Post*. Retrieved from <http://news.nationalpost.com/news/canada/canadian-politics/emotional-stephen-harper-tears-up-over-controversial-bill-to-keep-mentally-ill-murderers-in-prison-longer>

- Ex-wife should have voice in Schoenborn's release: expert. (2011, April 17). *CTV News*. Retrieved from <http://www.ctvnews.ca/ex-wife-should-have-voice-in-schoenborn-s-release-expert-1.632585>
- Family of murdered kids furious over delay in Schoenborn review. (2012, March 12). *CTV News*. Retrieved from <http://www.ctvnews.ca/family-of-murdered-kids-furious-over-delay-in-schoenborn-review-1.780705>
- Federal government denounces release of Québec doctor who killed his two children. (2012, December 13). *National Post*. Retrieved from <http://news.nationalpost.com/news/canada/guy-turcotte>
- Film explores the meaning of 'not criminally responsible'. (2013, April 19). *The Globe and Mail*. Retrieved from <http://www.theglobeandmail.com/news/national/film-explores-the-meaning-of-not-criminally-responsible/article11436121/?page=all>
- Full statement from Conservative MP Shelly Glover on Vince Li being granted unescorted visits. (2014, February 28). *CTV News*. Retrieved from <http://winnipeg.ctvnews.ca/full-statement-from-conservative-mp-shelly-glover-on-vince-li-being-granted-unescorted-visits-1.1708729>
- Grabe, M. E., Zhou, S., & Barnett, B. (2001). Explicating sensationalism in television news: Content and the bells and whistles of form. *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media*, 45(4), 633-655. doi: 10.1207/s15506878jobem4504_6
- Greyhound bus beheader Vince Li: 'I don't hear voices'. (2012, May 22). *National Post*. Retrieved from <http://news.nationalpost.com/news/greyhound-bus-beheader-vince-li-i-dont-hear-voices>
- Greyhound bus killer found not criminally responsible. (2009, March 5). *CBC News*. Retrieved from <http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/manitoba/greyhound-bus-killer-found-not-criminally-responsible-1.784889>
- Greyhound bus killer gets supervised outings from hospital. (2012, May 17). *CBC News*. Retrieved from <http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/manitoba/greyhound-bus-killer-gets-supervised-outings-from-hospital-1.1131578>
- Greyhound killer believed man he beheaded was an alien. (2012, May 22). *CBC News*. Retrieved from <http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/manitoba/greyhound-killer-believed-man-he-beheaded-was-an-alien-1.1131575>
- Greyhound killer Li granted walks. (2010, June 3). *CBC News*. Retrieved from <http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/manitoba/greyhound-killer-li-granted-walks-1.877470>

- Greyhound pays \$450 to couple who witnessed killing. (2009, March 5). *CBC News*. Retrieved from <http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/manitoba/greyhound-pays-450-to-couple-who-witnessed-killing-1.784892>
- Greyhound victim's family holds vigil at legislature. (2008, October 16). *CTV News*. Retrieved from <http://www.ctvnews.ca/greyhound-victim-s-family-holds-vigil-at-legislature-1.334341>
- Greyhound victim's mother concerned for Li's future. (2011, May 21). *CTV News*. Retrieved from <http://www.ctvnews.ca/greyhound-victim-s-mother-concerned-for-li-s-future-1.646773>
- Groups raise concerns over bill to protect public from mentally ill offenders. (2013, March 11). *The Globe and Mail*. Retrieved from <http://www.theglobeandmail.com/news/politics/groups-raise-concerns-over-bill-to-protect-public-from-mentally-ill-offenders/article9635457/>
- Guy Turcotte granted conditional release pending murder trial. (2014, September 12). *CBC News*. Retrieved from <http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/montreal/guy-turcotte-granted-conditional-release-pending-murder-trial-1.2763718>
- Guy Turcotte sentenced to 17 years in prison. (2016, January 15). *CTV News*. Retrieved from <http://montreal.ctvnews.ca/guy-turcotte-sentenced-to-17-years-in-prison-1.2738763>
- Guy Turcotte sobs as ex-wife Isabelle Gaston gives impact statement. (2015, December 18). *CBC News*. Retrieved from <http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/montreal/guy-turcotte-murder-trial-sentencing-1.3370627>
- Guy Turcotte to remain free pending murder trial, appeal court rules. (2014, December 3). *The Globe and Mail*. Retrieved from <http://www.theglobeandmail.com/news/national/guy-turcotte-to-remain-free-pending-murder-trial-appeal-court-rules/article21907683/>
- Guy Turcotte's challenge of parole eligibility accepted by Québec's top court. (2016, February 23). *CBC News*. Retrieved from <http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/montreal/guy-turcotte-murder-conviction-appeal-1.3459613>
- Hodgetts, D., Chamberlain, K., Scammell, M., Karapu, R., & Nikora, L. W. (2008). Constructing health news: Possibilities for a civic-oriented journalism. *Health, 12*(1), 43-66.
- Hundreds descend on Québec courthouses to protest Turcotte verdict. (2011, August 6). *CTV News*. Retrieved from <http://montreal.ctvnews.ca/hundreds-descend-on-quebec-courthouses-to-protest-turcotte-verdict-1.680310>

