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Representing Stalking in the News

by

Jan Cavicchi

Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of Master of Arts
in Criminology

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ABSTRACT

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Representing Stalking in the News
April 11, 2005.

This thesis examines the news media's representation of stalking. Through claims-making, I investigate dominant constructions of who stalks, who gets stalked, the relationship between stalkers and their victims, and common tactics that stalkers deploy. I also analyze the relationship between the experts sourced with the news and dominant stalking constructions that have mobilized Canada's anti-stalking legislation and subsequent amendments and reforms in Canada, the United States, and other countries reflected in Canadian national news.

Following Foucault's suggestions for analyzing discourse, I take this analysis one step further and examine the relationship between power, knowledge, truth, and discourse in relation to stalking. I argue that dominant constructions have contributed to a "politics of truth" about stalking, which experts use to evaluate new truth claims. In turn, they explicate discursive rules or show modifications in the rules as new claims come forth and challenge existing truths. I show how subjugated discourses yield power through the media with new constitutions of victims and stalkers.

Finally, I illustrate that multiple discourses co-exist in the media, each adhering to different discursive styles. Drawing from Baudrillard, I argue that these discourses vie for prominence in consumer societies, yet their appeal is not a reflection of the discourse per se. Rather, it is based on the status of the victims and stalkers involved. I contend that news that involves celebrities focuses on manifest content, which seduces consumers to read or watch the news. Intimate stalking, however, comprises a large component of the constructions and discourse because it produces truth effects that enhance our understanding of stalking as a manifestation of violence against women.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

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.1.

Introduction

Introduction

Stalking is a term commonly used to describe a number of harassing pursuit

behaviours, including repeatedly contacting individuals, following them against their will,

sending gifts and other unwanted items, and destroying or damaging their property

(MacFarlane, 1997: 37; Emerson, Ferris & Gardner, 1998: 289; Goode, 1995: 21; Tjaden,

Thoennes & Allison, 2000: 7). During the 1980s, the American media was filled with

stories of women who had been harassed with telephone calls, letters, and gifts.

Annoying as these behaviours were to recipients, officials depicted them as sexual

harassment or obsession, not stalking (Emerson et al., 1998: 289).

Public awareness of stalking emerged from the experiences of two celebrities:

Theresa Saldana and Rebecca Schaeffer. As she was beginning her career, actress

Theresa Saldana captured the attention of a man named Arthur Jackson, who, after seeing

her in a movie, became infatuated. While residing in Scotland, he recognized the futility

of a union with the star, thus, he proceeded to the United States to kill her (Saunders,

1997: 38; Saunders, 1998: 26). Jackson reasoned that by committing this heinous attack,

he would be "discovered," receive the death penalty, and then could unite with Saldana in

the afterlife. Jackson hired a private detective who located Saldana's address through the

Department of Motor Vehicles. As he approached her property on March 18, 1982,

Jackson stabbed the young actress ten times. Fortunately, a witness intervened and after

undergoing extensive surgery, Saldana recovered from her ordeal. Jackson was sentenced

to twelve years in prison, yet continued to harass Saldana by sending her threatening

letters from prison. In 1988, he was convicted of threatening Saldana and received seven

additional years in prison (Saunders, 1997: 38; Saunders, 1998: 26; Toobin, 1997: 74).

Seven years later, actress Rebecca Schaeffer faced a similar situation. Robert

Bardo noticed her on the sitcom *My Sister Sam*, and started pursuing her with fan letters

(Lurie, 1990: 89-92). Schaeffer sent him a card and enclosed an autographed picture, a

friendly gesture that fuelled Bardo's delusions that their attraction was mutual (Saunders,

1997: 38; Saunders, 1998: 27). His behaviour took an ominous turn in 1989, when

Schaeffer landed a role in a movie that required her to appear in bed with a male

character. Bardo became enraged by Schaeffer's actions, which ran contrary to the "pure"

image he had constituted of her (Lurie, 1990: 89; Saunders, 1998: 27). He wrote his

sister a letter explaining that because he and Schaeffer could never be together, he had to

eliminate her. He read about Jackson's techniques and located Schaeffer's home address

through the Department of Motor Vehicles. On July 18, 1989, he fatally shot the 21-year-

old actress on the front step of her home (Gilligan, 1992: 285; Lurie, 1990: 94; Saunders,

1997: 37-38; Saunders, 1998: 27; Toobin, 1997: 74).

Her murder attracted increased media investigation into other celebrities' lives

who had been stalked, including Selena, David Letterman, Jodie Foster, Michael J. Fox,

Madonna, Monica Seles, Olivia Newton John, Anne Murray, and Sarah McLachlan to

name some of the more notable ones (Toobin, 1997: 74; Emerson et al., 1998: 289; Lurie, 1990: 90; Bjerregaard, 2000: 389; Goode, 1995: 22; Mullen, Pathe & Purcell, 2000: 56; MacFarlane, 1997: 37-38; Fitzgerald, 2000: 131-132).

Because of Schaeffer, California initiated the first anti-stalking legislation in 1990 and by 1995, all states had enacted similar legislation (Gilligan, 1992: 285-288; Goode, 1995: 21; Toobin, 1997: 80; Kamir, 2001: 175). In addition to state-level anti-stalking laws, the federal government established the *Model Antistalking Code* to assist each state in addressing this issue. This code defined sending unsolicited letters, following individuals, making unsolicited phone calls, sending unwanted gifts, and destroying or damaging another individual's property as stalking. Under the code, perpetrators did not have to overtly threaten their victims, nor did victims have to fear for their safety (National Criminal Justice Association, as cited in Tjaden et al., 1998: 8). Congressman Ed Royce, who introduced California's anti-stalking law also drafted the *Interstate Stalking Punishment and Prevention Act*, which was introduced on July 25, 1996. This act made it a federal felony to stalk someone across state borders or on federal property. Under this act, restraining orders issued in one state were enforceable in other states (Saunders, 1997: 38-39; Saunders, 1998: 35-36).

During the early 1990s, the Canadian media was filled with accounts of ordinary women stalked and murdered, often by men with whom they shared prior intimate relationships (MacFarlane, 1997: 39-40; Way, 1994: 384). Patricia Allen's story is a case in point. In 1991, as she was leaving her dentist's office in Ottawa, her former husband shot her with a crossbow. He had stalked her for several months. Another infamous

stalking occurred in 1993, when Manitoba residents Sherry and Maurice Paul were murdered in their home by Maurice's friend Andre Ducharme. After she married Maurice, Andre and Sherry became friends, but Andre wanted a more intimate relationship. Because she did not reciprocate his feelings, he stalked and eventually murdered them both (MacFarlane, 1997: 39-40).

In April 1993, Bill C-126 was read in the House of Commons. It included anti-stalking provisions that defined the problem as "criminal harassment" (Kong, 1997: 30). In August 1993, stalking became a criminal offence in Canada and it effectively criminalized behaviours that led to emotional abuse, a different type of harm than those usually found in the *Criminal Code*. The enactment of the criminal harassment law defined stalking as repeatedly following, watching or besetting another's home or workplace, repeatedly communicating with individuals, and engaging in threatening conduct alone, or in combination with other behaviours, that caused others to fear for their safety (Martin's Annual Criminal Code, 2004: 519-520).

The creation of the United States *Antistalking Code* and the Canadian criminal harassment law shifted the focus from celebrity victims stalked by strangers, to ordinary victims stalked by former spouses and boyfriends. However, when ordinary victims were involved, only the more extreme cases generated media attention; the media seemed fixated on celebrity cases (Sinclair & Frieze, 2000: 24).

Research Problem and Questions

This thesis explores the media's role in constructing stalking prior to its

criminalization and subsequent amendments using a variety of sources including Canadian newspapers, magazines, and the broadcast media. It analyzes the relationship between media discourse and power and studies how experts, including politicians, lawyers, police, community members, and members of women's organizations have shaped the knowledge on stalking through their claims. Applying Foucauldian theory, I examine stalking as a contested space where different discourses interact and conflict, and I incorporate Baudrillard's work on discourse style and the consumer society to explain why the media and the public prefer certain discourses involving celebrities.

My research includes quantitative and qualitative components. First, I provide descriptive information about newsworthiness, types of news stories, news content, and claims-making to provide a foundation for the various constructions on stalking. A qualitative analysis emphasizes shifts in the discursive rules of who constitutes victims, stalkers, and under what conditions stalking occurs. Next, I analyze differences in discursive styles that account for the perpetuation of certain discourses and victims over time, alluding to their consumer value.

I explore several questions: How did the Canadian media socially construct stalking before the criminal harassment law was created? Did constructions change following the enactment of the law? Have new forms of stalking been constituted in the news media? What are the competing discourses on stalking, and how did they emerge? Are truth claims guided by a "politics of truth" governing what can be said about stalking? Has this truth been modified or have multiple truth claims been accepted? Has claims-making been continuous or discontinuous and how is this relative to the exercise

of power/knowledge and the consumer society?

Contribution

Several studies alluded to the media's role in raising awareness to the problem of stalking and to subsequent legal enactments, yet few academics have analyzed the media as a source of public knowledge about stalking. Thus far, a limited number of studies on stalking have examined the media as their unit of analysis, either to probe the claims-making process (Lowney & Best, 1995) or to link the media's coverage with political opportunism that capitalized on depictions of stalking as a moral panic (Way, 1994; Kamir, 2001). These studies ended their analyses when anti-stalking laws were created in most American states and Canada. Nonetheless, stalking continues to appear in the news media, despite successful claims-making that led to the creation of new laws. Taking the news media as a unit of analysis, this thesis adds to the media research on stalking, contributing to the stalking literature in general, and to the Canadian stalking literature in particular. In analyzing how stalking has been constructed in the news media from 1993 to 2002, it will also update previous constructionist research and reveal whether prior claims about stalking still dominate the media, or if new claims have emerged, constituting new victims, stalkers, and stalking events, shaping our mediated knowledge.

Chapter Outline

My thesis is organized as follows: chapter 2 overviews the literature on stalking and outlines the benefits of using the media as a tool for conducting content and discourse

analysis. Chapter 3 outlines the research methodologies, and chapter 4 highlights the general quantitative and qualitative findings. Chapter 5 discusses claims-makers in constructing stalking. Chapter 6 incorporates Foucault's work on power, knowledge, truth, and discourse and Becker's work on hierarchies of credibility to demonstrate the connections between expert knowledge and the production of stalking truths. Chapter 7 draws from Baudrillard's work on consumer society, seduction, and discourse to explain why discourses and knowledges emerge and compete in the media. The final chapter offers a series of theoretical arguments about the dynamics of the news media, truth, discourse, power, and knowledge, and concludes with directions for future research.

.2.

Theory and Literature Review

Introduction

This chapter reviews the literature on stalking in Canada and the United States, as well as the media research on the topic in order to contextualize my research. Discourse forms an integral component of media content, thus, the media's role in producing and circulating discourse is discussed. This situates my research problem and questions within constructionist and postmodern theoretical frameworks. This thesis explores how stalking has been socially constructed in the news through an examination of Loseke's (2003) concepts of *social problems work* and the *social problems game*, Foucault's (1980) analysis of the production of truth, Becker's (1967) *hierarchies of credibility*, and Baudrillard's (1988) work on *consumer seduction* and *social discourse*. I argue that news is constructed by expert and citizen sources in power/knowledge regimes. These sources vie to obtain the dominant view of stalking in the news to influence public attitudes and knowledge and to foster support for their agendas. Because sources have different backgrounds and expertise, they construct different news discourses, each adhering to a "politics of truth" about stalking. In turn, these discourses each adopt a style for packaging their stories and competing in the news.

The Research Literature and Stalking

Much of the literature on stalking is American, and focuses on the origins and elements of anti-stalking laws. Thus some researchers have studied the constitutionality of the anti-stalking laws and definitional dilemmas (Gilligan, 1992; Guy, 1993; Lingg. 1993; Miller, 1993; Pilon, 1993; Goode, 1995; Walsh, 1996; MacFarlane, 1997; Tjaden et al., 2000). Other academics have compared self-definitions of stalking with legal definitions. Using the National Violence Against Women Survey,[1] Tjaden, Thoennes and Allison (2000: 12) examined stalking prevalence rates using a legal definition similar to the U.S. *Model Antistalking Code* and compared this with respondents' views of what constituted stalking. Of the women who participated in the survey, 8.1 percent met the legal requirement, while 2.2 percent of the men met the same requirement. Higher rates of stalking emerged when participants self-defined stalking; 12.1 percent of the women and 6.2 percent of the men identified themselves as victims.

Still, others have conducted comparative analyses of Canadian anti-stalking laws with those in the United States (Pilon, 1993; Walsh, 1996; MacFarlane, 1997). A few studies estimated national stalking prevalence rates in Canada and the United States, and uncovered who stalked and who they pursued. Hackett (2000) summarized the incidences of stalking based on Uniform Crime Reporting Survey (UCR2) data from 1995 to 1999, updating previous research using 1994-1995 UCR data (Kong, 1997, 1999). She found that the incidences of stalking reported to the police increased by 32

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[1] The National Violence Against Women Survey was a telephone survey of 8,000 men and 8,000 women who resided in the United States between November 1995 and May 1996.

percent (from 4,250 incidents in 1995 to 5,382 incidents in 1999). The 1999 data

indicated that 84 percent of accused stalkers were male and that women engaged in

stalking behaviours to a lesser extent, representing only 16 percent of those accused.[2]

Hackett (2000: 5) also found that stalking victims were primarily women (77 %). The

number of reports involving female victims increased from 4,046 in 1995 to 4,417 in

1999. However, the number of male victims increased from 19 percent in 1995 to 23

percent in 1999, thus the actual percentage of female victims has decreased slightly from

1994-1995. Hackett (2000: 3-10) reported that women tended to be stalked by men they

had shared prior intimate relationships with. Of the female victims in Canada, 36 percent

were stalked by their ex-spouses, 15 percent by current or former boyfriends, and four

percent by current spouses. By contrast, males were predominantly stalked by casual

acquaintances (44 %),[3] followed by business associates and strangers (each at 12 %).

In the United States, Tjaden and Thoennes (2000b) used their National Violence

Against Women Survey to ascertain the rates of violence (including stalking) against men

and women by their opposite-sex marital and cohabiting partners. They found that 0.5

percent of the men and 4.1 percent of the women were stalked at some point during their

lives. Thus women were approximately eight times more likely to be stalked than men.

These latter results were also found in Canada. In the U.S., Tjaden and Thoennes (2000b)

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[2]These statistics excluded incidents where the sex of the victims and/or stalkers
were unknown.

[3] These statistics excluded incidents that involved more than one accused and those where
the sex of the accused(s) or the victims were unknown.

also discovered that of the men cohabiting with, or married to their partners at the time of the interview, 0.1 percent were stalked during the twelve months prior to the survey, while 1.4 percent of the women who shared similar living arrangements were stalked during this same time period (Tjaden & Thoennes, 2000b: 151-152).

A number of victimization surveys have studied stalkers, their victims, the behaviours that constituted stalking, and the impact of stalking using samples of university students and official police data (Bjerregaard, 2000; Fisher, Cullen & Turner, 2002; Logan, Leukfeld & Walker, 2000; Tjaden & Thoennes, 2000a; Nicastro, Cousins & Spitzberg, 2000). Following national results, studies based on university students found that men constituted the majority of stalkers, but the estimates varied. To detect gender differences in stalking prevalence rates, Bjerregaard (2000: 395-397) obtained a random sample of male and female college students in the U.S. She discovered that females were more likely to be stalked during their lifetime using self-definitions (24.7 %) and that 95.8 percent identified their stalkers as male. Only a small proportion of the male students were stalked (10.9 %), and females made up 67.9 percent of their stalkers.

Logan, Leukfeld and Walker (2000: 99) studied stalking using a sample of 46 male and 84 female undergraduate students who experienced a difficult breakup. They discovered that one in three females (29 %) and one in four males (24 %) were stalked following this breakup. In another study, Fisher, Cullen and Turner (2002: 280) studied stalking victimization using a random sample of 4,446 female university students. They found that slightly more than 13 percent were stalked (13.1 %), and following other results, males comprised the majority of their stalkers.

Empirical research using university students has also shown that women comprised the majority of stalking victims and they responded differently than male victims (Bjerregaard, 2000; Fisher et al., 2002; Logan et al., 2000; Tjaden & Thoennes, 2000a; Nicastro et al., 2000). For example, Logan and her colleagues (2000: 104) noted that stalking victims experienced sleeplessness, anxiety attacks, anger, and nightmares. Bjerregaard's (2000: 403) study confirmed that stalking victims suffered from emotional distress and fear. She also discovered that females were more likely to phone the police in response to being stalked (35.2 %), with nine percent using the court system. By contrast, only three percent of the males contacted the police, and none sought legal remedies through the courts. Bjerregaard (2000) speculated that male stalking victims who sought police assistance were more inclined to hold negative self-evaluations.

Similar patterns emerged when scholars examined official police data. Nicastro, Cousins and Spitzberg (2000: 72-74) examined 55 domestic violence case files from the San Diego City Attorney's Criminal Division Domestic Violence Unit. Males accounted for 92.7 percent of the stalkers in their study, while women comprised 93 percent of the victims. In another study using 1,785 domestic violence crime reports filed by the Colorado Springs Police Department, Tjaden and Thoennes (2000a: 432-433) discovered that one in six reports (16.5 %) included stalking allegations and 18.3 percent involved female victims. They concluded that men and women were more likely to report being stalked by former, rather than current partners, spouses or dating partners, and that men were more likely to report being stalked by same sex partners.

Some scholars have created typologies of stalkers (Zona, Sharma & Lane, 1993;

Mullen, Pathe, Purcell, and Stuart,1999; Emerson et al., 1998). Based on a forensic

sample from the Los Angeles Threat Management Unit, Zona and his colleagues (1993:

896-898) identified three types of stalkers: "simple obsessional stalkers," who have had

intimate relationships with their victims; "erotomanic stalkers," who suffered from

delusional disorders and believed that individuals of higher status were infatuated with

them, and "love obsessional stalkers," who had psychiatric disorders such as

schizophrenia. Other academics have compared erotomanic stalking with intimate

stalking and identified additional stalking types. These included celebrity stalkers, who

felt close emotional attachments to celebrities, and revenge stalkers, who were out to even

scores and harm their victims (Anderson, 1993; Anand, 2001, Emerson et al., 1998: 295-

296; Saunders, 1998).

Some researchers have examined behaviours that bordered stalking (Emerson et

al., 1998; Sinclair & Frieze, 2000). They studied stalking as a process, and discovered

that stalking behaviours resembled those normally found when formulating intimate

relationships with strangers and amongst known individuals. Thus phoning, writing

letters, sending gifts, and pursuit were common behaviours people engaged in when they

developed interests in others, however, unless their targets felt threatened, these

behaviours were not illegal (Emerson et al., 1998: 301; Sinclair & Frieze, 2000).

Still, other scholars have studied stalking as a form of violence against women.

They concluded that women who had separated from their intimate partners were at the

greatest risk of being stalked (Mechanic, Weaver & Resick, 2000; Nicastro et al., 2000;

Tjaden & Thoennes: 2000b; Logan et al., 2000). In addition, abused women, who had

separated from their partners, experienced the highest levels of victimization amongst women. The shorter the time a woman left an abusive relationship, the more likely she was to be stalked (Mechanic et al., 2000: 69).

Other scholars established demographics of male stalkers. Bjerregaard (2000) found that stalking lasted anywhere from five months to twelve years. The average age of male stalkers was 35, and many seemed to have difficulties establishing meaningful relationships. They craved attention and many were fascinated with the media. Compared with other offenders, stalkers were well-educated, and while most did not suffer from mental illness, they fixated on their victims (Bjerregaard, 2000: 392). Ironically, many stalkers believed that their actions were positive, and saw themselves as victims (Sinclair & Frieze, 2000).

Dunn (2002: 177-185) examined the process of designating women as stalking victims in the criminal justice system. Using the Domestic Violence Unit, part of the district attorney's office in the western United States, and a survey of undergraduate sorority women, she discovered that victims fought to define themselves as victims and constructed stalking as the social problem that they had been subjected to. She noted that criminal justice personnel reacted in manners consistent with how they defined the situation. Despite their efforts, stalking victims were rarely vindicated through prosecutions, filing charges, or punitive sentences. Dunn (2002) recommended that those who assisted stalking victims be educated on stalking as an interactive process, which would help them understand the dynamics of the situation and help victims seek justice.

Some academics have attempted to evaluate whether anti-stalking laws effectively

protect victims from harassment (Anderson, 1993; Lingg, 1993; Anand, 2001). In

Canada, Hackett (2000) used the UCR2 Reporting Survey to determine the number of

individuals charged with stalking, and the Adult Criminal Court Survey to explore their

court outcomes and sentences. Updating prior research by Kong (1997, 1999), she found

that the percentage of individuals charged with criminal harassment decreased from 51

percent in 1995 to 42 percent in 1999 (Hackett, 2000: 1). More men were formally

charged with stalking (64 %), while only 46 percent of the accused women faced charges.

It is noteworthy that compared to prior UCR data, fewer accused stalkers were cleared of

charges, a decrease from 71 percent in 1995 to 61 percent in 1999. This change mirrored

new trends in court data. For example, the number of court cases involving criminal

harassment charges has increased by 32 percent since the 1994-1995 fiscal year, with

4,039 cases processed through the courts in 1998-1999. Of the cases that involved

criminal harassment as the most serious offence, the percentage of convictions has

increased from 40 percent in 1995 to 46 percent in 1999. Notably, the median prison

term for convicted stalkers in 1998-1999 was 90 days. Unlike other offences, probation

terms were longer for individuals convicted of criminal harassment. Twenty percent of

convicted stalkers in 1998-1999 received probation terms of more than 24 months

(Hackett, 2000: 11-14).

Media Research and Stalking

Some researchers have conducted media analyses on stalking, but it is an

undeveloped field of research. Way (1994: 379) described the evolution of Canada's

anti-stalking legislation as a "moral panic" involving: (a) the highly publicized murders of women by their stalkers; (b) the creation of anti-stalking legislation as part of Bill C-126, and (c) the enactment of Canada's anti-stalking law known as criminal harassment. She explained how this moral panic enabled legislators to enact the criminal legislation so quickly in Canada. While the media played a role in all three phases, they were especially instrumental in defining the problem in the first phase, which began when five women were stalked and killed by their former partners. They reported many graphic news stories of victims, and emphasized the ineffectiveness of existing laws to prevent stalking (Way, 1994: 383-385).

During the second phase, from December 1992 to April 27, 1993, Bill C-126 was introduced. Following three murders of Canadian women by men who had violated restraining orders, the media once again devoted considerable attention to stalking. According to Way (1994), this prompted the Solicitor General to draft legislation and call a symposium to discuss the issue. Representatives from several national women's organizations attended the debate. As front-line workers, many did not want the legislation and believed that victims should have been consulted about possible remedies. Then the Department of Justice scheduled a Stalking Information Exchange Meeting in April and circulated letters of invitation. These letters indicated that stalking had received much media coverage and invited other opinions on the issue. Members of the 20 women's organizations were not satisfied with the new law and did not support its enactment. Nonetheless, Justice Minister Pierre Blais reiterated the urgency of the new law, and introduced it in the House of Commons a few days later (Way, 1994: 389-391).

The third phase of the moral panic centered on the anti-stalking legislation, and media support for it. Way (1994) contended that the media manipulated coverage of stalking, and it provided politicians with an opportunity to enact Bill C-126 more quickly than any previous legislation. She argued that Canadian politicians capitalized on the media's coverage of stalking news to justify anti-stalking legislation, and that the media, in turn, had ample opportunity to sell and circulate several sensational stories. But all this occurred without appreciating the limitations of the law in addressing violence against women (Way, 1994: 379; 394- 400).

Kamir (2001) examined the connections between popular culture and American anti-stalking laws, and concluded that a moral panic emerged from cultural depictions of celebrity pursuits and resulted in laws that inadequately defined the social reality of stalking. This moral panic began with sensational reporting of Rebecca Schaeffer's death and the subsequent media coverage surrounding Bardo's sentencing. Psychiatrist Park Elliot Dietz diagnosed Bardo as a schizophrenic and an erotomaniac, and developed medical jargon in the press (Kamir, 2001: 175-179).

The association between California's anti-stalking law and erotomania continued when four Orange County women were murdered by men who had violated court orders. Three of these men were estranged spouses who refused to accept the demise of their relationships. The fourth man, Hossein Ghaffari, had no relationship with his victim, yet he pursued her for ten years. One day, he drove his car into hers, threw sulfuric acid, and poured a flammable substance on the woman. He then ignited the liquid and the victim burned to death inside of her vehicle. Not surprisingly, his actions attracted more

publicity and sensationalistic reporting compared with the other Orange County murders (Kamir, 2001: 179-181).

Kamir (2001: 181) proceeded to constitute the anti-stalking laws as "A Hodgepodge of Flawed Statutes," maintaining that the wording of these laws limited the scope of the problem, and did not encompass the behaviours of serial killers and borderline erotomanics. Kamir (2001: 182-183) inferred that had the California law been in place before Shaeffer's death, the wording of the statute would have offered her little protection. Furthermore, the statute excluded the behaviours of the estranged spouses in Orange County who did not fit this cultural prototype. Despite these limitations, other states quickly followed California's lead and criminalized stalking using similar terminology. Legal scholars validated these limited definitions, claiming that broad laws would undermine their effectiveness at capturing certain types of stalkers. Subsequently, California amended its law to allow the courts to send stalkers for psychiatric treatment. Kamir (2001) concluded that cultural images of stalking could be potentially devastating for stalkers and victims alike. Attempts at redress could diagnose and treat stalkers for mental illness rather than address the root causes of male dominance.

Lowney and Best (1995) also studied the media and stalking in the United States. Adopting a social constructionist approach, they analyzed how news constructions changed over time. They examined several media sources, including newspaper articles, law reviews, transcripts of Congressional proceedings, videotapes and transcripts of televised news broadcasts and talk shows, and popular magazine articles. From 1980 to 1986, stalking-like behaviours were classified as "psychological rape," "sexual

harassment," and "obsession." Victims were depicted as females pursued by males who claimed to love them, placing celebrities and ordinary women under the same category. Stalkers were classified as males who suffered from low self-esteem, and these males were reported as accountable for their harassing behaviours, even though psychological rapists deflected blame onto their victims (Lowney & Best, 1995: 35-38).

But after 1989, "star-stalking" emerged as a social problem, with celebrities depicted as victims who were stalked by people inappropriately obsessed with them. The media often attributed "star-stalking" to "erotomania," a psychiatric disorder, but unlike psychological rape, which was regarded as nonviolent, the news depicted "star-stalking" as violent behaviour (Lowney & Best, 1995: 39-41). The enactment of anti-stalking legislation during phase three brought new claims that designated stalking as an intimacy issue. They recognized stalking as a form of violence against women, with ordinary women, not celebrities, now comprising most victims. So, "star-stalkers" and celebrity victims declined in news prominence and media sources changed over time. Medical authorities constructed stalking during the first and second phases, but in the third phase, the media preferred expert voices from the battered women's movement to make the news (Lowney & Best, 1995: 43-46).

While Way (1994), Lowney and Best (1995), and Kamir (2001) examined the media's coverage of stalking in different countries and from different perspectives, they reached similar conclusions. Way's (1994) work provided helpful insights into the interplay between the media and politics, however, her analysis ended when Canada enacted the criminal harassment law in 1993. There is a need to study the connections

between the media's construction of stalking during the decade following the enactment of the law to determine how power/knowledge regimes have contributed to the subsequent amendments. Furthermore, Way (1994) did not explore the claims-making process surrounding the media's construction of stalking as a social problem, nor the impact of these experts in constructing knowledge about stalking. Her analysis, while informative, did not include a critical analysis of experts using power to create knowledge about stalking. Furthermore, it did not account for how this knowledge changed as new claims contested older ones and were used to construct a different "politics of truth" about stalking.

Lowney and Best's (1995) analysis also needs updating as celebrity stalking seems to be once again increasing in news prominence. Like Way (1994), they did not critically analyze the connections between power and knowledge in constructing stalking and stalking laws. They failed to explore the power dynamics that led the media to move from one source to another and produce contested domains of truth about stalking in the news. Kamir's (2001) work also underscores the need to examine the connections between media depictions of stalking, subsequent laws, and amendments to determine which factors influenced legislators to adjust the Canadian law and with what impact. So there is a need for a detailed study of Canadian media representations from 1993 to 2002.

The Media and Criminological Inquiry

The connections between crime, justice, and the mass media have occupied the attention of scholars during much of the twentieth century. According to Surette (1998:

67) several studies deploying diverse research methodologies have demonstrated that stories about crime are a popular and consistent component of the news. Despite differences in medium, location, and time period, crime news accounts for between five and 25 percent of all news produced. In fact, crime and justice constitutes one of the top five news categories. Additionally, many consumers read or watch the news and recall crime news more than other news. Indeed, crime news is entertaining and functions to convey socially acceptable behaviours.

News production, however, is not an objective process. News is ultimately selected if it meets the organizational needs of news agencies. Journalists and reporters actively choose which facts to present, thus, the reality of the events they portray is constructed by their sources (Surette, 1998: 60-61). Some scholars have found that court and law enforcement officials comprised more than half of the sources in crime and justice news (Chermak, 1998: 162). However, in their studies of attacks on women in the news, Voumvakis & Ericson (1984: 30-32) point out the importance of citizen sources. They provide information in reported news events, in addition to letters to the editor and opinion columns. They also note that as a newspaper, *The Globe and Mail* rarely incorporates citizens as news sources.

Indeed, the media define which events are significant. In the process of dispersing social knowledge, they legitimize certain people, social issues, and policies. Surette (1998: 7-10) adds that the media tends to present images within familiar terms, and links new issues with other harmful issues to increase the public's acceptance and legitimation of the associated issue. He notes that the public does not uncritically accept mediated

knowledge; it is part of a "social-reality production" (Surette, 1998: 7). This process allows new constructions to emerge and compete for public validation. As Ericson, Baranek and Chan (1991: 3) put it "news is produced by journalists and sources in power/knowledge relations involving imputations of deviance and efforts at control." Similarly, McCormick (1995: 29) found that there are preferred versions of accounts about sex crimes:

> News accounts are doubly constructed: they are often truncated versions of police definitions of crimes and they fit social stereotypes of what the crime should look like. In these constructions, aspects of the initial event which are features of a "crime" must be "intended," or collected together, by the news account. Through the inclusion of selected features and exclusion of others, the accounts retroactively "accomplish," or transform, the event into a crime.

Knowledge acquisition stems from three sources: personal experience, conversational knowledge gained from family, friends, and peers, and official knowledge through institutions including schools, government agencies, and the media. It follows that individuals who interact with one another and who have access to similar knowledge have similarly constructed realities, attitudes, values, and opinions. With several mediums at their disposal, including television, newspapers, magazines, radio programs, and the Internet, most people are exposed to content and discourse presented in the media or they are subjected to policies that their governments developed, often under the media's influence. The media, therefore, is an important source of crime and justice information and they help construct our social reality of crime (Surette, 1998: 4-7).

Advances in technology have blurred the boundaries between news and entertainment. Indeed, crime news has increasingly been marketed, with competition emerging from law enforcement agencies, public agencies, and private lobby groups.

News sources have different and often conflicting goals in providing information to reporters, and their relationship with journalists exerts a strong influence in who the press selects as sources (Surette, 1998: 21, 63). The entertainment and news media often report the same crimes and criminals, as they both strive to reach the largest audience to maximize their ratings and profit. Additionally, the media tends to report heavily on certain individual crimes. The media typically covers crimes that reflect successful actions by the criminal justice system, including arrests, arraignments, and trials. According to Surette (1998: 69), violent and predatory street criminals dominate the news. In addition, journalists and reporters often elaborate on the explicit details of crimes, depict them as threatening to the social system, yet they do not provide enough information to help the audience understand the circumstances surrounding specific cases and crimes.

Theoretical Framework

Social constructionist perspectives are interested in the meanings that people use to categorize people and objects. Individuals define what constitutes a social problem and affect our reactions, social evaluations, and the associations we have about certain people or objects (Loseke, 2003: 13-16). Social constructionist theories constitute victims, offenders, and what conditions qualify as problematic. Loseke (2003: 20) proposes two tasks for scholars undertaking such research: *social problems work* and the *social problems game*. I outline their basic concepts here and then provide a more detailed discussion in chapter 5 when I deploy them in my own analysis.

The first involves examining how the media has socially constructed problems like stalking. This includes studying how claims-makers constitute victims, stalkers, and stalking as both a behaviour and a criminal offence (Loseke, 2003: 20). Developing categories of people allows us to uncover similarities by providing the typical case that represents the social problem at hand. Through their claims and typifications, claims-makers actively create knowledge and shape public perceptions about stalking, paving the way for legal and non-legal effects. The success of their intended effects depends on how claims-makers use their power through the media to foster public and government support (Loseke, 2003: 17-20).

This leads to an exploration of the *social problems game*, where claims-makers compete to construct the dominant view of an issue. My examination of the news media's portrayal of stalking reveals which claims take precedence, and the various social and legal repercussions associated with them. Prior constructionist research showed that "star stalking" precipitated the creation of anti-stalking legislation in the United States, and in Canada, "intimate stalking" provoked legal reform. Thus, the *social problems game* has in one sense been "won," with these laws attesting to the social and legal significance of the media. However, anti-stalking legislation in Canada has been amended and re-amended. This paves the way for a new analysis of stalking and the media and the role of the *social problems game* therein. Through content analysis, I explore the relationship between knowledge and power in changing stalking typifications and legal amendments in the news media from 1993 to 2002.

Michel Foucault's work adds to my social constructionist approach because the

connections between power and knowledge are relevant in studying the discursive

statements made by claims-makers and the knowledge they produce. His work helps

determine who constitutes victims, stalkers, and the conditions in which stalking occurs.

Foucault (1980) contends that by exercising power and creating knowledge, certain

groups also increase their ability to exercise social control. Indeed, the experts and other

sources the press chooses to construct stalking have direct implications for policy

reforms, thus his work is relevant for exploring the discursive reality of the press'

construction of stalking. For Foucault (1980: 115) there is no universal truth; discourse

constitutes truths that emerge in patterned ways to construct meaning. Thus truth is

contested, represented by those with the power to define truth and reality (the claims-

makers) and those with alternate views (victims and their families).

Foucault (1991: 175) defines discourse in terms of themes that guide what can be

said, about who, and with what impact on our knowledge. Studying news themes helps

ascertain how discourses on stalking develop, the objects they discuss (stalkers and

victims), the relationships between objects, and how discourse allows certain news truths

to emerge. This thesis explores the power dynamics between experts and other sources

speaking about stalking. It studies how they use and reinforce their power through a

"politics of truth," and how certain knowledges are produced and reproduced, while

others are displaced or denied. In turn, I examine how each discourse either reaffirms a

"politics of truth" about stalking or produces new knowledges about stalkers and victims

that allows additional truths to function in the news. As Foucault (1991: 151) notes:

> none of the major discourses that can be produced about society is so
> convincing that it may be trusted: and if one really wants to construct

something new and different, or in any case if one wants the great systems
finally to be open to certain real problems, it is necessary to look at the data
and the questions in which they are hidden.

Foucault's work allows for a discussion of claims-makers and subjugated discourses and

knowledge. I discuss how power operates in the news by legitimizing and circulating

truth claims, and by exploring how these truths empower politicians, legal experts, and

others to implement legal and non-legal reforms to combat stalking. I examine the

context in which they produce knowledge and the objects that they allow to emerge

through discourse. These objects are part of a "politics of truth" that warrants reforms. In

chapter 6, the intricacies between power, knowledge, truth, and discourse will be

explained fully and applied to my analysis.

Becker's (1967) work on *hierarchies of credibility* is relevant to the discussion on

claims-making and power. With different perspectives on an issue, different claims will

be made. He refers to politicians, law enforcement officials, and experts as moral

entrepreneurs who have the power to define social problems (Becker, 1963). For him,

claims-makers have different credentials, knowledge, and experience and news

organizations arrange them in what he calls a *hierarchy of credibility*. Experts are not

afforded equal clout in the media. Indeed, members of the highest ranking group have

access to more information, and they impose their definitions of a phenomenon onto

others. According to Becker (1967), claims made by members of the medical community

and other scientists are preferred to construct social problems. In turn, this information

filter distorts public knowledge of a social problem. This thesis explores Becker's work

in chapter 6 to ascertain which claims-makers are given credence in the news on stalking;

whether science still assumes the dominant position, or if journalists and reporters constitute a new hierarchy of credibility in regard to stalking.

After situating the media's discourse on stalking within power/knowledge regimes, I turn to Baudrillard's (1988) work on consumer society, seduction, and manifest and latent discourse to understand the co-existence of competing discourses. He explains that consumer society is premised on individuals being seduced by the objects, goods, and services that proliferate the consumer market. Increasingly, individuals aspire to the "sign," as objects now have a context that speaks. These objects differentiate individuals according to their status and their place in what he calls a hierarchy of the code (Baudrillard, 1988: 11, 54-55).

With multiple forms of media, including print, electronic and broadcast, journalists and reporters compete for prominence in the consumer market and allude to the consumer appeal of their stories. The seductive appeal of the news is measured by the style of discourse they use to present and package their stories. Within the game of seduction, Baudrillard (1988) distinguishes between manifest and latent discourse. I explain these differences in more detail in chapter 7 when I apply them to the news representations of stalking. Manifest discourses seduce others by their appearances rather than reveal any underlying truths in discourse, while latent discourses are interpretive and extract the meaning hidden within the discourse. Through quantitative and qualitative analysis, I explore the style of the various discourses on stalking. Content analysis reveals which discourses emphasize names, occupations, and other features to seduce consumers. My analysis of discourse builds on the thematic issues that emerge from

constitutions of victims and stalkers and determines which news narratives uncover truths. I combine information within manifest discourses to develop more explanatory narratives of stalking types, and demonstrate how the news can enhance our understanding of stalking. Thus, this thesis situates the consumer value and newsworthiness of manifest discourses containing celebrity victims compared with others, providing insight as to why certain stalking discourses regularly appear and compete in the news media (Baudrillard, 1988: 149).