- Inman, S. (2012, August 14). Untreated psychosis and violence: It's not a stigma if it's true. *The Huffington Post*. Retrieved from http://www.huffingtonpost.ca/susan-inman/mental-illness-and-violence_b_1771229.html
- Jagdeo, A., Cox, B. J., Stein, M. B., & Sareen, J. (2009). Negative attitudes toward help seeking for mental illness in 2 population-based surveys from the United States and Canada. *Canadian Journal of Psychiatry*, *54*(11), 757-766.
- Jeffrey Arenburg's story fuels not-criminally-responsible debate. (2014, January 16). *CBC News*. Retrieved from <http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/jeffrey-arenborg-s-story-fuels-not-criminally-responsible-debate-1.2499419>
- Kelly, Justice F. B. W. (Ed.) (1995). Proceedings from *The Society for the Reform of Criminal Law Ninth International Conference*. Santa Monica, CA: International Centre for Criminal Law Reform and Criminal Justice Policy.
- Larsson, A., Oxman, A. D., Carling, C., & Herrin, J. (2003). Medical messages in the media—barriers and solutions to improving medical journalism. *Health Expectations*, *6*(4), 323-331.
- Leung, D. K. K. & Lee, F. L. F. (2015). How journalists value positive news. *Journalism Studies*, *16*(2), 289-304. doi: 10.1080/1461670X.2013.869062
- Li murder trial begins this morning. (2009, March 3). *Winnipeg Free Press*. Retrieved from <http://www.winnipegfreepress.com/local/NCR-finding-likely-to-be-at-heart-of-Li-trial-40638137.html>
- Li not criminally responsible. (2009, March 5). *CTV News*. Retrieved from <http://winnipeg.ctvnews.ca/li-not-criminally-responsible-1.376220>
- Link, B. G. & Phelan, J. C. (2001). Conceptualizing stigma. *Annual Review of Sociology*, *27*, 363-385.
- Livingston, J. D., Rossiter, K. R., & Verdun-Jones, S. N. (2011). 'Forensic' labeling: An empirical assessment of its effects on self-stigma for people with severe mental illness. *Psychiatry Research*, *188*(1), 115-122.
- Manitoba bus beheader granted more freedoms. (2015, February 27). *The Globe and Mail*. Retrieved from <http://www.theglobeandmail.com/news/national/manitoba-bus-beheader-granted-more-freedoms/article23235965/>
- Man who beheaded bus passenger in Manitoba wins right to unescorted trips. (2014, February 27). *The Globe and Mail*. Retrieved from <http://www.theglobeandmail.com/news/national/man-who-beheaded-bus-passenger-in-manitoba-wins-right-to-unescorted-trips/article17140007/>

- Man who beheaded fellow bus passenger wants to live on his own. (2016, February 23). *Winnipeg Free Press*. Retrieved from <http://www.winnipegfreepress.com/breakingnews/man-who-beheaded-fellow-bus-passenger-seeks-looser-restrictions-369832141.html>
- Mautner, G. (2008). Analyzing newspapers, magazines and other print media. In R. Wodak and M. Krzyżanowski (Eds.), *Qualitative discourse analysis in the social sciences* (30-53). New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- McKenna, B., Thom, K., Simpson, A. I. F. (2007). Media coverage of homicide involving mentally disordered offenders: A matched comparison study. *International Journal of Forensic Mental Health*, 6(1), 57-63.
- McKercher, C. & Cumming, C. (1998). *The Canadian reporter* (2nd ed.). Scarborough, ON: Nelson Thomson Learning.
- Mental Health Commission of Canada. (2012). Changing directions, changing lives: The mental health strategy for Canada. Retrieved from <http://strategy.mentalhealthcommission.ca/pdf/strategy-text-en.pdf>.
- Mental Health Commission of Canada. (2013). *Making the case for investing in mental health in Canada*. Retrieved from <http://www.mentalhealthcommission.ca/English/document/5210/making-case-investing-mental-health-canada-background-key-facts>
- Mental Health Commission of Canada. (2015). *The National Trajectory Project Fact Sheet*. Retrieved from <http://www.mentalhealthcommission.ca/English/document/71181/national-trajectory-project>
- Mentally ill and 'out' but not yet embraced. (2012, January 13). *The Globe and Mail*. Retrieved from <http://www.theglobeandmail.com/life/health-and-fitness/health/conditions/mentally-ill-and-out-but-not-yet-embraced/article1358679/?page=all>
- Merritt raises money for grieving mother. (2008, April 13). *CTV News*. Retrieved from <http://bc.ctvnews.ca/merritt-raises-money-for-grieving-mother-1.288879>
- Miladinovic, Z. & Lukassen, J. (2014). Verdicts of not criminally responsible on account of mental disorder in adult criminal courts, 2005/06-2011/12. *Statistics Canada*. Retrieved from <http://www.statcan.gc.ca/pub/85-002-x/2014001/article/14085-eng.htm>
- Mother seeks death penalty after son beheaded. (2008, October 10). *The Globe and Mail*. Retrieved from <http://www.theglobeandmail.com/news/national/mother-seeks-death-penalty-after-son-beheaded/article1350220/>

- Murder of Schoenborn children was preventable says B.C. child advocate. (2012, March 1). *National Post*. Retrieved from <http://news.nationalpost.com/news/canada/murder-of-schoenborn-children-was-preventable-says-b-c-child-advocate>
- Nairn, R. (1999). Does the use of psychiatrists as sources of information improve media depictions of mental illness? A pilot study. *Australian and New Zealand Journal of Psychiatry*, 33(4), 583-589.
- Nairn, R. G. (2007). Media portrayals of mental illness, or is it madness? A review. *Australian Psychologist*, 42(2), 138-146.
- Nairn, R. G. & Coverdale, J. H. (2005). People never see us living well: an appraisal of the personal stories about mental illness in a prospective print media sample. *Australian and New Zealand Journal of Psychiatry*, 39(4), 281-287.
- Nairn, R., Coverdale, J., & Claasen, D. (2001). From source material to news story in New Zealand print media: A prospective study of the stigmatizing processes in depicting mental illness. *Australian and New Zealand Journal of Psychiatry*, 35(5), 654-659.
- Nairn, R. G., Coverdale, J., & Claasen, D. (2002). Depictions of mental illness in print media: A prospective national sample. *Australian and New Zealand Journal of Psychiatry*, 36(5), 697-700. doi: 10.1046/j.1440-1614.2002.00998x
- Nawková, L., Nawka, A., Adámková, T., Rukavina, T. V., Holcnerová, P., Kuzman, M. R., Jovanović, N., Brborović, O., Bednárová, B., Žuchová, S., Miovský, M., & Raboch, J. (2012). The picture of mental health/illness in the printed media in three central European countries. *Journal of Health Communication*, 17(1), 22-40.
- New legislation would keep more mentally ill offenders behind bars. (2012, November 22). *The Globe and Mail*. Retrieved from <http://www.theglobeandmail.com/news/national/new-legislation-would-keep-more-mentally-ill-offenders-behind-bars/article5579069/>
- Newman, K. & Newman, A. (2015). *All Out: A father and son confront the hard truths that made them better men*. Toronto, ON: Random House Canada.
- NewsWatch Canada. (n.d.). *News Values*. Retrieved from <http://www.sfu.ca/cmns/research/newswatch/pcc/values.html>
- Not criminally responsible reform act faces criticism. (2013, February 14). *The Globe and Mail*. Retrieved from <http://www.theglobeandmail.com/news/british-columbia/not-criminally-responsible-reform-act-faces-criticism/article8710987/>