Conclusion

Since stalking became a crime in Canada and the United States, the topic has attracted much scholarly attention. However, media research on stalking has been scarce and narrow, and has focused on successful claims-making that enabled legislators to enact anti-stalking legislation in Canada and the United States. These studies were certainly informative, however, the utility of constructionist perspectives does not end with public recognition of social problems. Loseke (2003) and Becker (1967) argue that successful claims translate into policy reforms. These reforms can be applied to amendments, as many laws have been modified and amended, including Canada's criminal harassment legislation (See Appendix 1). As claims-makers expand their claims and change the dynamics of a problem, they influence the amendments that ensue. However, not all claims-makers are accorded the same level of credibility in the press, and the success of their claims is not a reflection of the number of times they are sourced in the press. Indeed, claims-makers can be very influential in espousing policy reforms for dominant

as well as minor claims. The media, therefore, allows for such an examination of the claims-making process, and the credibility allotted to certain sources to make claims.

As new claims are made, new knowledges and truths emerge, allowing multiple truths to co-exist and function in the news. Additionally, each discourse adopts a style that helps it compete in consumer societies. Consequently, they give credence to certain details and shape our understanding of news representations of stalking. My thesis aims to determine the relationship between claims-making, power/knowledge regimes, and seduction in shaping our mediated knowledge of stalking and policy reforms over time.

This thesis explores the following questions: Did reporters include a wide range of sources in constructing stalking in the news or were they restrictive? Did their sources construct stalking similarly or were there competing claims vying for news prominence? If so, how did these constructions compare to prior constructions of stalking in the Canadian and American media? Did the press validate claims that did not dominate a given phase? Were there connections between the media's coverage of stalking and the subsequent reforms that followed? Did multiple claims give rise to multiple discourses on stalking? Within each discourse, did the press create a "politics of truth" about stalking that allowed certain claims to be made while censuring others? Did the media register subjugated discourses? How did the press register the credibility of claims-makers and with what implication? What do multiple discourses have to offer and how do they shape our knowledge of stalking? Having provided an overview of the theoretical frameworks that I deploy in this thesis, the next chapter details the research methodologies that I utilize to obtain and analyze my data.

.3.

Studying Stalking in the News

Introduction

This chapter outlines the qualitative and quantitative research methodologies that I deploy in this thesis. It consists of five related sections. First, I discuss the national news sources that comprise my data, explain my rationale for studying stalking on a national level, and outline my sampling strategy. Second, I overview the time frame for my study. Third, I operationalize stalking typologies, expert delineations, and discourses that guide my analysis. Fourth, I explain what content analysis involves and its purpose in my study. I also provide an overview of the variables that I analyzed to summarize my findings, which I organized into themes. Fifth, I outline the techniques that I deploy for the qualitative section of my analysis, including Foucault's recommendations for studying discourse, and Baudrillard's methodology for studying discursive styles.

News Sources and Sampling Strategy

News sources comprised the data in my research, while articles from newspapers, magazines, and transcribed televised and radio broadcasts on stalking comprised my units of analysis. I selected national news sources as they attest to the importance of issues on a national level, capturing news affecting specific jurisdictions in Canada and significant

international events for Canadians. Additionally, many people read or watch the news to obtain information about issues they have had no personal experience with. This likely influenced the type and content of the stories the news covered and the experts the press used to discursively constitute stalking, as public knowledge and legitimation of stalking was instrumental to support political, legal, and other initiatives. Because political and legal issues are common staples of the news, legal amendments and other stalking reforms were more likely to be included in the news, rather than popular media. Furthermore, news is delivered by credentialed journalists and anchors, and offers Canadian perspectives on issues that affect them, another factor that shapes public attitudes and perceptions of stalking. Approaching the topic from popular media alone would likely exclude intimate, cyber, and other stalking constructions and discourses, unless they involved high profile victims or stalkers. These exclusions would be an obvious limitation to my analysis of competing claims and truths about stalking.

I sampled from three types of news sources: a national newspaper, a popular national magazine, and two national televised/radio broadcasts. I chose *The Globe and Mail*, as it is Canada's oldest and leading national newspaper. In 2001, *The Globe and Mail* celebrated 159 years of newspaper journalism. Owned by BCE, this newspaper represents the voice of a large segment of the population (Powell, 2001: 13). To this end, it covers stories from coast to coast, including international and business reporting, in addition to commentary and analyses that are unparalleled (Canada News Wire, 2002: 1). *The Globe and Mail* dominates the national newspaper market with 950,100 readers each weekday for a six day cumulative readership of 2,475,400 Canadians (Canada News

Wire, 2003: 1). It was (and still is) arguably the best news source to study stalking in

Canada. Because the law in Canada is universal among the provinces and territories, I

did not analyze stalking by region. However, I included news event location as a variable

in my analysis to capture regional differences in precedent-setting news. Furthermore,

national news extends its reach to other countries, therefore, news of stalkers and victims

residing outside of Canada were included in my study. This introduced truth claims about

stalking that the Canadian media adopted. I deliberately excluded Canada's other

national newspaper *The National Post* from my analysis because it only commenced

publication in 1998, and would be limited to five years in my sample.

I chose two national Canadian news magazines: Maclean's and Flare. *Maclean's*

is Canada's leading national weekly news magazine, with three million readers each

edition (Marketing Magazine, 2001: 4). Established in 1905 and published by Rogers

Media, it covers issues that affect Canadians, provides Canadian perspectives on global

events, and publishes stories that reflect the diversity of its readers (CARD, 2003a: 153;

Wilson-Smith, 2001: 2). As with *The Globe and Mail, Maclean's* is a well-known news

source among Canadian readers. It includes an "Over to You" section for readers to write

about their concerns (Powell, 2002: 6). Sections that allowed readers to voice their

opinions were important for my research, as victims shared their experiences and offered

new insights.

Flare, also published by Rogers Media, is the nation's leading fashion and beauty

magazine (CARD, 2003b: 185). Established in 1979 and targeted for a female audience,

this magazine covers news, fashion, and entertainment. *Flare* has a national readership of

1,776,000 million Canadians each month. It was important to include a popular women's news magazine as it covered entertainment news about celebrities as stalkers and victims. *Flare* was also useful for another reason. As a magazine targeting a female audience, it incorporated relationship news, and included stories about intimate stalking. This provided for a balance of stalking narratives within my sample, and a context for new claims and discourses about stalking.

I also sampled from Canada's two leading televised/radio broadcasts: *Canadian Television (CTV)* and *Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC-Radio)*. *Canadian Television* is owned by Bell Globemedia, Canada's foremost multi-media company and leading private broadcaster (Canada News Wire, 2002: 1). I included a variety of programs from this televised broadcast: *Canada AM, CTV National News, 21Century*, and *W-5*. Including morning and evening broadcasts allowed for programming directed at a greater audience diversity, which reflected the multiple claims and discourses that competed for news prominence.

Second, *Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC-Radio)* is a major Canadian broadcaster providing innovative televised and radio programming that reflects the nation's values (Canada News Wire, 2002: 1). Created by an Act of Parliament on November 2, 1936, *CBC* reportedly helps Canadians identify with one another (CBC Annual Report, 2003: 2). This station boasts a number of regional programming for local and national broadcast, with more than half of their programming directed at regional stories. Canadians deliver the news and provide Canadian analyses and commentary on national and global events. *CBC-Radio* also delivers breaking news as it occurs. In the

fall of 2002, *CBC-Radio* celebrated 50 years of television in Canada, attesting to the importance of this news broadcast for Canadian viewers. For example, *CBC Newsworld* has 5.9 million viewers each month (CBC Annual Report, 2003: 18). I sampled from the following programs: *CBC The National*, *CBC Magazine*, *CBC National News*, *CBC Sunday Report*, and *CBC-Radio's Centrepoint*. As with *CTV*, these programs were broadcast at different times of the day, targeting an enhanced audience diversity. Television has become an important component of society and reaches many people who do not necessarily enjoy print media. Televised media allowed for one-on-one interviews with victims, politicians, psychologists, lawyers, and other experts to make claims and "truths" about stalking.

To acquire the print and televised sources, I used *Lexis-Nexis*, an electronic-based service that provides access to a number of full-text magazines, newspapers, and journals covering legal issues, business, and current affairs. Within *Lexis-Nexis*, *Maclean's*, *CTV*, and *CBC-Radio* broadcasts were located in the Canadian News library (CNNWS), while *Flare* was contained in the Canadian Publications library (CANPUB). *The Globe and Mail* was not included on this database, however, it was available on CD-ROM at the university's library.

Time Frame

My research covered a ten-year time frame from January, 1993 to December, 2002. In response to the highly publicized murders of women who were killed by their stalkers in 1991 and 1992, the Canadian government began to review section 423 of the

Criminal Code, dealing with intimidation, and proposed amending the section to incorporate those who were reckless as to whether his or her actions reasonably caused their victims fear (MacFarlane, 1997: 63). On December 10, 1992, opposition Justice Critic George Rideout introduced Bill C-390, that would create an indictable offence for individuals who issued credible threats that caused others to fear for their safety, or repeatedly followed or harassed other individuals with the intent to instill fear (MacFarlane, 1997: 63-64; Pilon, 1993: 8). Together, these resolutions have created a new section in the *Criminal Code*, that was inspired in January, 1993 when stalking espoused the same media attention in Canada that Schaeffer's murder attracted in the U.S. (Way, 1994: 388-389).

Using this time frame (January, 1993 to December, 2002) allowed me to examine the media's coverage of stalking from the time that it gained political and legal recognition as a problem in Canada, until the last amendment was incorporated into the news. This permitted a critical examination of competing claims on stalking in the media. This time frame also allowed for an examination of the discursive statements underpinning legislative reforms since the anti-stalking legislation was enacted. This included changes that were discussed in the media regarding stalking, though were not yet implemented by the end of 2002.

Operationalizing Stalking

Because I studied stalking as types and discursively, operationalizing these concepts indicates which victims, offenders and incidents were included in my analysis.

Most of these typologies concurred with those developed in the literature on stalking. With the exception of cyber-stalking, the behavioural components were identical, and mirrored those found in the *Criminal Code*, but the relationships between stalkers and their victims, and stalkers' motives varied across the types of stalking. In my thesis, "intimate stalking" referred to any type of harassing behaviours (phoning, following, watching an individual's home or workplace, sending unwanted letters or gifts, and making threatening gestures) instigated by perpetrators following the dissolution of their former intimate relationships (dating, common-law, married, separated, or divorced). This definition included celebrities as either victims or as stalkers.

"Celebrity stalking" included any type of harassing pursuit behaviours (phoning, following, watching an individual's home, workplace or studio, sending letters or gifts, and making subtle or overt threatening gestures) committed by individuals unknown to celebrities to try to develop intimate relationships or to harm them. Throughout my research, a "celebrity" included individuals who appeared in films, on television, on the radio, singers, athletes, politicians, authors, religious/political figures, and royalty.

I operationalized "cyber-stalking" as any harassing conduct committed by individuals via the Internet that caused victims to fear for their safety. Cyber-stalking could be perpetrated by strangers or by those who knew one another. Many of these stalkers met their victims in chat rooms, developed friendships, and used that trust to develop repertoires of information, arrange meetings, or harass them.

"Anger/revenge stalking" incorporated any type of harassing pursuit behaviours (phoning, following, watching the individual's home or workplace, sending letters or

gifts, and making subtle or overt threatening gestures) committed by individuals who

were protesting an individual's occupation or were angry at their victims for other

reasons. Anger/revenge stalkers and their victims included relatives, friends,

acquaintances, colleagues, and neighbours who have not shared intimate relationships in

the past.

"Courtship stalking" referred to any type of harassing behaviours (phoning,

following, watching an individual's home or workplace, sending unwanted letters or gifts,

and making threatening gestures) instigated by perpetrators who wished to initiate

intimate relationships with their victims. These individuals were either acquainted and

sought to advance their relationship to a new level, or they were strangers, but courtship

stalkers had not shared prior intimate relationships with their victims.

In this study, an expert included any individual, group, or organization who was

given the authority to speak to the media about stalking. This encompassed psychiatrists,

psychologists, other members of the medical community who have evaluated, diagnosed,

or treated stalkers, politicians, representatives from women's organizations who have had

direct experience working with victims of intimate violence and legal experts. While the

press called upon stalking victims, their families, friends, and neighbours to provide

stalking narratives, and asked accused stalkers to discuss their motives in stalking

scenarios, they constituted "citizen" sources, not experts in the news.

To help shape my analysis of discourse, I operationalized five discourses in the

news. First, the legal discourse discussed stalking as a legal infraction, and constituted

stalkers and victims as legal subjects. It included discourse surrounding the proposed

criminal harassment legislation, the elements of the law, and amendments before and after the law became official. The legal discourse also included the application of the law in the form of charges, verdicts, and sentences reported in the news. Legal jargon was common, including "requisite elements," and "legal culpability." A more complete discussion can be found in the section "Legal Variables in the News" later in this chapter.

The moral discourse included news that constituted stalkers, types of stalking, and stalking behaviours in moral terms. The moral discourse also included moral judgements of the law and stalking punishments. This discourse differed from the legal discourse is its use of subjective rather than objective evaluations. For instance, rather than assessing the effectiveness of the law to capture stalkers through carefully constructed wording, the moral discourse focused on the inability of the law to protect women due to lack of enforcement by law officials. Common words used in this discourse were "moral outrage," and "moral condemnation."

On the surface the political discourse resembled the legal discourse, particularly in discussions leading up to the criminal harassment legislation. Rather than discuss the elements of the law or applications of it, the political discourse incorporated discussions of political motives in designing the law, possible advantages for political leaders, and debates among political parties. It also included debates over the usefulness of the law to address stalking as opposed to reforms in other areas including funding and shelters for victims. Language included "political advantage," "political will," and "political strife."

The technological discourse was unlike all of the other discourses. It incorporated news that involved changing technology and surveillance, and discussions of how cyber-

stalking mirrored technological advances. It encompassed the means by which stalkers pursued their victims using the "Internet" and "Spyware," and lured them to private meetings. Not surprisingly, the language that constituted this discourse marked another type of jargon, relying on technical language including "cyber-stalking," "technological stalking," and "electronic stalking."

Finally, the medical discourse medicalized and pathologized stalkers and their behaviours. It included medical jargon that denoted mental illnesses and disorders that stalkers were diagnosed with including "erotomania," "schizophrenia," and "paranoid personality disorder." It included medical discourse relevant in legal settings, such as criminal culpability and a stalker's fitness to stand trial, as they appeared in the news. The medical discourse also incorporated the impact of stalking on victims, and their diagnoses of "depression," "post traumatic stress disorder," or "generalized anxiety."

Using the key words "stalk," "stalks," "stalked," "stalking," "stalkings," "stalker," "stalkers," and "criminal harassment," I located stories about reported stalking events. In my thesis, a reported stalking event referred to: (a) stories that were a minimum of 50 words in length (including headlines), (b) stories that discussed particular types of stalking (celebrity, intimate, cyber, etc.) or particular victims, (c) victim experiences (based on self- or legal- definitions, (d) offenders, their stalking behaviours, or sentencing, (e) stalking prevention (laws, other legal or police initiatives) or criticisms of these laws or initiatives, (f) letters to the editor (personal opinion), (g) stalking incorporated into the context of a larger article (about violence, violence against women, cyber-crime, celebrity lifestyles, etc.), and (h) biographic books or book reviews about

stalking. This definition excluded: (a) stories or movie reviews less than 50 words, (b) metaphorical uses of the word stalking (such as vegetable stalks, stalking the market, stalking vacation spots, stalking wildlife, fish, and other food items or objects, (c) the word stalking mentioned in a title of a book or movie or metaphorically used in a book or movie review.

To conduct a comprehensive analysis of stalking, I intentionally created a broad definition that would capture the construction process and uncover the dynamics between power and knowledge precipitating legal and non-legal stalking reforms. Examining victims' and stalkers' experiences, and typologies of stalking in the news provided the necessary data to conduct *social problems work*, and allowed for an updated construction of stalking in the news. Including police and legislative initiatives in this definition shed light on the *social problems game*, reflecting which group or groups of claims-makers have "won the game" in so far as their claims have been accepted and have facilitated policy initiatives designed to combat stalking. My search yielded a total of 3373 news items. After eliminating those stories excluded by my operational definition, I obtained a sample of 270 stories.

To qualify for inclusion in *social problems work*, the news had to provide typifying examples of stalking. Of the 270 news items that comprised my sample, 194 (71.8 %) contained at least one example, while several contained more than one construction. Following Lowney and Best (1995), since each item served as a typifying example, I included each in my analysis for a total of 248 typifying examples. The remaining 76 items (28.2 %) consisted of legal and non-legal effects stemming from the

claims-making process. These were instrumental in analyzing the winners of the *social problems game*.

Content Analysis

Quantitatively, I conducted a content analysis of the news on stalking. Content analysis enables researchers to systematically study messages and the meaning those messages convey. Content analysis can be used to study any form of communication, including television programs, or stories in newspapers and magazines. Maxfield and Babbie (2001: 329) have noted that content analysis is often used to study topics in the field of criminal justice. According to them "Content analysis, then, is particularly well suited to the study of communications and to answering the classic question of communications research: Who says what, to whom, why, how, and with what effect?" (Maxfield & Babbie, 2001: 329).

Through content analysis, I discovered who was discussing particular forms of stalking, who they were speaking to, why they were speaking of stalking, how they sent their message across to the public, and the intended effects of their messages, as discussed in the next chapter. In content analysis, researchers must decide what level of understanding they strive for, and code manifest or latent content accordingly (Maxfield & Babbie, 2001: 332). Manifest content is visible on the surface, while latent content refers to the meaning underlying the communication. Their definitions of manifest and latent content mirror Baudrillard's definitions of manifest and latent (interpretive) discourse, thus are useful to my analysis. I developed a code book to capture the manifest

content in the news and using *SPSS*, a statistical software package, I compiled summary findings on stalking as represented in the news. I coded a total of 66 variables, some derived from categories created by Ericson, Baranek and Chan (1991), Surette (1998), Chermak (1998), and Soothill and Walby (1991) in their media analyses. I created the remaining categories specific to the current research. I organized my code book (Appendix 2) around six themes outlined below.

First, I measured the "newsworthiness" of stalking by analyzing the year of each news item (1993-2002), the news medium (newspaper, magazine, televised or radio broadcast), the range of coverage (single or multiple medium), and the type of stories that comprised the news. I used *The Globe and Mail's* and *Maclean's* classification schemes (feature story, ordinary news, editorials/commentaries/opinion columns, letters to the editor, sports stories, the arts/music). To make my data comparable, I relied on these classification schemes for televised and radio broadcasts. Other indices included story placement. Again, I followed *The Globe and Mail* and *Maclean's*, as they had similar systems for story placement (front page, section A news, other sectional front page news, other sectional news, editorials, letters to the editor, sports, etc.). When televised and radio broadcasts were transcribed, the time of the news program itself was often indicated, rather than the time of the story within that program. Consequently, I treated these items differently, coding them as morning or evening broadcasts.