- Offenders deemed not criminally responsible unlikely to reoffend: experts. (2015, March 2). *CBC News*. Retrieved from <http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/manitoba/offenders-deemed-not-criminally-responsible-unlikely-to-reoffend-experts-1.2979284>
- Office of the Correctional Investigator. (2011). *Mental health and corrections*. Retrieved from <http://www.oci-bec.gc.ca/cnt/comm/presentations/presentations20120318-eng.aspx?texthighlight=mental+illness+federal+offenders>
- Oliphant, B. (2013). Freedom of the press as a discrete constitutional guarantee. *McGill Law Journal*, 59(2), 283-336. doi: 10.7202/1022310ar
- Olstead, R. (2002). Contesting the text: Canadian media depictions of the conflation of mental illness and criminality. *Sociology of Health & Illness*, 24(5), 621-643.
- Ottawa renews push to limit mentally ill offenders' release. (2013, November 25). *The Globe and Mail*. Retrieved from <http://www.theglobeandmail.com/news/politics/ottawa-renews-push-to-limit-mentally-ill-offenders-release/article15598423/>
- Ottawa to introduce new bill to keep more mentally ill offenders behind bars. (2012, November 22). *CTV News*. Retrieved from <http://winnipeg.ctvnews.ca/ottawa-to-introduce-new-bill-to-keep-more-mentally-ill-offenders-behind-bars-1.1050008>
- Panel hears that Vince Li should get more freedom. (2012, May 14). *CTV News*. Retrieved from <http://www.ctvnews.ca/panel-hears-that-vince-li-should-get-more-freedom-1.809806>
- Palys, T. & Atchison, C. (2008). *Research Decisions: Quantitative and Qualitative Perspectives* (4th ed.). Ontario: Nelson Education Ltd.
- Parliament of Canada. (2006). *Out of the shadows at last: Transforming mental health, mental illness and addiction services in Canada*. Retrieved from <http://www.parl.gc.ca/content/sen/committee/391/soci/rep/rep02may06-e.htm>
- People don't want to hear Vince Li is getting better. (2014, February 28). *Winnipeg Sun*. Retrieved from <http://www.winnipegsun.com/2014/02/28/people-dont-want-to-hear-vince-li-is-getting-better>
- Privacy, the internet and the impossibility of the 'right to be forgotten'. (2014, July 11). *The Globe and Mail*. Retrieved from <http://www.theglobeandmail.com/globedebate/editorials/forget-me-but-dont-forget-to-protect-privacy-in-the-firstplace/article19572676/>
- Psychiatrist wary of not criminally responsible proposal. (2013, June 5). *CBC News*. Retrieved from <http://www.cbc.ca/news/politics/psychiatrist-wary-of-not-criminally-responsible-proposal-1.1322277>