Story length was another important index of newsworthiness. Scholars studying the media often measure story length in column inches (Ericson et al., 1991), designating primary stories as those measuring five or more column inches, secondary stories

(between 2.5 and 4.9 inches), and tertiary stories (between 1.6 and 2.4 inches of text).

The news items in my sample were not transcribed in column inches. To code this

variable, then, I examined a random sample of ten articles in a current issue of *The Globe*

and Mail that were printed in column inches. I measured each of these articles in column

inches and conducted a word count for primary, secondary, and tertiary stories. This

yielded a total of ten word counts for each type of coverage based on story length, from

which I constructed a range using the lowest and highest numbers. Thus, primary stories

were 208 words or more, secondary stories contained between 96 and 207 words, while

tertiary stories ranged from 50 to 95 words.

I relied on several indicators to measure the second theme, "news production of

stalking." These included news item producers (reporters/journalists, wire services,

citizens, columnists/editors), news event initiating incident (conference, spot news,

continuing news), and news event locations (Atlantic Canada, Central Canada, Prairies,

B.C., Europe, U.S.), the focus of the story (directly or indirectly discussed stalking), and

the thematic content of the news item (legal, moral, political, technological, or medical

discourse).

As with news production, "indicators of news sources" were integral to study

news content and discourse. Who was sourced with the news played a crucial role in this

constructionist research, as these individuals and organizations (police, lawyers, members

of women's/victims' organizations, politicians, members of the medical community, and

citizens) became claims-makers who created knowledge about stalking, and the number

of sources indicated how many players were involved in the *social problems game*. The

context in which sources made claims about stalking (interviews, official meetings, media reports), the type of knowledge sources provided (primary, secondary, tertiary, evaluative, recommendations), and the intended effects of their claims (legal effect, increased funding, raising awareness) all contextualized power/knowledge relations.

Fourth, "representing stalking in the news" provided descriptive information that situated the current knowledge on stalking. Some of these variables were instrumental in establishing Loseke's (2003) concept of *social problems work*, which examined how stalking has been constructed in the news, including the type of stalking that was discussed (a) celebrity, (b) intimate, (c) cyber, (d) anger/revenge, (e) courtship. I also coded the sex of the primary victims and where applicable, secondary victims, the victim's age, their status (actor/actress, singer, athlete, ordinary citizen, etc.), the number of stalkers, their sex (along with any secondary stalkers), the stalker's age, status, and the relationship between stalkers and victims. Additionally, my analysis included the behaviour(s) that characterized the stalking (phone calls, following, watching the victim's home/workplace, letters, etc.), explanations for the stalking (re-create intimate relationships, diagnosis of individual pathology), prior violence in the relationship, victim harm (physical, emotional, homicide, etc.).

Fifth, "news indicators of legal discourse" included the stage of stalking produced in the news (pre-arrest, arrest, court, disposition), the presence of restraining orders at the time the stalking occurred, and type of criminal records accumulated by the stalkers. Other variables reflected legal actions taken against stalkers, including the charges laid, convictions, court dispositions for stalking and other offences, and where applicable, the

length of prison terms and/or periods of probation for stalking.

The final theme in my content analysis, "indicators of sensationalism," tapped quantitative differences in the news content. I coded the cumulative number of days that stories involving celebrity stalkers/victims and ordinary stalkers/victims were featured in the news, use of capitalized words in titles, use of names (victims and offenders), the number of times their names appeared and their location in the news, if and where their occupations were mentioned, and if victims incurred harm, where it appeared in the news. I coded where the relationship between stalkers and their victims appeared, where the stalking behaviours were mentioned, which aspect of the legal outcome was stated (charges, verdict, sentence, etc.), and its location in the news. Because fear was a requisite condition for stalking charges in Canada and in many states, I coded variables that captured the content of fear in the news. These included how fear was presented in the news (moral condemnation of stalkers, sympathy toward victims, etc.), the number of times the word "fear" was used in relation to stalking, where the word "fear" appeared in the news, and whether fear was discussed in relation to the location of the reported stalking event. Finally, because many studies have established that individuals who stalked celebrities suffered from mental disorders, I coded for news involving pathologies and what the pathology was in relation to (stalker's personality, stalker's behaviour).

Qualitative Analysis

While the quantitative component of my research provided a summary of descriptive information on stalking and the coverage it generated, and helped situate

claims-makers and typifying conditions, a major component of my research was qualitative. Using Loseke's (2003) advice for analyzing the *social problems game*, I examined the qualitative component of the claims. To this end, I studied why the various claims-makers were making claims about stalking (a) to amend the proposed criminal harassment legislation, (b) to amend Canada's enacted criminal harassment legislation, (c) to implement other legal reforms, (d) to lobby for American laws to protect celebrities, (e) to obtain government funding for shelters, or (f) to raise public awareness of stalking. The success of each claims-maker's plight was evinced by the reforms that followed in the *social problems game*.

Using Foucault's (1991) method for studying discourse, I examined the link between power and knowledge in relation to the media's discourse on stalking. His analysis of discourse helped me uncover how competing claims produced knowledge about stalking, and how continuing to discuss stalking in a particular manner empowered certain individuals, politically, legally, or otherwise. Following Foucault, I studied the ways that power produced and controlled knowledge. Five discourses were constituted in the news: (a) legal discourse, (b) moral discourse, (c) political discourse, (d) technological discourse, and (e) medical discourse.

While this section builds on quantitative content in the news, my analysis was concerned with how experts spoke about stalking events. First, I examined the way that they constituted victims by their gender. Were victims strictly discussed as (a) female, or were (b) males also constituted in the discourse. Second, I analyzed the way that experts discussed gender in relation to stalkers. Were stalkers exclusively (a) male or did the

press recognize and register (b) female stalkers. Third, in what relationships did stalking

occur? Was stalking conceived of as a phenomenon affecting men and women who were

(a) involved or previously involved in intimate relationships, (b) friends or acquaintances,

(c) strangers, or (d) family members (excluding spouses who were included as intimates).

Fourth, I analyzed which behaviours constituted stalking, and if the press only

acknowledged stalking behaviours outlined in the *Canadian Criminal Code* including (a)

following, (b) repeatedly contacting the individual, (c) watching the victim's home or

workplace, and (d) engaging in threatening conduct, or were other behaviours included

such as (e) sending gifts, or (f) acting on the Internet.

Following Foucault (1980), I examined how the rules specific to each discursive

formation have been modified to allow new victims and stalkers to be constituted from

one phase to the next, in accordance with shifting power/knowledge regimes. As

Foucault (1972: 216) put it, ". . . in every society the production of discourse is at once

controlled, selected, organised and redistributed according to a certain number of

procedures, whose role is to avert its powers and its dangers . . ." Therefore, I studied

whether specific "truths" were necessary for the realization of legal and non-legal reforms

pertaining to stalking. Becker's (1967) work on *hierarchies of credibility* complimented

my analysis of discourse by measuring the status of those whose claims inspired changes.

The final component of my analysis explored the consumer value of the various

discourses on stalking. Coding manifest variables under the theme "sensationalism"

provided a foundation for examining which discursive style best characterized each

discourse on stalking, according to the status of the victims and/or stalkers involved. I

studied whether these stories were sensationalized to seduce consumers without revealing the truths that lie beneath the "appearances" on the surface (see Indicators of Sensationalism on page 45). To appear on the front pages of a newspaper or magazine, stories must captivate readers. By analyzing the manifest content of these stories, my analysis of discourse ascertained whether news that involved celebrity victims and stalkers had the same seducing power over consumers who still strove to feel connected with the sign.

Next, I followed Baudrillard's (1988) recommendations for analyzing latent (interpretive) discourse by searching for meanings within the discourse. Manifest content actually conveys meaning in the news. I examined how journalists and reporters incorporated (a) victims' and stalkers' names, (b) the relationships between them, (c) victim harm (homicide and suicide), (d) location of the reported event, (e) stalking behaviours, and (f) legal outcomes into more interpretive narratives that described the history between victims and their stalkers and contextualized the reported stalking event. Even when journalists did not engage in this form of storytelling, they provided information that could be assembled to form a narrative of the circumstances surrounding the event to help enhance our understanding of stalking. I arranged this information in my analysis to add to the existing knowledge on stalking, examining gender and motive as starting points.

Having provided this background, how did the news portray stalking?

.4.

Descriptive Empirical Findings

Introduction

In this chapter, I highlight quantitative descriptive findings that stem from content analysis. First, I report my findings in general terms. My analysis uncovered three phases of news constructions, thus I also describe patterns that emerged during these three phases. The first phase covers news from 1993-1996, phase two encompasses reported stalking events between 1997-1999, and news from 2000 to 2002 are included in the third phase of coverage. In describing my findings, I ascertain the newsworthiness of stalking. Second, I explore how journalists and reporters produced news of stalking, followed by an examination of the experts and citizens sourced in the news. Third, I study stalking demographics outlined by experts and other sources, including the types of stalking in the news, stalkers, victims, and stalking behaviours. This data provides a context for the qualitative findings that emerge from my analysis of discourse. Next, I discuss themes that emerge from the media's construction of stalking, and discourses that form in the process. Finally, I study each discourse to determine if it is manifest or latent.

The Newsworthiness of Stalking

As Table 1 illustrates, news coverage was marked by increases followed by

decreases throughout my analysis. For example, stalking emerged as a newsworthy issue in 1993 (12.2 %), followed by a decline the following year. By 1995, news reports of stalking increased slightly and continued to increase until 1998 (13.3 %). A decline followed in 1999 (9.6 %), yet stalking news reached its peak the next year (13.7 %). Reporters and journalists reduced their coverage in 2001 (7.4 %), and by 2002, stalking increased in news prominence to a full ten percent.

If we break down the percentage of stories by phase, we discover that 94 stories were produced during phase one, representing (34.8 %) of the total news. This percentage reflected news when the law was introduced, amended, and implemented on August 1, 1993, and when the first two amendments were being considered. During the second phase (1997-1999), 92 stories were produced, representing (34.1 %) of the total. During this time frame, stalkers were processed through the courts, and experts, reporters, and journalists became familiar with the dynamics of the problem. Additionally, discussions of the third and final amendment to the criminal harassment law occurred. Stalking declined slightly by the third phase, when 84 stories were produced, representing (31.1 %) of the total news.

By far newspapers presented most news about stalking (76.7 %). Televised and radio broadcasts accounted for 13.3 percent of the news, while magazines contributed the remaining ten percent of my sample. A bivariate analysis of the news items by phase revealed some interesting trends. As Table 2 shows, the percentage of newspapers gradually decreased from the first through the third phases (88.3 % and 61.9 % respectively). Televised and radio broadcasts revealed the opposite pattern; coverage

increased dramatically from the first (1.1 %) through the third phases (32.1 %). Indeed,

only one radio broadcast included a debate surrounding the efficacy of the law during

phase one, but stalking became a newsworthy issue in the televised media in 1997, and

secured a position in the televised news during the remainder of my time frame.

Magazines uncovered yet another trend. Coverage increased from the first to the second

phase (10.6 % and 13 % respectively), but declined considerably during the third phase of

coverage (6 %).

Studying three news mediums allowed for an increased range in coverage,

however, 83 percent of the stories were limited to single mediums. A bivariate analysis

uncovered that single mediums were most prominent during the first phase of reporting

when stalking gained social and legal recognition (97.9 %), but decreased considerably

during the second phase (71.7. %) when news involving celebrities, unusual

circumstances, and homicide generated multiple medium coverage. Reliance on single

mediums increased again by phase three of news reporting (78.6 %).

Not surprisingly, most news of stalking were ordinary news reports (59.6 %),

followed by editorials/commentary/opinion columns (6.7 %), letters to the editor (5.9 %),

features, sports stories, and news interviews (each at 5.6 %), arts/music (3.6 %), and

"other" (7.4 %). Many of the "other" stories were found in *Flare*, and did not fit into my

classification scheme. A bivariate analysis (Table 3) uncovered a few noteworthy trends.

Ordinary news reports increased slightly throughout my analysis, while news interviews

rose sharply from the first (1.1 %) through the third phase (13.1 %) of coverage,

reflecting the broadcast media's interest in stalking. Editorials/opinion columns (10.6 %)

and letters to the editor (9.6 %) were more frequent during the first phase, with a lot of

citizen input and contention surrounding the prospect of the anti-stalking law. Citizens

were less instrumental in the news after the law was enacted. While comprising a small

percentage during the first two phases, news of the arts and music was absent in the last

phase.

Because celebrities were included in the items I sampled, stories were often, but

not exclusively, situated according to their status. Most appeared in section A (46.3 %),

followed by other sectional news (19.3 %), front page/lead/feature stories (7.4 %), letters

to the editor (5.2 %)[4], and other front page news and sports (at 3.7 % each). The items in

Flare (1.1 %) were limited to page numbers, thus did not meet my classification

requirements. Of the televised broadcasts, ten percent were evening broadcasts, while the

remaining (3.3 %) were morning broadcasts. As with story type, placement revealed

some interesting trends by phase. Not surprisingly, the number of front page news

decreased from the first (12.7 %) through the third phases of reporting (3.6 %) (Table 4).

By far, section A news was most prominent during phase two (51.1 %), while morning

and evening broadcasts increased by the third phase of my analysis (8.3 % and 23.8 %

respectively).

Most mediums afforded prominent space and time for news about stalking. Using

the word count method described in chapter 3, almost 70 percent of the stories were

primary (69.6 %), followed by secondary (17.4 %), and tertiary stories (13 %). Breaking

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[4] Letters to the editor were located in section A of *The Globe and Mail*, however, I coded
   them under "Letters" to be consistent with the other news mediums.

down the type of coverage by phase, primary stories accounted for more than two-thirds of the news during each phase. Most occurred during the first phase of reporting (71.3 %). By contrast, phase two contained the most secondary (21.7 %) and tertiary (15.2 %) stories (Table 5).

Producing News of Stalking

Not surprisingly, journalists and reporters produced the majority of the news on stalking (43.3 %), followed by wire services (24.5 %), citizens who wrote letters to the editor (6.3 %), columnists/editors (6.3 %), and "other" (7.4 %). The remaining news producers could not be ascertained (12.2 %). A bivariate analysis revealed that journalists and reporters increasingly produced news of stalking between the first (23.4 %) and third (66.7 %) phases, while during this same time frame, wire services, citizens, and editors gradually produced less news of stalking (See Table 6). These findings partially reflected differences in the mediums I analyzed. For instance, while magazines and televised/radio broadcasts allowed for citizen input and news production through editorials, opinion columns, commentaries, and letters to the editor, they were less common after the first phase of news coverage. Additionally, while televised and radio broadcasts often utilize wire services, they did not in my sample.

Much of the news on stalking stemmed from other stories in the medium studied or as continuing news from other mediums (36.7 %), followed by scheduled events including conferences, meetings, and court appearances (29.6 %), unscheduled events whereby journalists reacted to spot news of crimes (5.6 %), and other circumstances (19.6

%). The impetus for the remaining news was not mentioned (8.5 %). Analyzing news

incidents by phase showed that continuing news constituted more than one-third of the

news events during each phase of coverage. Compared with other phases, scheduled

events were more pronounced during the third phase (36.9 %), reflecting an increase in

reporting as stalkers were processed through the courts (Table 7).

Location was an important facet when analyzing national news of stalking. I

expected that the majority of stalking incidents would occur in Canada, but given that

several celebrities resided in the United States, I anticipated a number of American-based

stories. This is precisely what occurred. Table 8 demonstrates that over two-thirds of the

total news reports (66.4 %) covered Canadian stalking incidents; nearly half discussed

incidents or reforms in central Canada (Ontario and Quebec at 31.9 %). American

stalking assumed a modest position in the news (17.8 %), while European experiences

with stalking accounted for 5.6 percent of the total news. Because my analysis included

stories that discussed particular types of stalking, locations were not always pertinent (9.2

%). A phase analysis uncovered that American stalking events were newsworthy in the

Canadian news primarily during the first phase of reporting (21.3 %), while many

significant news events occurred in British Columbia during the third phase (19 %)

(Table 9).

A little more than half of the stories discussed stalking indirectly, often as part of

a story about violence against women, security measures for celebrities, cyber-crime, and

legislative acts and bills (50.7 %). The remaining news focused exclusively on stalking,

and discussed legal and police initiatives, victim experiences and typologies, court

appearances, and sentences (49.3 %). A bivariate analysis revealed that during the first and third phases of coverage, producers tended to integrate stalking with other news (51.1 % and 53.6 %), while during phase two, they assumed a more direct approach to stalking (52.2 %).

Most headlines (47.4 %) and lead statements (56.7 %) discussed facts directly relevant to the story. These included victim and stalker demographics that enhanced our primary understanding of stalking in the news. As shown in Table 10, most of this information in headlines (59.8 %) and leads (67.3 %) stemmed from news during the second phase of coverage. Not surprisingly, during phase one, news headlines and leads contained strong evaluations about stalking.

News Sources and Stalking

As with producers, who is sourced in the news plays a crucial role in a constructionist analysis, for these individuals and organizations become claims-makers, informing our current knowledge on stalking. Just as Lowney and Best (1995) encountered more than one source in most of their study, the same occurred in my sample. Obtaining information solely from one source was not uncommon in constructing stalking events (26.7 %), but reporters and journalists often drew from multiple sources (61.9 %). In fact, the majority relied on information provided by more than three sources (27.1 %). As Table 11 illustrates, the press commonly relied on information from only one source during the first phase (30.9 %), but by the third reporting phase, they preferred more than three sources to construct the news (29.8 %).

The remaining stories did not include sources (11.4 %). According to Surette (1998) and Chermak (1998), the news prefers legal sources in relation to crime and justice issues. and stalking was no exception. Collectively, police, lawyers, judges, and criminologists were sourced most often (29 %). Other experts in the fields of social work, education, security, and surveillance were sourced in 27.1 percent of the stories. Additionally, the press sought the voices of citizens in writing the news on stalking (25.4 %). Victims and stalkers accounted for the majority of this total (18.9 %). Women's and victim's organizations were also accorded a voice in the news (8.4 %), followed by politicians (5.5 %), and medical experts (4.6 %).

A bivariate analysis of sources by phase uncovered some interesting trends. Because reporters and journalists often relied on multiple sources to write their stories, the actual number of sources during each phase was greater than the number of stories produced during that phase, as evinced in Table 12. Journalists and reporters relied on legal sources more heavily during the first and second phases (21.2 % and 21.3 % respectively), followed by victims during the same time frame (13.8 % and 18.4 % respectively). Victims' and stalkers' families, friends, and neighbours became more important during phase three of coverage, when reporters incorporated their narratives into the news.

These sources and experts engaged in stalking debates and discourses in a variety of contexts. Fully 37 percent of the journalists wrote the news in the absence of sources and/or specific events, followed by official meetings (27.4 %). Other news referred to previous reports in the media (8.1 %), and one-on-one interviews (6.3 %). The remaining

news items (21.2 %) were classified as "other." A bivariate analysis (Table 13) revealed that official meetings were more prominent during the first phase when experts discussed stalking remedies (33 %). Official meetings continued through inquiries and court processions after the inception of law. By contrast, most interviews were scheduled during the third phase of coverage (14.3 %), reflecting the televised media's involvement in stalking news production.