- Québec cardiologist who killed his kids is out after less than 4 years. (2012, December 12). *The Globe and Mail*. Retrieved from <http://www.theglobeandmail.com/news/national/quebec-cardiologist-who-killed-his-kids-is-out-after-less-than-4-years/article6282457/>
- Québec MD not criminally responsible for killing kids. (2011, July 11). *CBC News*. Retrieved from <http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/montreal/quebec-md-not-criminally-responsible-for-killing-kids-1.995683>
- R. c. Turcotte*, 5587 Superior Court of Québec. (2012). Retrieved from the CanLII website: <http://canlii.ca/t/ftpjj>
- R. c. Turcotte*, 1916 Québec Court of Appeal. (2013). Retrieved from the CanLII website: <http://canlii.ca/t/g30kv>
- R. v. Schoenborn*, 220 Supreme Court of British Columbia. (2010). Retrieved from the CanLII website: <http://canlii.ca/t/285nb>
- R. v. Schoenborn*, 2254 British Columbia Supreme Court. (2015). Retrieved from the CanLII website: <http://canlii.ca/t/gmc75>
- Residents oppose day passes for dad who killed kids. (2011, April 20). *CTV News*. Retrieved from <http://www.ctvnews.ca/residents-oppose-day-passes-for-dad-who-killed-kids-1.633922>
- Review board grants Vince Li supervised time outdoors. (2010, June 4). *CTV News*. Retrieved from <http://winnipeg.ctvnews.ca/review-board-grants-vince-li-supervised-time-outdoors-1.519057>
- Rob Ford in trouble for saying what others think about Kachkar case. (2013, March 26). *National Post*. Retrieved from <http://news.nationalpost.com/full-comment/christie-blatchford-rob-ford-in-trouble-for-saying-what-others-think-about-kachkar-case>
- Rose, D. (1998). Television, madness and community care. *Journal of Community & Applied Social Psychology*, 8(3), 213-228.
- Schizophrenia group supports more freedom for Li. (2012, May 15). *CTV News*. Retrieved from <http://www.ctvnews.ca/schizophrenia-group-supports-more-freedom-for-li-1.810133>
- Schneier, B. (2013, February 26.) The court of public opinion is about mob justice and reputation as revenge. *WIRED Magazine*. Retrieved from <http://www.wired.com/2013/02/court-of-public-opinion/>
- Schoenborn hearing could be delayed. (2016, January 26). *Tri-City News*. Retrieved from <http://www.tricitynews.com/news/schoenborn-hearing-could-be-delayed-1.2159252>

- Schoenborn was a model dad, former wife tells murder trial. (2009, October 14). *The Globe and Mail*. Retrieved from <http://www.theglobeandmail.com/news/british-columbia/schoenborn-was-a-model-dad-former-wife-tells-murder-trial/article4214954/>
- Shock and anger as Guy Turcotte released three years after stabbing his children. (2012, December 12). *CTV News*. Retrieved from <http://montreal.ctvnews.ca/shock-and-anger-as-guy-turcotte-released-three-years-after-stabbing-his-children-1.1076638>
- Sieff, E. (2003). Media frames of mental illnesses: The potential impact of negative frames. *Journal of Mental Health, 12*(3), 259-269.
- Smith, R. (2007). Media depictions of health topics: Challenge and stigma formats. *Journal of Health Communication, 12*(3), 233-249.
- Stigma of mental illness a 'disturbing' trend in workplace. (2014, March 10). *CBC News*. Retrieved from <http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/manitoba/stigma-of-mental-illness-a-disturbing-trend-in-workplace-1.2566484>
- Stuart, H. (2003). Stigma and the daily news: Evaluation of a newspaper intervention. *Canadian Journal of Psychiatry, 48*(10), 651-656. Retrieved from <https://ww1.cpa-apc.org/Publications/Archives/CJP/2003/november/stuart.asp>
- Stuart, H. (2006). Media portrayal of mental illness and its treatments: What effect does it have on people with mental illness? *CNS Drugs, 20*(2), 99-106. doi: 1172-7047/06/0002-0099
- Suspect charged with beheading to face trial in 2009. (2009, January 1). *CTV News*. Retrieved from <http://www.ctvnews.ca/suspect-charged-with-beheading-to-face-trial-in-2009-1.356347>
- Sutton, R. (2013). Canada's not criminally responsible reform act: Mental disorder and the danger of public safety. *Criminal Law Quarterly, 60*(1), 41.
- The Canadian Association of Journalists. (2011). *Principles for ethical journalism*. Retrieved from <http://www.caj.ca/principles-for-ethical-journalism/>
- The Canadian Association of Journalists Ethics Advisory Committee. (2011). *Ethics guidelines*. Retrieved from <http://www.caj.ca/ethics-guidelines/>
- The Canadian Press. (2006). *The Canadian Press stylebook: A guide for writing and editing* (14th ed.). P. Tasko (Ed.). Toronto, ON: Library and Archives Canada.
- Tormented by mental illness. (2009, March 5). *Winnipeg Free Press*. Retrieved from http://www.winnipegfreepress.com/opinion/columnists/tormented_by_mental_illness-40769547.html

- Torrey, E. F. (2001). Stigma and violence: Isn't it time to connect the dots? *Schizophrenia Bulletin*, 37(5), 892-896.
- Tout le Québec en parle: On Jews, devils, and horrendous mathematics. (2012, September 28). *National Post*. Retrieved from <http://news.nationalpost.com/full-comment/tout-le-quebec-en-parle-on-jews-devils-and-horrendous-mathematics>
- Traynor, S. (2002). *Sentencing mentally disordered offenders: The causal link*. Retrieved from <http://www.judcom.nsw.gov.au/publications/st/st23>
- Trial for Vince Li wraps-up Wednesday. (2009, March 4). *CTV News*. Retrieved from <http://winnipeg.ctvnews.ca/trial-for-vince-li-wraps-up-wednesday-1.375677>
- Turcotte's release highlights need to tighten rules: Moore. (2012, December 13). *CTV News*. Retrieved from <http://www.ctvnews.ca/canada/turcotte-s-release-highlights-need-to-tighten-rules-moore-1.1078247>
- Victims' family frightened by Schoenborn decision. (2011, April 12). *CTV News*. Retrieved from <http://bc.ctvnews.ca/victims-family-frightened-by-schoenborn-decision-1.630547>
- Vince Li decision sparks war of words between Manitoba, Ottawa. (2014, March 1). *CBC News*. Retrieved from <http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/manitoba/vince-li-decision-sparks-war-of-words-between-manitoba-ottawa-1.2556328>
- Vince Li move to independent living considered by review board. (2016, February 22). *CBC News*. Retrieved from <http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/manitoba/vince-li-move-to-independent-living-considered-by-review-board-1.3459159?cmp=rss>
- Vince Li not criminally responsible for beheading. (2009, March 5). *CTV News*. Retrieved from <http://www.ctvnews.ca/vince-li-not-criminally-responsible-for-beheading-1.375979>
- Vince Li OK'd to move to Winnipeg group home. (2015, May 8). *CBC News*. Retrieved from <http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/manitoba/vince-li-ok-d-to-move-to-winnipeg-group-home-1.3064950>
- Vince Li wins right to escorted trips into community. (2012, May 17). *National Post*. Retrieved from <http://news.nationalpost.com/news/canada/vince-li-passes>
- Vincent Li granted unsupervised outings. (2014, February 27). *CBC News*. Retrieved from <http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/manitoba/vince-li-granted-unsupervised-outings-1.2554175>
- Vincent Li speaks for the first time. (2012, May 28). *CTV News*. Retrieved from <http://winnipeg.ctvnews.ca/vince-li-speaks-for-the-first-time-1.830470>