Sources provided a variety of knowledges on stalking. Most provided primary knowledge, discussing what happened in the reported events (43.7 %), followed by evaluative knowledge concerning the impact of stalking (25.9 %), and recommendations as to what should be done (15.6 %). Some experts described what it was like to be stalked (8.9 %), and to a lesser extent, offered explanations (secondary knowledge) (5.9 %). A bivariate analysis (Table 14) revealed that recommendations were prominent during the first reporting phase (29.8 %), while the second phase increased our primary understanding of stalking, and provided details about stalkers, victims, and stalking events (53.3 %). The third phase offered more explanations (8.3 %), and evaluated the problem (32.2 %).

Experts provided knowledge for implicit and explicit reasons. Celebrity victims, mental illness, strange behaviour, and homicide all contributed a sensational effect that helped sell the news (32.6 %). Other experts' contributed a legal effect (29.6 %) and helped frame the criminal harassment law and other legal/political remedies. In these news events, legal experts, politicians, and citizens called upon the public to support new laws to eradicate stalking. Members of women's organizations, politicians, legal experts,

and technological experts also increased awareness to the problem of stalking in the news (22.2 %), which coincided with the legal effect. Still, others sought government funding and protection for stalking victims (15.6 %). A bivariate analysis (Table 15) showed that legal effects were most prominent during the first phase of news reporting (37.2 %), while sensational effects were most pronounced during phase two (40.2 %).

Stalking Demographics in the News

Commonly discussed "types" of stalking provided a vantage point from which to establish victim and offender characteristics that lie at the crux of claims-making. Incidents and discourse surrounding intimate stalking occupied 35.5 percent of the items in my sample, followed closely by celebrity stalking (33.1 %). Claims-makers also discussed anger/revenge stalking (12.9 %), cyber-stalking (8.5 %), and courtship stalking (5.6 %). Other forms of stalking outside the parameters of this classification scheme were found in 4.4 percent of the stories. Recall that my sample contained a total of 248 typifying incidents. Breaking these down by phase (Table 16), we see that 71 incidents were reported during phase one, 101 events during phase two, and the number of typifying incidents dropped to 76 by phase three. A bivariate analysis and full discussion follows in chapter 5.

Not surprisingly, most news involved one victim (85.9 %). However, as reported, stalkers often targeted members of their victim's families, friends, and in cases involving celebrities, their assistants and bodyguards. In the current study, approximately nine percent (8.8 %) contained two victims, while 4.4 percent mentioned three or more

victims. Though uncommon, the number of victims was not always specified, affecting

less than one percent of the constructions (0.9 %). The number of news reports

containing one victim decreased from the first phase of news reporting (90.1 %) to the

second and third phases (at 84.2 % each). News reports that contained two or more

victims in the same reported stalking event increased from the first phase (9.9 %) to the

second phase of reporting (15.8 %). News involving more than one victim slightly

decreased again by the third phase (13.2 %). Likewise, most reported stalkers pursued

their victims without an accomplice (94.8 %). The third phase was the only phase to

include two (2.6 %) or three stalkers (1.3 %) in one reported stalking event. The

remaining stories did not specify the number of stalkers (1.3 %).

Women comprised the majority of reported stalking victims (75.4 %), and most

were stalked by males (77.4 %). Table 17 provides a multivariate analysis of the victim's

gender by their stalker's gender throughout my analysis. The column totals reflect the

number of typifying examples during each phase (as previously discussed). Looking at

Table 17, we see that the percentage of female victims stalked by males decreased

considerably from the first (95.3 %) to the second phases (69.9 %), and rose again by the

third reporting phase (81.8 %).

When examining the status of the victims, more than two-thirds were ordinary

citizens (66.1 %), while the remainder were actors/actresses and other television

personalities (9.7 %), singers (8.9 %), politicians (2.8 %), athletes (8.9 %), royalty (1.2

%), and other public figures (2.4 %). Like their victims, the vast majority of stalkers were

ordinary citizens (92.8 %), although a minority of celebrities and other high profile

individuals were reported to be accused stalkers (3.6 %), and the remainder were paparazzi (3.6 %). Table 18 breaks the status of victims and stalkers down by phase. Each column represented the number of victims and stalkers during each phase of this multivariate analysis, and included incidents that involved more than one victim and/or stalker, thus they may differ from the total number of typifying incidents. We can see that most celebrity victims were featured in news accounts during the second phase; singers (11.9 %) and television personalities (18.3 %) were highly targeted at this time. The third phase saw an increase in reported stalking events that contained athletes (14.1 %). Similarly, most stalkers of celebrity status appeared in reported stalking events during phase one of the news coverage, and all were athletes (7 %).

Secondary victims were mentioned in under ten percent of the news reports (9.2 %). Of these, males comprised most secondary victims (4.4 %), females accounted for (3.6 %), and the remainder were a combination of male and female victims (1.2 %). A bivariate analysis uncovered that males comprised most secondary victims during the first phase (7 %), and declined during the next two phases of coverage (3 % and 3.9 % respectively). Females, on the other hand, accounted for 2.8 percent of the secondary victims during the first phase, and were included in more news reports during the second (4 %) and third phases (3.9 %). While absent in the first phase, news involving male and female victims appeared occasionally in the second (1 %) and third phases (2.7 %).

The newsworthiness of stalking was not limited to one age group. Indeed, when mentioned, victims and their stalkers ranged from between 10 and 19 years to more than 50 years of age. Most victims were between 10 and 39 (30.6 %), while most stalkers

were reported to be between the ages of 30 and 49 (32.7 %). The results of the multivariate analysis (Table 19) showed that news reports focused on victims and stalkers between the ages of 30 and 39 during the first phase (14.1 % and 19.7 % respectively). During the second phase of reporting, most news featured 20-29 year old victims (11.9 %), while most stalkers were older than the victims they targeted. They ranged from 30 to 39 years (16.8 %) and 40 to 49 years of age (17.8 %). By phase three, younger victims (aged 10-19) were newsworthy (24.4 %), while most stalkers were between 30 and 39 (20.2 %). Notably, a fairly large proportion of reported stalkers were between the ages of 10 to 19 (17.7 %), similar to most victims during this phase.

According to news narratives, many victims had shared intimate relationships with their stalkers in the past, including dating, common-law, and marriage, while others were estranged, separated or divorced (35.5 %). Celebrities and fans/enemies characterized another common relationship (33.1 %), followed by friends and acquaintances (10.1 %), colleagues and other professional relationships (8.5 %), paparazzi and strangers (at 5.2 % each), and relatives (2.4 %). Table 20 outlines the variables that were essential to typify stalking. Where applicable, I calculated each variable as a percentage equal to 100. Based on the results of this multivariate analysis, a few typifying trends are noteworthy. Former intimates (47.9 %) and strangers (11.3 %) were predominant in the news during the first reporting phase, celebrity/fan relationships (43.6 %) were common during the second phase, while stalking by acquaintances often occurred during the third phase (25 %). Of the victims, 12.1 percent were said to have experienced violence in their previous intimate relationships, most often during the first

phase of coverage (22.5 %).

Journalists reported a variety of motives that underpinned each stalker's pursuit. Most harassed their victims out of anger and/or a desire for revenge following the dissolution of their intimate relationships (23.8 %), while over 13 percent (13.7 %) were reported to be motivated by non-intimate anger. Their anger allegedly arose out of disdain for their victim's occupation, or from a friendship gone sour. Some stalkers wanted to either create or re-create intimate relationships with their victims (9.3 %). A small percentage were diagnosed with a pathology in the news (0.8 %). A bivariate analysis in Table 21 revealed that stalkers motivated by intimate anger/revenge dominated the first phase of reporting (40.9 %). Individual pathologies were the next most commonly reported motive among stalkers during the first (21.2 %) and third phases (21.1 %). Interestingly, just under 18 percent of the stalkers during the second reporting period allegedly pursued their victims to try to create intimate relationships (17.8 %).

While Canada's anti-stalking law criminalized harassing phone calls, following, watching, sending letters or other items, and subtle or overt threatening gestures, journalists reported that most stalkers deployed more than one of these behaviours (57.7 %). Threatening gestures (10.5 %), following (6.1 %), and watching (6.1 %) were among the preferred tactics represented in the news. To a lesser extent, stalkers phoned their victims (3.6 %), wrote letters (3.2 %), and engaged in other forms of harassment (1.5 %). Their behaviours were not always specified, affecting 11.3 percent of the news items. A phase analysis revealed that most stalkers pursued their victims using more than one of these behavioural tactics during all three reporting phases (55 %, 60.4 %, and 56.6 %

respectively). Threats (19.8 %) and following (26.7 %) were more pronounced during the third phase of news coverage.

As a result of being stalked, more than half of the victims reported harm (54 %), however, the type of harm varied. Many were reportedly killed by their stalkers (42.6 %). Others suffered emotional/psychological harm (26.1 %), followed by physical harm excluding homicide (11.9 %), and physical and emotional harm (8.2 %). The emotional harm led victims to take their own lives in 9.7 percent of the news, while a small percentage of celebrity victims were accidentally killed in automobile crashes while the paparazzi pursued them (1.5 %). Interesting trends emerged when analyzing the type of harm by phase. Homicide was highest during the first phase of news reporting (28.2 %). Accidental death during pursuit affected victims solely during the second phase (2 %), while suicide was an unfortunate outcome for victims during the third phase alone (17.1 %) (Table 20).

Most news of stalking did not mention whether stalkers had violated restraining orders in pursuit of their victims (72.2 %). A modest percentage of stalkers (12.9 %) violated retraining orders by pursuing their victims, while just under four percent violated no-contact orders (3.6 %), and a small proportion (0.8 %) violated no contact orders at their victims' homes. According to journalists and reporters, the remaining 8.5 percent of the stalkers did not violate restraining orders. Interestingly, two percent of the victims were granted restraining orders after being stalked. Restraining orders became more prevalent in the news throughout the coverage (9.9 %, 10.9 %, and 18.4 % respectively) (Table 20).

News Discourse and Stalking

The headlines and lead statements helped contextualize the various discourses on stalking. Five news discourses circulated stalking as a media event: (a) a legal discourse that constituted victims and stalkers in terms of legal wrongdoing and victim harm (53.3 %), (b) a moral discourse that condemned stalkers, criticized the government's failure to protect victims, and evoked sympathy for victims' plights (21.5 %), (c) a technological discourse that emphasized stalking in regard to information privacy, security, and surveillance (8.1 %), (d) a political discourse that discussed political motivations for stalking initiatives (5.6 %), and (e) a medical discourse that pathologized stalkers and their actions (4.8 %). The rest of the news items (6.7 %) did not constitute stalking as one of the above, or frame any other unifying discourse (Table 22).

Legal Discourse

A review of the legal variables represented in the news orients my analysis of the legal discourse. Most news was produced prior to stalkers' arrests for stalking or other crimes (37.9 %), reflecting news before stalking was criminalized in Canada and when stalkers committed suicide. After the Canadian law was proclaimed on August 1, 1993, many stories included conviction and sentencing precedents. Not surprisingly, most journalists and reporters produced news during the judicial proceedings stage (20.7 %), followed by the arrest stage (18.1 %), and disposition stage (17.2 %), whereby stalkers were serving or about to serve their sentences for criminal harassment and other offences. News reports did not always focus on legal variables or a particular stage in criminal

justice proceedings (6.1 %). Examining the stage of stalking throughout the three phases

of news coverage (Table 23), we see that phase two contained most stories before stalkers

were arrested and when stalkers were serving their dispositions (21.8 %). By contrast,

court proceedings and trials provided ample opportunities for journalists and reporters to

write stories during the third reporting phase (32.9 %).

Journalists and reporters rarely mentioned criminal records in their news reports

(84.3 %), however, most were for violent offences (7.3 %), non-violent crimes (2.8 %),

and criminal harassment, alone (1.2 %) or combined with violent (0.4 %) and non-violent

offences (0.4 %). Prior to stalking their victims, 3.6 percent of the stalkers had no

reported criminal record. A bivariate analysis uncovered that the number of stalkers who

reportedly had no criminal record increased throughout the three phases (from 0 % to 3 %

and 7.9 % respectively). By contrast, the number of stalkers with reported violent

criminal records decreased from the first (14.1 %) through the second (4.9 %) and third

phases of reporting (3.9 %) (Table 24).

Charges were not always applicable (52 %) or specified (1.2 %). The majority of

stalkers were charged solely with criminal harassment (19.4 %), 3.6 percent were charged

with criminal harassment and uttering threats of death or bodily harm, breach of

probation/recognizance (2.4 %), or assault (0.8 %), criminal harassment and other

offences (8.1 %), and charges other than criminal harassment (12.5 %). A bivariate

analysis (Table 25) showed that charges for criminal harassment increased throughout my

analysis of the news (from 9.9 % during phase one to 28.9 % by phase three). Charges

excluding criminal harassment peaked during the first phase (25.4 %), and most involved

violence and homicide. The news did not always indicate when stalkers were convicted

(58.8 %). Of the news that included verdicts, most stalkers were convicted (36.1 %).

This finding increased throughout my bivariate analysis of the news (26.5 %, 35.3 %, and

43.1 %).

When mentioned, most stalkers received prison terms, alone or in conjunction

with probation and other dispositions (53.5 %). Other court dispositions included fines

(9.3 %) and other penalties (9.3 %). The remaining dispositions were not mentioned

(27.9). A bivariate analysis in Table 26 illustrates that fines were reported more during

the first phase of coverage (22.2 %). Prison terms accounted for a fairly large proportion

of the dispositions during the first phase (44.5 %), but were most pronounced during the

second phase of news reporting (66.6 %), before they declined during the third phase

(18.2 %).

The length of prison terms and periods of probation varied. Prison terms ranged

from up to six months (35.3 %), between 6 and 11 months (11.8 %), between 12 and 17

months (5.9 %), and 24 months or more (47 %). Periods of probation were broken down

into similar intervals and ranged from between 12 and 17 months (11.1 %), 18 to 23

months (11.1 %), and 24 months or more (77.8 %). For comparative purposes, Table 27

provides a multivariate analysis of the length of prison terms and periods of probation for

convicted stalkers during each phase of coverage. Prison terms of less than 6 months

were more common during the second phase of coverage (50 %), while longer prison

terms were also common during the second and third phases (at 50 % each). Compared

with earlier reporting, prison terms were more dispersed by the third phase. Periods of

probation increased in length throughout my analysis. The most common length of 24 months or more peaked during the second phase of reporting (100 %).

The legal discourse comprised more than half (58.5 %) of the news discourse during the first reporting phase. Lawyers, judges, police, criminologists, politicians, members of women's organizations, victims, and other citizens participated in this discourse. Their statements contained similar features. Prior to the onset of law, they spoke almost exclusively of females pursued by their former husbands and boyfriends. Police described their behaviours as "campaigns" to try to win back their loved ones, "crimes of passion," "unrequited love," "obsessive love," or "lovers' quarrels" (Finlay, *CBC Radio Transcripts: Centrepoint*, April 25, 1993). Editorialists echoed these constitutions, framing the law as one "Designed to stop men who stalk and intimidate women, often their estranged wives or girlfriends" (Editorial, *The Globe and Mail*, April 28, 1993: A22).

The inception of law enabled law enforcement personnel to constitute victims, stalkers, and their relationships more precisely as a news event. Detective Sergeant Jim Van Allen of Ontario's Provincial Police behavioural sciences division, confirmed that not all of the victims who sought assistance had been involved in intimate relationships with their stalkers; some were acquaintances or strangers (Unland, *The Globe and Mail*, August 1, 1996: A6). With this new knowledge, legal experts and other news sources continued to constitute women as victims, however, the range of possible relationships with their stalkers and stalking behaviours discursively expanded post-law. The following quote is illustrative:

Stalkers, whether strangers or men with whom women once were romantically involved, exercise their obsession in similar ways. They may follow a woman from place to place, often for extended periods of time. They may sit outside her workplace or home.

There are frequent and harassing telephone calls . . . Unwanted gifts and letters arrive in the mail, some containing overt threats. Often, a new spouse or companion is threatened . . .(Breckenridge, *The Globe and Mail*, February 28, 1994: A1).

Still, experts emphasized intimate ties between stalkers and victims and considered their behaviours dangerous. As new information became available, new victims were constituted in the news, including physicians who perform abortions. Regular news, editorials, letters to the editor, and opinion columns described their stalkers as "snipers." Additionally, while politicians and legislators initially referred to celebrity victims to distinguish stalking in Canada from the United States, their experiences became regular legal news narratives. Indeed, experts spoke of celebrity victims in Canada, America, and Europe, including Madonna and Monica Seles. As these stalkers were processed through the criminal justice system, fear became increasingly central to the legal discourse.

Madonna's ordeal helped frame the legal discourse. She discussed the emotional impact of being stalked: "I felt incredibly violated and even more frightened," adding that when Robert Hoskins approached her home, "he said he was there to take me away and be my husband and if he couldn't have me he was going to kill me" (Reuters, *The Globe and Mail*, January 4, 1996: C3). After convicting Madonna's stalker, juror Penny Parker admitted "As far as the women were convinced, there was no doubt," however, "The men took a little convincing on what would scare a person" (Reuters, *The Globe and Mail*,

January 9, 1996: N21). Judges and jurors assessed the fear component of the stalking law as more stalkers were processed through the courts, and they constituted stalking as "terrifying," "frightening," and "violating" for male and female victims.

The emergence of same-sex stalking in the news spawned changes in how stalkers were constituted based on gender. Indeed, legal experts spoke of women who pursued male and female celebrities, colleagues, and acquaintances for romance, friendship, and career opportunities. A minority were said to be driven by anger and revenge, however, legal narratives rarely constituted females as dangerous. While experts differently constituted their motives and personalities, male and female stalkers reportedly engaged in the same conduct and evoked the same response from their victims.

By phase two, experts still spoke of women stalked by their former boyfriends and husbands, however, their focus turned more to celebrity victims. Indeed, Princess Diana's death fuelled a number of discursive changes about stalkers who pursued "celebrities," "stars," and "public figures." Unlike intimate male stalkers, experts constituted celebrity stalkers as "mentally ill," "obsessed fans," and "threatening shadows." Princess Diana's death marked another significant change, constituting the paparazzi as celebrity stalkers. This change held significant repercussions, as we shall see later.

During phase two of the news, fear remained central to the legal discourse when stalkers were prosecuted. For instance, during Jonathan Norman's trial, Steven Spielberg, openly expressed how being stalked has affected him:

> Mr. Spielberg told Superior Court Judge Steven Suzukawa he came to
> court "as a father, a husband and a son," who would only feel safe with

Mr. Norman behind bars for a long time."I place myself in your hands,"
Mr. Spielberg said (Reuters, The Globe and Mail, June 18, 1998: A19).

After sentencing Spielberg's stalker to 25 years under California's three strikes law,

Judge Suzukawa underscored his fears, stating that he found Mr. Norman's behaviour

"obsessive and frightening" (Reuters, *The Globe and Mail*, June 18, 1998: A19).