- Violence and mental illness: case of Norway's Breivik reveals our prejudices. (2012, April 30). *The Globe and Mail*. Retrieved from <http://www.theglobeandmail.com/life/health-and-fitness/violence-and-mental-illness-case-of-norways-breivik-reveals-our-prejudices/article4103687/>
- Voices told Li victim was an alien: supporter. (2012, May 22). *CTV News*. Retrieved from <http://www.ctvnews.ca/voices-told-li-victim-was-an-alien-supporter-1.830591>
- Wahl, O. F. (2003). News media portrayal of mental illness: Implications for public policy. *The American Behavioral Scientist*, 46(12), 1594-1600.
- We can't legislate lost souls. (2014, October 28). *The Globe and Mail*. Retrieved from <http://www.theglobeandmail.com/opinion/we-cant-legislate-lost-souls/article21330013/>
- What 'Tim's Law' tells us. (2008, October 31). *National Post*. Retrieved from <http://www.nationalpost.com/opinion/columnists/story.html?id=a08cb31f-97fb-4261-b5e2-d1cb9d32ab89>
- When beheadings become dinner conversation. (2008, August 4). *The Globe and Mail*. Retrieved from <http://www.theglobeandmail.com/life/when-beheadings-become-dinner-conversation/article715409/>
- Whitley, R. (2015). Proceedings from *Mental illness in the news media: Analysis of trends and educational interventions to improve coverage*. Vancouver, BC: University of British Columbia.
- Whitley, R. & Berry, S. (2013). Trends of newspaper coverage of mental illness in Canada: 2005-2010. *Canadian Journal of Psychiatry*, 58(2), 107-112.
- Winko v. British Columbia (Forensic Psychiatric Institute), Supreme Court of Canada. (1999). Retrieved from the CanLII website: <http://canlii.ca/t/1fq1z>
- With his new 'life means life' bill, Harper has found his wedge. (2015, March 4). *National Post*. Retrieved from <http://news.nationalpost.com/full-comment/tasha-kheiriddin-with-his-new-life-means-life-bill-harper-has-found-his-wedge>

Appendix A.

Example of positive tone article

“Allan Schoenborn: a psychiatrist’s view on patients’ risks of re-offending”

A forensic psychiatrist who works with patients found not criminally responsible for gruesome acts says people who commit them due to mental illness are not necessarily at high risk of re-offending.

“They are, by and large, people with serious and persistent mental illnesses that can be treated,” [Dr. Elisabeth Zoffman] said. “The nature of the crime has more to do with their mental state and their psychosis than who they are.”

“My direct experience is people who are treated with long-term, good treatment and who don’t have any other risk factors associated with violence actually do quite well,” said Zoffmann.

The full story can be retrieved from *CBC News*: <http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/british-columbia/allan-schoenborn-a-psychiatrist-s-view-on-patients-risks-of-re-offending-1.2974727>

Appendix B.

Example of negative tone article

“After their release, most mentally ill offenders left unchecked”

Yet it’s not while patients like Mr. Li are under psychiatric care that people should be concerned, say victims and advocates for mentally ill offenders. It’s after their medication takes effect and the fog of psychosis lifts, when many are released without supervision or monitoring.

An investigation by The Canadian Press has found the vast majority resume their normal lives without any supervision at all.

... Someone who’s been convicted of murder and given a life sentence in Canada spends their life being monitored by the parole system. But an absolute discharge from a review board is just that—people aren’t followed and they don’t have to report to anyone.

The full story can be retrieved from *The Globe and Mail*:

<http://www.theglobeandmail.com/news/national/after-their-release-most-mentally-ill-offenders-left-unchecked/article1319586/>

Appendix C.

Example of neutral tone article

“Child killer Turcotte wants to be freed prior to trial”

A former Quebec doctor Guy Turcotte, who stabbed his two children to death, is hoping to be released from a psychiatric hospital before his new trial.

Guy Turcotte's lawyers are set to appear in court in Saint-Jerome on Sept. 3-4 to argue on his behalf.

His new trial has been scheduled for September 2015.

The full story can be retrieved from *CTV News*: <http://montreal.ctvnews.ca/child-killer-turcotte-wants-to-be-freed-prior-to-trial-1.1970738>

Appendix D.