Additionally, Newfoundland Premier Brian Tobin was stalked, allowing experts to

constitute politicians as victims in the legal discourse during the second reporting period

(Davies, *Maclean's*: November 16, 1998: 12). This change in victim constitutions was

met with a change in stalkers. Now, they were constituted in the news as disgruntled

voters who had issues with the government.

By the third reporting phase, experts continued to constitute politicians as victims,

and they focused on the adequacy of security on Parliament Hill. The legal discourse

highlighted firearm concerns and jurisdictional and communication dilemmas regarding

security. Additional modifications named politicians as stalkers, thus the relationships

that characterized stalking in the political discourse incurred changes. As stalkers,

politicians pursued former lovers and individuals known to them, whereas those who

stalked politicians did not share intimate ties at all. Indeed, these "mentally ill

constituents" telephoned political offices, showed up on Parliament Hill and threatened

their families. They were angry with members of Parliament for not conducting their

duties. As a victim, Liberal MP John O'Reilly offered solutions to these security gaps:

"have a security system that is a Parliamentary Hill precinct security system" (Taber, *The*

Globe and Mail, November 21, 2002: A8).

Expert constitutions of intimate and celebrity stalkers and victims continued into

the third phase, and reporters depicted stalking as increasingly violent. *CTV News* anchor Lloyd Robertson reported that nine incidents of stalking led to homicide; all involved female victims who had separated from their boyfriends or spouses (November 29, 2000: 23:00:00-23:30:00 ET). During this time, experts also spoke of child victims targeted by cyber-stalkers, while police officers and others continued to reprimand stalkers in pursuit of children, women, and celebrities. Legal, political, and medical experts all attributed blame to stalkers, while stalkers, namely the paparazzi, deflected blame onto others. They claimed that celebrities should anticipate being photographed as a consequence of their high profile careers and lifestyles.

During the third phase, experts discussed youths as stalkers in the news, and constituted them as strangers, classmates, and former friends who preyed upon other youths. In fact, experts drew parallels between stalking and bullying during this time, owing to a female youth who was charged, convicted, and sentenced for stalking her friend. The news media devoted considerable coverage to this story. According to anchor Lloyd Robertson "There was a typical teenage dispute over who started a false rumour about someone else" (*CTV News*, March 25, 2002: 23:00:00-23:30:00 ET). A B.C. teenager was later charged and convicted of criminal harassment for engaging in threatening conduct that caused her former friend such fear that she took her own life (Mickelburgh, *The Globe and Mail*, March 30, 2002: F3).

The Moral Discourse

A moral discourse emerged from the beginning of my news sample, often

preceding news of legislative amendments. In their letters to the editor, editorials, and

opinion columns, citizens sympathized with female victims and morally denounced male

stalkers. Before stalking was criminalized, opinion columns also condemned the justice

system for inadequately protecting women; time and again, citizens criticized the moral

failure of restraining orders. Other columns were cynical toward the elements of anti-

stalking laws because victims still endured emotional harm before stalkers could be

charged. One woman noted that "the law is still a crude instrument, better able to

respond to the damage done in a punch to the face or a knife wound than to emotional

pain" (Wickens, *Maclean's*, June 26, 1995: 39).

Celebrities also generated public outrage when they stalked others and escaped

punishment. Citizens were particularly appalled when the public sympathized with high

status stalkers rather than their victims. In regard to news involving legal actions against

O.J. Simpson, one journalist poignantly stated:

> **Most abusers aren't famous and most of the women they abuse don't die.
> But the pathology is common as dirt.**
>
> **A media circus, a revolting crime, an American tragedy. But let's stay
> morally clear about whose tragedy it was. Not his. Hers** (Wente, *The
> Globe and Mail*, June 25, 1994: A2).

Victims and other citizens remained important news sources in the moral

discourse throughout my analysis, denouncing stalkers' actions in strong emotive terms.

For instance, they condemned pro-life picketers who stalked physicians and their female

clients, constituting these stalkers as snipers who infringed on physicians' rights to

perform abortions, a topic that generated heated public debates.

By phase two of the coverage, changes in the discursive rules constituting

celebrity victims and stalkers sparked a new moral outrage at the paparazzi. Editorials.

opinion columns, and letters to the editor espoused a new vocabulary of celebrity stalking

in the news, including "stalkerazzi," "the stalking paparazzi," and they even referred to a

"paparazzi plague," a term that commonly denotes epidemic diseases. Indeed, as they

invaded the lives of celebrities for financial gain and entertainment, the paparazzi

generated anger and public outcry in the news media. In the days following Princess

Diana's death, celebrities and citizens shared their opinions on the issue. Madonna

condemned the paparazzi and the public. Speaking about Diana's death, she said:

> **As much as I want to blame the press, we all have blood on our hands.
> All of us, even myself. I bought those magazines and I read them. Until
> we no longer feel that it is our right to read about people's private lives,
> and until we lose our fascination with scandal and sensational
> journalism, we are never going to act. It is all our faults** (As cited in
> Jackman, *The Globe and Mail*, September 5, 1997: D8).

During the second reporting phase, the discursive boundaries widened in the news

to incorporate new means of pursuing victims. The evolution of cyber-stalking spawned

a new breed of stalkers whose immoral actions gained attention. Speaking of a teacher

who had cyber-stalked a student, college registrar Ms. Wilson commented that: "There's

an anonymity to the medium that leads people to forget what it is they are doing . . . This

happens to be a teacher and, from our point of view, that makes it reprehensible" (As

cited in Galt, *The Globe and Mail*, September 30, 1999: A1).

The moral discourse was most prominent during the third phase (26.2 %). Here.

intimate stalking victims reported their frustration with their stalkers and the justice

system. Journalists reported that many stalkers had violated restraining orders in pursuit

of their victims, and many victims were subsequently killed. Heated debates ensued

between members of women's organizations, victims, and their families on one side, and

law enforcement personnel on the other. They illustrated how legal issues inspired moral

judgements. Many experts, journalists, and broadcast anchors linked inadequate

government funding for shelters with stalking tragedies. They criticized the justice

system in the wake of a woman murdered by a stalker. Lloyd Robertson contextualized

the story:

> It's a case that dramatizes domestic violence in haunting detail. A coroner's
> jury has completed its investigation of the murder of an Ontario woman,
> Gillian Hadley. She was stalked and killed by her estranged husband, Ralph.
> **An inquiry found she might have lived, if only police had given her**
> **protection, and she had not been forced to languish on a waiting list for**
> **a woman's shelter** (Robertson, *CTV News*, February 8, 2002: 23:00:00-
> 23:30:00 ET).

News of this tragedy further fuelled the moral discourse. Other letters to the editor

dismissed restraining orders and offered custodial remedies for male stalkers:

> **It is ludicrous to believe that someone out of control will obey a piece of**
> **paper, particularly when so many are prepared to swallow the barrel of**
> **a gun after they have paid back the object of their rejection.** Perhaps it
> is time that any man subject to a restraining order be incarcerated in a secure
> psychiatric facility until authorities are satisfied that he can get his anger
> under control (Shapiro, *The Globe and Mail*, June 23, 2000: A16).

Technological Discourse

While stalking by means of malicious e-mails made the news during the first

phase of coverage, reporters did not constitute it as cyber-stalking, and did not formulate

a technological discourse at that time. However, during the second reporting phase, the

Internet inspired the development of a new discourse on stalking, highlighting the

technological prowess of cyber-stalkers (11.9 %). Initially, gender did not exert the same

impact in constituting cyber-stalkers and their victims as with other discourses, and

experts discursively constituted stalkers as non-violent. They called them "high-tech

stalkers," "techno stalkers," "cyber-stalkers," and "electronic intruders" who often

pursued strangers in a manner that was "taunting," "elusive," and "mysterious." Cyber-

stalkers harassed their victims via screens, telephones, cameras, and other technological

mediums. Retired RCMP security specialist Doug Ralph explained "This stuff is out

there, it's available, it's being sold for one purpose and used for another - illegal -

purpose" (Gooderham, *The Globe and Mail*, April 18, 1997: A8). One family's story in

Emeryville, Ontario was illustrative of this news discourse and the experts who

participated in it:

> A team of six industrial espionage experts hired by two television networks
> was to spend last night "sweeping" the Emeryville home, trying to find out
> how the elusive techno-stalker has been invading the lives of Dwayne and
> Debbie Tamai over the past four months.
>
> The effort is the latest in a bizarre tale of surveillance and counter-measures
> nicknamed The Emeryville Horror (Gooderham, *The Globe and Mail*, April
> 18, 1997: A8).

By phase three of news reporting, gender became prominent in constituting

victims in the technological discourse. Women were targeted by male stalkers they had

met in chat rooms. These "technically sound" cyber-stalkers obtained their victims'

names, addresses, and phone numbers from computer program registration forms.

Experts reported that changing chat rooms did not cease the stalking because victims still

had to log onto a server. Journalists attributed additional victim characteristics: they were

naive on-line and that made them vulnerable. Their stalkers, on the other hand, were

reported to be calculating, precise, and oftentimes dangerous. They no longer set out

simply to annoy their victims, but to harm them if they were rejected on-line. Detective

Bruce Headridge of B.C.'s Organized Crime Agency helped constitute the environments

in which cyber-stalking occurred and what motivated cyber-stalkers:

> Complaints have doubled in the past year ... frequently after a contact made
> in a chat room turned sour. A common stalker ploy is to send copies of
> indiscreet e-mail to employers, in hopes of having the victim fired. More
> frightening for one U.S. woman was a stalker who sent out dozens of e-mails
> claiming that she fantasized about being raped. Says Headridge: "She
> actually had someone come to the door and say they wanted to rape her"
> (Wood & Branswell, *Maclean's*, February 19, 2001: 18).

Additional victim and stalker constitutions emerged. Experts constituted them as

young women, aged 12 to 17. Their stalkers pursued them by sending "lewd and

inappropriate" messages on the Internet. Journalists contextualized cyber-stalking in the

wake of four children lured by Internet "predators." According to them, like their adult

counterparts, children met their stalkers in chat rooms. As time lapsed, they forgot that

these people were strangers, not friends, let down their guard, and conveyed personal

information. Reportedly, cyber-stalking led to abductions and harassment. Gender also

became relevant in designating cyber-stalkers in the news. They were male predators

who lured young girls from their homes. Not surprisingly, experts became increasingly

concerned with child victims, whose stalkers were no longer elusive, but represented real

threats to them. Their motives reportedly differed. Some wanted children as an

accomplice for committing crimes, while others were sexual predators looking for new

prey.

Indeed, as journalists described, the new millenium brought about "democratized

surveillance." Anyone could use audio and video surveillance devices available at stores

such as Vancouver's Spy-Central. As RCMP Sgt. Bruce Imrie of the Technology Crimes Unit remarked "Technology is advancing at an alarming rate . . . So the things that we encounter in the field and then through our investigations are always changing . . . Training is an ever-present need" (Mansbridge, *CBC The National*, October 2, 2002: 10:00PM ET).

Political Discourse

Not surprisingly, the political discourse (9.6 %) was more prominent during the first phase of news reporting when the preamble, introduction, and implementation of Canada's anti-stalking law occurred. Politicians, members of women's organizations, and lawyers participated in this discourse, which was characterized by ambivalence and dissent over the proposed law. Female politicians who helped draft the law emphasized the link between intimate stalking and murder. One researcher noted that "Men who stalk women often go on to murder their victims," and contextualized the problem as follows: "While the term stalking is relatively new, the problem isn't . . . It is another form of violence toward women" (Canadian Press, *The Globe and Mail*, May 17, 1993: A4). Before the law was incepted, the Tories spoke of women stalked by their former "disgruntled" intimate partners. They described stalking behaviours as following, phoning, sending gifts, communicating, and watching them at their homes or workplaces. They called stalkers "predators" who terrified their victims, and used these constitutions to justify their motivation to create a law.

Those who attended a meeting about stalking remedies were skeptical about the

proposed law, stating that "It was about time the dilemma affecting many Canadian women was recognized, but cautioned that recognition means nothing if the entire legal system doesn't change, and work together" (Canadian Press, *The Globe and Mail*, May 17, 1993: A4). NAC president Sunera Thobani wanted politicians to consult with women's groups to devise remedies:

> It's very important to get those groups who are doing the front-line work to meet and have some say and input into what changes we can make if this is really going to be more than just some kind of **pre-election good PR exercise** (Canadian Press, *The Globe and Mail*, May 3, 1993: A6).

The Quebec Bar Association also criticized politicians. They claimed that because the Tories introduced the bill so close to the end of the parliamentary session, it would not be adequately examined (Blais, *The Globe and Mail*, May 24, 1993: A11). With the law in place, Justice Ministers exerted less influence in the news, however, political strife re-emerged later in the news.

By phase two, the press turned to political experts who were responsible for women's issues to construct the news. These politicians continued to constitute female victims and male stalkers who had been previously involved. Along with representatives from women's organizations, they used these constitutions to press for political initiatives to protect victims, including educational programs and increased funding for shelters. Women's organizations were less enthusiastic about these non-legal reforms. They continued to criticize the federal government for cutting funding for housing projects and reducing welfare, as the following quote exemplifies:

> "This is cosmetic intervention that requires a fully funded and comprehensive support network that is adequate to the needs of abused women and their children, and that does not exist," said Eileen Morrow, lobby co-ordinator

with the Ontario Association of Interval and Transition Houses.

" . . . If it helps a few women, that's good. But what we need is restoration of services that have been gutted by the province of Ontario . . ." (Philp, *The Globe and Mail*, January 30, 1998: A7).

By the third phase of news reporting, the political discourse declined in prominence. Politicians and members from women's organizations still discussed stalking as an issue affecting men and women in intimate relationships. They also began to constitute child victims of Internet predators. During this time, the Liberals tabled a new bill entitled *The Criminal Law Amendment Act*. Opposing parties were ambivalent about the bill, as it contained many diverse pieces of legislation, including increased penalties for indictable criminal harassment convictions and a new *Criminal Code* offence to protect children from Internet stalkers. While accepting many of these proposed reforms, other politicians were suspicious of the diversity of the bill, as illustrated by the following quote:

> Opposition MPs, however, complained about the government packing several issues into one bill. Canadian Alliance justice critic Vic Toews said that while his party supports the child protection measures, it wants them separated from the rest of the changes – which include a regulatory amendment to the controversial Firearms Act, and give expanded power to the Justice Minister to review possible wrongful convictions for summary offences, such as drunk driving (MacKinnon, *The Globe and Mail*, March 15, 2001: A1).

This quote implicitly questioned the political motivation for including a wide range of amendments with laws designed to protect children from cyber-stalkers. Children were constructed as vulnerable and in need of protection. By supporting child-protection laws, opposing political parties inadvertently accepted other components of the act.

The Medical Discourse

The medical discourse attributed stalkers' pursuits to underlying mental illnesses. Psychiatrists, psychologists, nurses, and social workers pathologized stalkers and diagnosed them with erotomania, schizophrenia, and paranoid personality disorders. This discourse first appeared in 1993, when tennis player Monica Seles was stalked and stabbed by Guenter Parche, a man obsessed with her rival Steffi Graf. While in custody, Psychiatrist Wolfgang Pinski examined Parche, and diagnosed him with "a highly abnormal personality" (Associated Press, *The Globe and Mail*, October 14, 1993: C8). Speaking of Parche, Dr. Pinski signified how the medical discourse constituted victims, stalkers, and stalking behaviours in news reports:

> **"For him, Steffi Graf was someone other-worldly,"** Pinski testified.
>
> **"He couldn't eat, he couldn't sleep when she lost.** He was depressed for several days, he had suicidal tendencies," Pinski said.
>
> **"By stabbing Seles, Parche was offering a personal sacrifice,"** . . .
>
> **Pinski described Parche as a man "introverted, withdrawn and insecure from early childhood."** Parche had "no sexual life" and no friends, he said (Associated Press, *The Globe and Mail*, October 14, 1993: C8).

Other medical experts emphasized gender; they pathologized men who stalked their former wives and girlfriends. Dr. Nathan Pollock of the John Howard Society reported that men who stalked women lost control in other areas of their lives and were trying to compensate by controlling others (*Flare*, March 1996: 116-117). Forensic psychiatrist Shabreham Lohrasbe added that 80 percent of stalkers knew their victims and "cannot take no for an answer from someone with whom they were involved, often intimately," describing stalkers as narcissistic, self-centered, recidivists (Howard, *The*

Globe and Mail, November 25, 1996: A1).

During the second phase of news coverage, the medical discourse still included ordinary stalkers; experts drew analogies between male stalkers and pit bulls. For example, Dr. Neil Jacobson and Dr. John Gottman claimed:

"Pit bulls are great guys, until they get into an intimate relationship,"

"O.J. Simpson is a classic pit bull. Pit bulls confine their monstrous behaviour to the women they love, acting out of emotional dependence and a fear of abandonment. Pit bulls are the stalkers, the jealous husbands and boyfriends who are charming to everyone except their wives and girlfriends" (Brody, *The Globe and Mail*, March 17, 1998: A13).

According to medical experts, stalkers included celebrities, former husbands, boyfriends, neighbours, casual acquaintances, colleagues, and angry employees. While the majority of victims were stalked by former lovers or spouses, other stalkers "seem to pick their victims at random, prompted, perhaps, by some real or imagined slight or, out of paranoia, for a reason that has no apparent connection to reality" (Brody, *The Globe and Mail*, November 3, 1999: C8).

During the second reporting period, psychiatrists, psychologists, pharmacists, and other members of the medical community continued to discursively constitute celebrity stalkers as mentally ill. They provided examples of stars who were seriously injured or killed, including Monica Seles, George Harrison, Ronald Reagan, and Theresa Saldana to accentuate the danger that celebrity stalkers posed. Their obsessions have reportedly led many celebrity stalkers to be confined in mental hospitals. For example, John Hinckley:

> the man who shot and nearly killed then-U.S. -president Ronald Reagan in 1981, was motivated by his desire to impress actress Jodie Foster. Mr. Hinckley continued to mount photographs of Ms. Foster on the walls of his room in a mental hospital years after his conviction" (Posner, *The Globe and*

Mail, December 31, 1999: A3).

Female stalkers, however, were discursively constituted in a less violent vocabulary, yet experts still described their conduct as "obsessive." Distinguishing their motives and behaviours from their male counterparts, forensic psychiatrist Shabreham Lohrasbe noted:

> **Mental illness is often the key difference between male and female stalkers.** . . . He says women suspects are more severely disturbed than men who commit this crime . . . – and more likely to have a major mental disorder. **"The men are focused on power and control and, often, the stalking is an extension of an abusive relationship,"** . . . He says men are far more likely to inflict physical injuries on their victims. " . . . When women engage in behaviour that instils real fear, they usually have some sort of psychiatric syndrome" (Schuler, *Flare*, September 1997: 120-126).

By the third phase, celebrity stalkers were increasingly framed as mentally ill in the news, and during judicial proceedings, many judges insisted that they receive psychiatric evaluations. Medical experts also constituted intimate stalkers very similarly to the previous two phases of the coverage, pathologizing rather than medicalizing their behaviour. The following except from an interview with Behavioural Scientist Dr. Peter Collins, of Ontario's Provincial Police exemplified this focus:

> PRINGLE: Would you assume that anybody who is doing this has got to have some kind of behavioural or mental illness problem?
>
> COLLINS: The ones who are intimate partner stalkers tend to be more personality disordered as opposed to having major mental illnesses or psychiatric illnesses. Now, some stalkers do have psychiatric illnesses and they will pick victims at random or the victims will be celebrities. There's a wide variety of motivations and there's no psychiatric description for stalking. It's a variety of behaviours, but we do know the vast majority have been in relationships (Pringle, *CTV Canada AM*, November 30, 2000: 6:30:00-10:00:00 ET).

In sum, the legal, moral, political, technological, and medical discourses all

constituted stalkers, their victims, and reported stalking events. Each incurred

modifications as experts uncovered new information. The press included a number of

expert and citizen sources in all of these discourses, and accredited each in the news.

Perhaps certain discourses were preferred because they allowed journalists and their

sources to sensationalize stalking, an area that we now explore.

Sensationalizing Stalking in the News

Examining multiple mediums allowed for enhanced coverage of newsworthy

stories. By far, most stories were newsworthy for one day (51 %), followed by seven

days or more (13.6 %), two days (12.6 %), five days (11.7 %), three days (6.1 %), six

days (3 %), and four days (2 %). Table 28 displays a multivariate analysis of news

coverage involving ordinary and celebrity victims and stalkers. The column totals

included all of the typifying examples and were based on the number of days that stories

involving these individuals appeared. As Table 28 shows, celebrities attracted much

news coverage. News spanning five days was common during the first phase of coverage

(45.5 %), however, journalists and reporters preferred single day coverage during the

second (44.8 %) and third phases (57.9 %). Notably, news spanning one week or more

was more prominent during phase three of the coverage (31.6 %). Indeed, Martina

Hingis' stalking case remained newsworthy as her stalker was processed through the

courts and correctional systems, each news event attracting publicity. When examining

coverage that involved ordinary victims and stalkers, we see that single day news

coverage was common and most pronounced during the first reporting phase (78.8 %)

and declined through the third phase (47.9 %). As with celebrities, most stories featured for one week or more occurred during the third phase of the news coverage (30.4 %).

Capitalized words in titles also added a sensational effect. Generally speaking, most stories only used capital letters for proper nouns like I (73.6 %), rather than an entire word or title, despite the victims or stalkers involved. Almost ten percent of the titles were fully capitalized (9.8 %), followed by one word in the title (7.8 %), three words (4.9 %), and two words (3.9 %). Unique patterns emerged when controlling for victims' and stalkers' status through a multivariate analysis (Table 29). In general, journalists capitalized more words during the first phase of the coverage when celebrity victims were involved, gradually decreasing through the second phase of news reporting. Interestingly, capitalized titles were more pronounced during the third phase (28.6 %). Opposite patterns emerged in news involving ordinary victims, where journalists reduced their use of capitalized titles by the third phase (4.3 %). Compared with other reports that featured celebrities, journalists and reporters gradually decreased their use of capitals to write the news from the first (51.6 %) through the third phases (91.4 %), as evinced by non-capitalized words within titles.

The news often included names. Approximately half of the coverage named both the victims and their stalkers (50.8 %), followed by the victim only (28.6 %), and the stalker only (10.1 %). A proportion of the stories excluded names (10.5 %). A multivariate analysis based on the number of victims and stalkers in the typifying incidents (Table 30), revealed that journalists and reporters increasingly incorporated celebrities' names without their stalkers into the news from the first (28.5 %) through the

third phases (36.4 %). They were also commonly named along with their stalkers in approximately two-thirds of the news during phase two (66.7 %). Unless the stalkers were celebrities, it was uncommon for them to be named without their victims. Referring back to the multivariate analysis in Table 30, when ordinary individuals were involved, their names frequently appeared alone during the first (34 %) and third phases (38.9 %) of news reporting, and with their stalkers during the first (32 %) and second phases (64.2 %) of the coverage. As with celebrity stalkers, it was uncommon for ordinary stalkers' to be named without journalists and reporters also naming their victims.

Victims' names were mentioned four times (33 %), once (24.4 %), more than four times (20.8 %), twice (12.7 %), and three times (9.1 %). More than 60 percent (62.9 %) of their names appeared in the news three times or more, despite their status. Interestingly, as the multivariate analysis in Table 31 demonstrated, the first phase of news coverage included most celebrity victims' names more than four times (63.1 %), while the second phase included most celebrities' names only once (31.9 %). By the third phase of coverage, journalists and reporters preferred to include victims' names four times (45.5 %). Like their celebrity counterparts, ordinary victims' names were included more than four times in the news during the first phase of reporting (36.4 %), decreasing by the third phase (7.9 %). However, most ordinary victims' were named four times during the second (34.2 %) and third (55.3 %) phases of news coverage.

Stalkers' names were less integral to the news, ranging from once (25.8 %), four times (23.8 %), more than four times (23.2 %), twice (16.6 %), and three times (10.6 %). Table 32 illustrated that most celebrity stalkers' names were incorporated into the news

four times or more during the first reporting phase (50 %). Celebrity stalkers' names usually only appeared once in stalking reports, which assumed a small position in the news during the second phase (39.4 %) and declined, yet still accounted for a large proportion during the third phase (28.6 %). By the third phase of reporting, many celebrity stalkers' names appeared four times in the news (35.7 %). Interestingly, like celebrity stalkers, ordinary stalkers' names were incorporated into the news four times or more during the first phase of coverage (47.8 %). Still, journalists and reporters commonly mentioned ordinary stalkers' names four times in the news, gradually increasing from the first reporting phase (8.7 %), and dominating the second (31.7 %) and the third reporting phases (46.1 %).

Despite the victims' status, their names often appeared in the body of the news (41.7 %). Their names also appeared in more than one of these news locations (41.1 %), within the first paragraph (15.7 %), in leads (1 %), and in the headlines (0.5 %). A multivariate analysis (Table 33) showed that by far, most celebrities' names appeared in more than one news location throughout my analysis, but most commonly during the first (78.9 %) and third (63.6 %) reporting phases. During the second phase, they were equally named in the body of the news and in more than one news location (at 48.9 % each). By contrast, their names did not appear in the headlines alone, despite the phase. When analyzing ordinary victims' names, we see that most of their names appeared within the body of the news, particularly during the first (57.6 %) and second (55.3 %) phases. Interestingly, as coverage moved into the third phase, the majority of victims' names appeared in the first paragraph of the news (79 %).

Similarly, stalkers' names frequently appeared within the main body of the story (60.3 %), throughout the news (37.7 %), and journalists also included them at the end of the news (2 %). A multivariate analysis in Table 34 showed that by far, celebrity stalkers' names increased in the body of the news from the first (42.9 %) through the third phases (78.6 %) of news coverage. By contrast, celebrity stalkers' names decreased in more than one news location from the first (57.1 %) through the third (14.3 %) phases. Like their celebrity victims, celebrity stalkers' names did not appear solely in the headlines. When analyzing ordinary stalkers, we see that their names appeared in more than one news location during the first phase (52.2 %), but by the third phase, journalists and reporters incorporated their names into the body of the news (76.9 %), mirroring the inclusion of celebrity stalkers' names during this time.

Victims' occupations often became an important component of the news. They usually appeared in the body of the news (35 %), and within the first paragraph (9.4 %), Journalists and reporters also incorporated details of their occupations in the headlines (6.3 %), leads (5.8 %), at the end of the news (5.8 %), and in more than one news location (4.4 %). Approximately one-third of the news items did not mention the victims' occupation (33.3 %). Most of these stories involved ordinary victims. A multivariate analysis (Table 35) showed that occupations were indeed an important component of the news discourse when celebrity victims were involved. Early reporting during the first (30 %) and particularly the second phase of coverage (59.6 %) included information about their occupations in the body of the news. By the third phase of news-making, occupations added a sensational effect in the headlines and at the end of the news (at 31.8

% each). Looking again at Table 35, we see that when mentioned, ordinary victims' occupations were included in the body of the news, gradually increasing throughout the three phases (27.9 %, 32.6 %, and 33.3 % respectively). Unlike celebrity victims, journalists and reporters rarely incorporated details of their occupations in the headlines or leads.

Similarly, any harm victims' incurred as a result of being stalked appeared in the main body of the news (33.6 %), in the headlines (11.2 %), in more than one news location (5.8 %), in the first paragraph (4 %), leads (2.3 %), and at the end of the story (2.3 %). News locations were not always pertinent (40.8 %). A multivariate analysis uncovered that any harm that celebrity victims suffered after being stalked was mentioned most often in the body of the news throughout the three phases, although the percentage decreased from the first (35 %) through the third phases (22.7 % %). While accounting for a modest proportion during the first two phases, reports in the third phase did not mention harm solely in the headlines. Like celebrity victims, most reporters and journalists incorporated information about harms inflicted on ordinary victims in the main body of the news, but most occurred during the third phase of reporting (49 %). Interestingly, when reports involved ordinary victims, journalists and reporters increasingly incorporated victim harm into the headlines throughout my analysis from the first (4.6 %) through to the third phase of news coverage (26.7 %).

Stalkers' occupations were less pivotal than their victims. Nonetheless, journalists and reporters included details of stalkers' occupations in the body of the news (28.8 %), in the headlines (6.2 %), in the first paragraph (5.1 %), in more than one news

location (4.5 %), in the leads (1.1 %), and at the end of the news (0.6 %). Stalkers'

occupations were not always newsworthy (53.7 %). A multivariate analysis in Table 36

showed that like their names, journalists and reporters incorporated stalkers' occupations

in the body of the news, regardless of their status. Celebrity stalkers' occupations were

mentioned most often in the body of the news during phase two (33.4 %), while their

occupations appeared in additional news locations by the third phase of coverage,

including headlines, leads, and within the first paragraph (each at 7.1 %). Similarly,

when journalists and reporters mentioned ordinary stalkers' occupations, they often

appeared in more news locations, including headlines (8.2 %), within the first paragraph

(6.1 %), and in more than one news location (10.2 %) during the second reporting phase.

By the third reporting period, the press included these details in the body of the news

(42.4 %).

Stalkers' and victims' relationships added a sensational effect and appeared most

frequently in the body of the news (67.7 %), followed by the first paragraph (18.2 %), in

the leads (5.7 %), in more than one news location (3.6 %), in the headlines (2 %), and at

the end of the news (1.6 %). A minority of the news reports did not specify the

relationship between victims and stalkers (1.2 %). Despite the victims' or stalkers'

status, journalists incorporated details of most relationships in the body of the news. A

multivariate analysis uncovered that the relationships between victims and stalkers

appeared in the body of the news during the second phase of coverage for celebrities

(83.3 %), and during the third phase among ordinary victims and stalkers (68.5 %).

The press incorporated the behaviours that comprised the reported stalking events

in a variety of news locations including the body of the news (62.1 %), in more than one

news location (17.7 %), followed by the first paragraph (5.3 %), at the end of the news (2

%), the leads (1.2 %), and in the headlines (0.4 %). Journalists and reporters did not

always incorporate stalking behaviours in the news (11.3 %). A multivariate analysis

showed that when journalists reported news events that involved celebrities, they

mentioned the stalkers' behaviours in the body of the news. However, stalking

behaviours were cited less often in the body of the news as reporting progressed from the

first (71.4 %) through the third (50 %) phases. By the third phase, journalists and

reporters frequently discussed these behaviours in more than one news location (27.3 %).

Similarly, most journalists and reporters included details of stalking behaviours that

involved ordinary victims and stalkers within the main body of the news during the first

phase of reporting (66 %), but during the third phase, stalking behaviours increasingly

appeared in more than one news location (22.2 %).

Legal outcomes of particular reported stalking events were newsworthy, and

included charges (25.4 %), sentence type and length (14.5 %), verdicts (8.5 %), and

sentence type (2 %). Legal outcomes were not always mentioned and/or relevant in

reported stalking events (49.6 %). A multivariate analysis in Table 37 revealed that

despite the victims' status, the press incorporated details of charges most frequently out

of all of the legal indicators, although the percentage of charges decreased from the first

to the second phase, but increased again by the third phase of the news coverage. For

example, charges pertaining to celebrity stalkers during phase one began at 42.9 percent,

dropped to 20.8 percent by the second reporting phase, and increased to 45.5 percent by

the third phase of coverage. The same pattern emerged with regard to ordinary victims and stalkers (20 %, 16.9 %, and 27.8 % respectively). Journalists rarely reported verdicts pertaining to celebrity stalkers, while verdicts comprised a large percentage of the legal outcomes among ordinary victims and stalkers by phase three (24.1 %).

Legal outcomes were usually incorporated in the body of the news (55.2 %), followed by the headlines (16.8 %), within the first paragraph (9.6 %), in the leads (8 %), in more than one news location (5.6 %), and at the end of the news (4.8 %). A multivariate analysis in Table 38 uncovered a few noteworthy trends. The column totals in the table were based on the number of stories that actually involved legal indicators. Table 38 shows that when the press wrote about legal actions against celebrity stalkers, they included legal indicators in the main body of the news, increasing from the first (46.1 %) to the second reporting periods (53.3 %), and decreasing again by the third reporting period (46.7 %). When writing stories about ordinary stalkers, journalists and reporters also incorporated legal indicators in the body of the news, however, the percentages were slightly higher than with celebrity stalkers in all three phases (70.4 %, 42.9 %, and 58.8 % respectively). Interestingly, legal outcomes were included in the headlines more during the second phase than any other phase, comprising one-third of the legal indicators for celebrity and ordinary stalkers alike.

Fear and pathologies also enhanced the newsworthiness of stalking. When mentioned, most journalists, reporters, and citizens discussed the word fear or a derivative only once (64.5 %). Some reports included the word twice (22.6 %), three times (9.7 %), and as many as four times or more (3.2 %). Table 39 breaks down the

number of stories containing the word fear by victims' status by phase. The table shows

that the press commonly incorporated the word fear only once in news reports involving

celebrities (71.4 %) and ordinary individuals (50 %) during the first phase of the news. In

many circumstances, sources mentioned the word fear as a necessary element in legally

constituting the crime of stalking. Interestingly, journalists and reporters did not seem to

capitalize on fear by using the word more than four times in a reported news event, with

the exception of celebrity victims during phase two (33.3 %), and to a lesser extent,

ordinary victims during the third reporting phase (8.3 %).

When mentioned, journalists and reporters incorporated discussions of fear in the

body of the news (56.5 %), followed by more than one news location (41.9 %), and in the

lead statements (1.6 %). Interestingly, fear was not mentioned solely in the headlines,

leads, within the first paragraph, in the main body, or at the end of the news. Table 40

outlines a multivariate analysis of the location of fear by victims' status by phase.

Accordingly, we see that in the early reporting of celebrity stalking events, journalists and

reporters incorporated the word fear into the main body of the story (85.7 %), but

decreased by the second reporting phase (66.7 %). During the latter reporting, they

mentioned fear in more than one news location (75 %). When reported stalking events

involved ordinary victims and stalkers, the press followed the same pattern. They

incorporated fear into the body of the news during the first (83.4 %) and second phases of

reporting (57.1 %), but by the third phase, fear appeared in more than one news location

(63.6 %).

Journalists and reporters discussed fear in relation to legal initiatives, while fear

assumed a less dominant position in stories that discussed victims' experiences. Most news sympathized with victims (54.8 %). Others blamed stalkers and the criminal justice system (21 %), blamed stalkers (11.3 %), and blamed stalkers and sympathized with victims (8.1 %). A minority blamed victims for being stalked (3.2 %), and an even smaller percentage sympathized with stalkers (1.6 %). Interestingly, a multivariate analysis depicted in Table 41 revealed that while the paparazzi blamed celebrities for being stalked or feeling afraid of their stalkers, the press did not accredit their accounts. Furthermore, none of the journalists or sources sympathized with celebrity stalkers, despite the phase of reporting. In fact, most journalists and reporters sympathized with victims throughout my analysis (71.4 %, 66.7 % and 50 % respectively). Similar trends emerged with reported stalking events that involved ordinary victims and stalkers; most reports sympathized with victims (66.7 %, 64.3 %, and 54.6 % respectively). By the third phase of news coverage, journalists and reporters increasingly blamed stalkers for causing their victims distress (22.7 %).

The locus of fear was not always pertinent (24.2 %), or specified (24.2 %), however, fear generated by local, non-random reported stalking events was common (43.5 %), while a minority arose from distant, non-random, stalking events (8.1 %). A multivariate analysis (Table 42) showed that despite the victims' or stalkers' status, none of the reported stalking events discussed fear as a local or distant random event, reinforcing that stalkers selected their victims for specific reasons. Fear caused by local, non-random stalking events was most pronounced during phase three of the coverage for celebrities (75 %) and ordinary victims alike (68.2 %). Distant, non-random stalking

events caused celebrity victims to fear for their safety solely during the second reporting period (66.7 %).

Table 43 depicted multivariate analysis of the number of stories where stalking was pathologized. As this table shows, most reports on stalking did not explicitly pathologize stalking (81.9 %). Of the remaining reports, experts pathologized stalking in 16.5 percent of the news. Less than two percent of the reports (1.6 %) did not discuss stalking as a pathology. Not surprisingly, reported stalking events that included celebrity stalkers pathologized their behaviour most often in the first phase (28.6 %), compared with the second (22.9 %) and third (22.7 %) phases. Similarly, reporters and journalists noted more pathologies among ordinary stalkers during the first phase of news coverage (18 %), compared with the second (11.3 %) and third (7.4 %) reporting periods.

Of the stories where stalking was pathologized, experts commonly attributed stalkers' pursuits to obsessions with their victims (78 %). Others noted pathologies in stalkers' personalities (9.8 %), in their personalities and behaviours (7.3 %), and in their behaviour alone (4.9 %). A multivariate analysis in Table 44 showed that the percentage of celebrity stalkers whose personality was pathologized decreased from the first (16.7 %) through the third phases of coverage (0 %). This multivariate analysis showed that like celebrity stalkers, those who pursued ordinary victims were deemed obsessive throughout my analysis (66.7 %, 83.3 % and 100 % respectively). Like celebrity stalkers, the press commonly pathologized ordinary stalkers' personalities in the early coverage (22.2 %).

Nearly 58 percent (57.8 %) of the news discourses were latent or interpretive in style. They provided much information on the stalking event at hand in a storytelling

format, revealing "truth effects" in the relationships and histories between reported

stalkers and their victims. Based on these indicators of sensationalism, the remaining

stories (42.2 %) adhered to a manifest discursive style, highlighting the names,

occupations, gender, and other variables that receded to "surface effects" rather than

disclosed any truths about stalking. A bivariate analysis uncovered that latent discourses

were more common during the first (64.9 %) and third phases (60.7 %) of the news

coverage. By contrast, most reported stalking events during the second phase of the

coverage were manifest (52.2 %).