Example of ambivalent tone article

“10 voices on the ‘not criminally responsible’ reform bill”

Bill C-54, the not criminally responsible reform (NCR) act, is currently being studied by the House of Commons justice and human rights committee, and on Wednesday MPs heard a range of opinions on the emotionally charged issue.

Some victims have been lobbying the government to change the NCR system, arguing that their rights aren't respected by it, but some mental-health advocates are concerned about the effects of the reforms, and Canada's corrections investigator Howard Sapers has also raised questions about whether it will result in more mentally ill people in prison rather than in hospitals.

... Justice Minister Rob Nicholson testified at the committee on Monday that the provinces support the proposals and that he's talked to many victims, but opposition MPs have been raising questions about who else was consulted in the drafting of the bill.

The full story can be retrieved from *CBC News*: <http://www.cbc.ca/news/politics/10-voices-on-the-not-criminally-responsible-reform-bill-1.1330502>

Appendix E.

Number of articles per reporter

Reporter	Number of articles
Adrian Humphreys	1
Alexandre Robillard	1
Allison Cross	1
Allison Jones	1
André Picard	3
Andrea Woo	1
Andy Blatchford	5
Andy Johnson	1
Angela Brown	1
Angela Mulholland	1
Anna Mehler Paperny	1
Becky Rynor	1
Ben Miljure	1
Bethany Lindsay	3
Bill Graveland	1
Bradley Bouzane	1
Bruce Cheadle	2
Bruce Owen	1
Cam Fortems	1
Carol Off	1
Catherine Dawson March	1
Catherine Solyom	1
Cheryl Holmes	1
Chinta Puxley	10
Chris Selley	1
Christie Blatchford	4
Colby Cosh	2
Corinne Smith	1
Dan Lett	1
Darcy Wintonyk	2
David Asper	3
Dene Moore	6
Denise Davy	1
Dirk Meissner	2
Erin Anderssen	2
Father Raymound de Souza	1
Gary Mason	1
Geoff Nixon	1
Gordon Sinclair Jr.	2
Graeme Hamilton	3

Reporter	Number of articles
Greg Joyce	2
Helen Branswell	2
Ian Bailey	32
Ingrid Peritz	2
James Cowan	2
Jane Armstrong	1
Jeff Douglas	1
Jeff Keele	1
Jeffrey Jones	2
Jen Gerson	1
Joe Friesen	7
John Ivison	1
Johnathan Kay	2
Joseph Brean	2
Josh Visser	1
Josh Wingrove	3
Judith Timson	2
Julia Sisler	2
Justine Hunter	10
Karen Siedman	1
Katherine Wilton	2
Kelly Cryderman	2
Kim Mackrael	6
Kirk Makin	2
Larry Kusch	2
Laura Baziuk	1
Laura Tupper	1
Les Perreaux	2
Linda Hoang	1
Lindsay Jolivet	1
Lisa Arrowsmith	2
Lorne Hunter	1
Mark Gollom	1
Mark Hume	3
Matt Gurney	1
Megan Fitzpatrick	3
Megan O'Toole	1
Meghan Roberts	1
Melissa Leong	1
Mike Blanchfield	2
Mike McIntyre	17
Natalie Clancy	1
Nathan Vanderklippe	1
Neal Hall	1
Nelson Wyatt	1
Patrick Brethour	1

Reporter	Number of articles
Patrick White	9
Philip Woolgar	1
Robert Koopmans	9
Robert Matas	2
Roy Green	1
Sarah Boesveld	1
Sarah Stevens	1
Sidhartha Banerjee	12
Sonia Sunger	1
Stephen Quinn	1
Steve Lambert	11
Sue Montgomery	17
Suzanne Fournier	1
Tamara King	1
Tamsyn Burgmann	4
Tasha Kheiriddin	1
Terri Theodore	2
Tobi Cohen	3
Tristin Hopper	3
Wendy Stueck	1
Yves Boisvert	1
Zach Dubinsky	1