Conclusion

Stalking first captivated the media's attention prior to the introduction of anti-

stalking legislation. Since 1993, it has been a consistent feature of newspapers and news

magazines, and a staple of televised broadcasts since 1997. Most stories about stalking

are primary (69.6 %), and the majority of stalking news appeared in section A of national

newspapers (46.3 %), or during prime time hours for televised broadcasts (10 %). The

newsworthiness of stalking was not limited to one construction. The press incorporated

all types of stalking. Indeed, the news media incorporated claims of intimate, celebrity,

non-intimate anger/revenge, cyber, and courtship stalking. There was a degree of overlap

in the victims and stalkers that made the news, however, the press villified all stalkers,

and experts and citizens empathized with all victims. Experts constituted females, males,

celebrities, and youths as victims, while the news registered stalkers as males, females,

fans, and youths. Their relationships were diverse and included former intimate partners,

colleagues, friends, and celebrity/fan or enemy relationships.

Five news discourses operated within the news, incorporating details of the law, medicalizing stalkers, and morally condemning stalkers, the government, and the justice system for not protecting victims. Other discourses detailed the tensions between members of women's organizations and politicians, and others described the technological prowess of Internet stalkers. These discourses differed in the extent to which they highlighted manifest features that sensationalized stalking in the news. Names, occupations, residences, and legal outcomes all enhanced the newsworthiness of stalking, particularly in the legal discourse. Not surprisingly, the press favoured legal sources in constructing the news throughout my analysis, followed by other experts and citizen sources. Members of women's organizations and the medical community were among the least sourced groups.

In the next chapter, we will see how politicians, legal experts, and members of women's organizations laid the foundation for claims that led to several significant legal and non-legal initiatives reported in the news, including the creation of Canada's criminal harassment legislation and firearms restrictions. The news media also incorporated the voices of victims and their families, which gave credence and urgency to these issues. The next chapter will examine the intricacies between claims-making, expert and citizen sources, stalking constructions, and the implications of these competing constructions. It explores the questions: How was stalking socially constructed? Who participated in the claims-making process? Why were they making claims about stalking? Did the media support their claims? Did the press register minor claims? Were certain claims more

influential in shaping policy reforms?

.5.

Social Construction, the Media and Stalking

Introduction

Drawing from Loseke (2003), this chapter situates my analysis within a social constructionist framework. This chapter has three main goals. First, I discuss the role of claims-makers, victims, stalkers, audiences, experts, and political/government representatives in constructing stalking. This includes an analysis of how claims-makers construct stalkers, their victims, and which behaviours comprise stalking. Second, I divide the typifications that emerge from claims-making into three phases over time in the press. Third, I examine the success of their claims through the legal and non-legal reforms that ensue, as evidenced through the *social problems game*. I argue that the dominant constructions during each phase of the news coverage facilitate public support for the legal and political initiatives that emerge.

Social Constructionism

Social constructionist perspectives study claims-making and the intended effects of these claims. Claims-makers are those individuals who make claims about social problems, and they assume a central role in discourse construction. Lowney and Best

(1995: 34) have argued that "news reports are a principal source of information about unfamiliar crime problems." For them, the press constructs new problems "by giving typifying examples, citing statistics, and quoting experts thereby explaining what is at issue" (Lowney & Best, 1995: 34). People rely on the media for information as verbal, visual, or behavioral statements that seek to validate a condition as a social problem. Claims are found in newspapers, on television talk shows, and in textbooks, and each attempts to construct meanings through their words and/or visual images (Loseke, 2003: 26).

So claims-makers assume a central role in discourse construction. While some individuals become claims-makers because they have personal experience with a social problem, others assume this role out of a desire to control, help, and care. Indeed organizations are often news sources, initiating claims, and donating money, credentials, and skills to the claims-making process (Loseke, 2003: 31-32). Regardless of the medium, claims-makers typify people and conditions to persuade audience members to think and feel a particular way about social problems, and newspapers often seek experts to respond to claims (Altheide, 2002: 107). This paves the way for competing claims and discourses; successful claims become part of policy reforms (Loseke, 2003: 108). Therefore, this thesis established connections between the information provided about stalking and the people who made the claims that became part of the knowledge nexus.

Loseke (2003: 20) proposed two important concepts for scholars undertaking constructionist research which I discussed briefly in chapter 2. First, *social problems work* refers to the process of categorizing certain conditions and people as social

problems. In this chapter, I examine how claims-makers and citizens sourced with the news construct victims, stalkers, and their relationships. Experts and other sources provide examples that typify social problems such as stalking, therefore, the press' choice of sources directly impacts on our mediated perceptions of stalking.

Second, the *social problems game* persuades "people to worry about a condition and to do something to resolve it. It is to use particular categorizations when they are practical actors in daily life trying to make sense of their own experiences and the experiences of others" (Loseke, 2003: 20). Claims-making produces knowledge about stalking and provides a framework for understanding the rationale behind Canada's anti-stalking legislation, the amendments, and other legal initiatives that arise from dominant claims. Loseke (2003) cautions that there can be more than one winner in the social problems game; one player can achieve a modest win at one time, but later exert a larger impact on the social world.

The mass media itself often acts as claims-makers in two ways: as primary claims-makers, they seek information and write stories in a manner similar to activists; as secondary claims-makers, they re-tell claims made by others and package this information for mass consumption. As secondary claims-makers, the media need social activists or official sources to help shape people's understanding of social issues. To win the *social problems game*, claims-makers need public support for their claims, thus they transmit their claims through the media, making them accessible to the public (Chermak, 1998: 162).

Because reporters rarely witness crime news events, they rely on criminal justice

officials, politicians, and other authoritative sources to construct incidents. Experts and other claims-makers have ideological and financial investments in how the media presents social problems to the public (Chermak, 1998: 161). As we shall see, these investments were evidenced in former justice minister Pierre Blais' agenda for enacting anti-stalking legislation in Canada and the subsequent amendments to the law since its inception. These amendments were contingent upon successful claims-making and particular constructions of victims, stalkers, and stalking events.

Audiences assume a critical role in constructionist analyses, as they consume the claims presented in and by the media. Different claims yield different audience reactions. Just as there is a hierarchy of moral entrepreneurs who define social problems, a hierarchy of audience significance also exists. Claims-makers need not convince all audience members of the validity of their claims. They are successful if they convince a particularly powerful segment of the population that their claims are valid (Loseke, 2003: 30-31).

In other situations, the social issue determines which audience members claims-makers need to convince. As practical actors, audience members evaluate claims based on their own experiences, knowledge, and general understanding of how the world should work and how they should feel about certain types of people (Loseke, 2003: 27-30). In turn, accepting claims shapes the knowledge about a particular social issue and the subsequent political/legal response it evokes. Having provided this background, the rest of this chapter explores the claims-making process and stalking.

Social Problems Work, Claims-Making and Intimate Stalking (Phase One)

Intimate stalking characterized the news media's construction during the first

phase of coverage. Of the 71 stalking typifications presented in Table 16, nearly half of

them (47.9 %) discussed stalking as an intimacy issue, involving victims who had

previously dated, cohabited, married, separated, or were divorced from their stalkers.

Confirming prior media research on crime constructions (Chermak, 1998: 162; Lowney &

Best, 1995), journalists and reporters preferred the voices of police and other legal experts

(30.1 %) to construct the news during the first phase of news reporting, followed by

members of women's and victim's organizations (14.1 %), security and other experts (7.4

%), politicians (7.1 %), and medical personnel (5.6 %). Citizens also made claims about

stalking. Through their experiences, several victims (13.9 %) helped "experts"

characterize intimate stalking in the news. Additionally, stalkers, victims' and stalkers'

families, friends, and neighbours (7.8 %) contributed to the claims-making process, often

comparing the current stalking event to previously reported events to help experts

construct stalking. Claims-makers reported rather similar victim and stalker

demographics in the early coverage. Victims were reported as predominantly female

(91.5 %) and an almost equal proportion of stalkers were male (90.1 %). Male and

female celebrities comprised nearly one-quarter of the victims (22.5 %). The stalking led

to homicide in over twenty-eight percent of the stories (28.2 %)[5] (See Typifying

Conditions in Table 20).

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[5]The above statistic partially reflects multiple media coverage of particular stalking
stories in the news.

Experts and other sources depicted "intimate" stalking similarly across news

mediums. They spoke of women stalked by prior boyfriends, husbands, and common-law

partners. At the time the stalking occurred, however, all victims were either estranged

from their partners, or legally separated or divorced; some had even established new

romantic relationships. Stalkers were reportedly driven by different motives. A small

proportion wanted to re-create the intimacy they once shared with their victims (7 %).

Following them, phoning them, watching their homes or workplaces, and sending gifts

were all tactics that they deployed to reunite with their former intimate partners. Many

stalkers seemed oblivious to the distress they caused their victims. Other stalkers

hounded their former partners to avenge their egos and seek retribution after they were

rejected (38 %). As reported in the news, women who had established "new"

relationships were particularly vulnerable to anger-motivated intimate stalking, and many

were physically harmed or murdered. Many claims-makers cited Patricia Allen's story,

one that inspired the Canadian government to enact anti-stalking legislation. Selwyn M.

Smith, a psychiatrist who provided expert testimony during Colin McGregor's trial

described Patricia Allen's life and death in the press:

> **OTTAWA ON Nov.13, 1991, a young lawyer named Patricia Allen was walking from her dentist's office to her car when she was approached by her former husband, Colin McGregor. Standing right in front of her, he shot her to death through the chest with a crossbow in broad daylight** on an Ottawa city street (*The Globe and Mail*, January 29, 1994, D2).

Mr. McGregor was later diagnosed with a delusional disorder, and was reported to have

been hospitalized on three occasions, but:

> **After he got out, he continued to harass his wife, who began a "Diary of Threats" and had a friend stay with her. He would call her at work and**

at home (she finally obtained an unlisted number). He would stare in her windows. On two occasions he tried to break into the house while she was asleep - on one instance snapping a chain with a pair of garden shears after trying to enter the house via several doors and windows.

. . . At one point, he casually mentioned to his doctor that a solution to his problem might be to kill his wife . . . (Smith, *The Globe and Mail*, January 29, 1994, D2).

Prior to implementing Canada's anti-stalking law, the press consulted with

politicians. New Democrat Dawn Black, of the New Westminster-Burnaby area claimed

that "To the outsider, stalking often seems like a form of 'love gone wrong.' But the acts

are terrifying to the victims, many of whom move, quit jobs or even go underground to

escape the person after them" (Canadian Press, *The Globe and Mail*, May, 17, 1993, A4).

She added, "There is a lot of non-verbal communication in stalking" (Canadian Press,

The Globe and Mail, May 17, 1993: A4). Members of women's organizations reiterated

the link between stalking and murder in the context of dissolved intimate relationships.

As cases were processed through police departments and the courts, claims more

explicitly designated men as stalkers. Claims-makers, however, reportedly remained

ambivalent about the new law. Antiviolence activist, Lee Lakeman, claimed that "The

idea of such a law, and the term stalking, moved across the States very quickly, and then

Canadian politicians picked it up" (Unland, *The Globe and Mail*, August 1, 1996: A6).

Nevertheless, since the law had been proclaimed, Ms. Lakeman felt that police should

concentrate on men who stalk their former wives (Unland, *The Globe and Mail*, August

1, 1996: A6). Journalists enhanced their claims in the news:

. . . experts estimate that three out of four stalkers are men who refuse to let their wife or girlfriend end the relationship.

Experts on domestic violence say the stalking usually stems from intense jealousy and the man's sense that it is unbearable for the woman to have an independent life, or especially be at liberty to be involved with someone else... (Lewin, *The Globe and Mail*, June 20, 1994: A2).

After the criminal harassment law was enacted, journalists and reporters continued to cover news involving husbands who stalked and murdered their former girlfriends and wives. Rhonda Lavoie was a case in point. After ending her marriage, Rhonda's husband began stalking her. One day after filing for a divorce, she was kidnapped and later found in a van with her husband Roy; both died from carbon monoxide poisoning. Waltraud Grieger, spokeswoman for Manitoba's Association of Women's Shelters explained, "This isn't a fly-by-night incident . . . We know women are really at risk when (divorce) documents are served," and urged Manitoba Justice Minister Rosemary Vodrey to request an inquiry into their deaths (Canadian Press, *The Globe and Mail*, January 23, 1995: A11). In response to Rhonda's death, her friend Rita Emerson admitted "I wasn't active before, but I will be now" (Canadian Press, *The Globe and Mail*, January 23, 1995: A11). In fact, many victims' friends and relatives became active participants in the claims-making process when their loved ones were murdered by stalkers.

But news reports also focused on stalking survivors who had been harmed. With this focus in reporting, legal experts became permanent fixtures in the news. Judith Milliken, a veteran Crown counsel and special advisor to the British Columbia government provided insight into the stalking epidemic. She asserted that "About 20 new cases of stalking are investigated each month in British Columbia, which has a population of 3.8 million," and she believed that similar rates existed across Canada (Howard, *The*

Globe and Mail, November 25, 1996: A1). A Vancouver police department even

established a criminal-harassment unit in 1994, to combat anti-abortion protesters from

stalking physicians. However, according to Sergeant Doug LePard who heads the squad,

"The unit is shifting its focus to domestic violence" (Unland, *The Globe and Mail*,

August 1, 1996: A6).

While Lowney and Best's (1995) "psychological rape" construction coupled

female celebrity victims with ordinary women, in my analysis, intimate stalking news

paired a male celebrity with other obsessive men who stalked their wives. Indeed, this

phase included the very high profile story involving O.J. Simpson, who was accused of

stalking and murdering his former wife Nicole Brown Simpson. This story attracted

much news coverage. Legal experts and experts from women's organizations were

important sources in this news event, and they explained stalking as an attempt to control

their wives (Appleby, *The Globe and Mail*, September 28, 1995: A18). While many

claims-makers linked stalking with intimacy to foster awareness and legislative reforms,

Pat Freeman Marshall, co-chair of the Canadian Panel on Violence Against Women

recommended another course of action: creating mandatory training policies for police

officers and judges.

Forensic psychologist Dr. Shabreham Lohrasbe typified stalkers as males, aged 35

to 40, who become obsessive and set out to control their victims (Howard, *The Globe and

Mail*, November 25, 1996: A1). Asked to assess the effectiveness of the existing anti-

stalking law in Canada, Dr. Lohrasbe admitted that "It is absolutely likely that stalkers

will go out and reoffend," targeting the same or new victims (Howard, *The Globe and*

Mail, November 25, 1996: A1). Lawyers and criminologists reported that the risk of recidivism would likely exert pressure on legislators to devise sentencing reforms. Lohrasbe prescribed other remedies for stalkers: counselling. Through their letters to the editor, citizens reportedly supported this solution.

Social Problems Work, Claims-Making and Celebrity Stalking (Phase Two)

By 1997, claims-makers shifted their focus to celebrities stalked by obsessed fans and enemies (43.6 %), representing a large increase from the first phase (22.5 %) (Table 16). As with the first reporting phase, legal experts were prominent claims-makers (32 %), followed by victims (18.4 %), stalkers, victims' and stalkers' families, friends, and neighbours (7.8 %), medical and security experts (at 6.6 % each), politicians (5.3 %), and women's and victim's organizations (4.9 %). Despite representing a minority, members of the medical community made more claims during phase two compared with other phases, while members of women's organizations made fewer claims (Table 12).

Typifying claims rose to 101 by phase two of the coverage. Females continued to represent most victims (61.4 %), yet the number of male victims increased significantly in the news (30.7 %). Contrary to phase one, scenarios emerged involving both male and female victims in the same reported stalking event (7.9 %). Of the victims, nearly 45 percent were celebrities (44.6 %), which partially accounted for the increased number of male victims. Again, males comprised most stalkers in the news (72.3 %), representing a decrease from phase one, while the number of female stalkers increased to almost 18 percent (17.8 %). Not surprisingly, most stalkers and their victims constituted

celebrity/fan or enemy relationships (43.6 %). Unlike intimate stalkers who tended to target one victim, celebrity stalkers' attention reportedly swayed from one victim to another. Celebrity stalkers rarely knew their victims, yet like intimate stalkers, they were said to be motivated by their adoration or disdain for their victims. Just under 20 percent of the stalkings during phase two resulted in homicide (19.8 %), the lowest percentage reported among the three phases of coverage. Unique to this phase, however, two percent of the victims were "accidentally" killed while being pursued in their vehicles.

Claims-makers typified celebrity stalking quite differently from intimate stalking, and prior characterizations of celebrity stalking (Lowney & Best, 1995). News reports included both male and female celebrities who had been stalked. In fact, male celebrities were included in more news reports than female celebrities during this period (55.6 %). The experiences of several celebrities became newsworthy, including: actors Johnny Depp, Arnold Schwarzenegger, Maria Shriver, and Patrick Stewart, movie mogul Steven Spielberg, tennis star Martina Hingis, ice skater Elvis Stojko, singers Sarah McLachlan, George Harrison, and Paul McCartney, and Princess Diana to name a few.

To contextualize current typifications involving George Harrison, Princess Diana, and Martina Hingis, claims-makers reverted to previous examples of stalking reported in phase one of the coverage. They referred to singers Madonna, Selena, Anne Murray, Michael Jackson, former Beatle John Lennon, actress Rebecca Schaeffer, actor Michael J. Fox, and model Elle MacPherson. Some even reverted to pioneering examples involving Jodie Foster and Theresa Saldana, that were only re-invented as stalking after Rebecca Schaeffer's murder. Indeed, George Harrison's stabbing inspired a story that opened with

"In a society that aggressively promotes the cult of celebrity, the long, dark shadow of the stalker, is, perhaps, a natural consequence," noting that his stalker "seems to be only the latest in a line of deranged people that has plagued sports and entertainment stars for decades" (Posner, *The Globe and Mail*, December 31, 1999: A3). Additionally, new developments in older stalking stories spawned new claims. For example, following his stalker's suicide, David Letterman's ordeal became newsworthy again. Still, an innovative female-dominated musical tour led by singer Sarah McLachlan sparked attention to her career, coping with celebrity status, and stalkers.

During this phase, experts referred to the successful efforts of the persistent suitor, and drew parallels between celebrity and intimate stalkers. Reportedly, their actions and motives were similar, however, rather than trying to win back their loved ones, celebrity stalkers tried to create intimate relationships with their victims. Sarah McLachlan's stalker, Uwe Vandrei, was a case in point: "Between fall, 1991 and summer, 1993, Vandrei, who worked as a program analyst in Ottawa, sent McLachlan elaborate flower arrangements, gifts, photographs of himself and about 35 love letters. . ." (O'Reilly, *Globe and Mail*, June 27, 1998: C3).

McLachlan's stalking was newsworthy indeed, and appeared in *The Globe and Mail*, and *Maclean's*, and in 1997, it marked the beginning of the televised media's interest in stalking. McLachlan was still struggling with her celebrity, but reported that her story "put a spotlight on something that obviously needed to be looked at" (Jennings, *Maclean's*, July 28, 1997: 48). In a feature interview with Valerie Pringle, she provided insight about her stalker:

PRINGLE: Can you tell me about the un-nice fans? Can you talk about the stalker?

MCLACHLAN: Well, I've had a few actually . . .

this one particular fellow was just really lost and searching for something to give him some comfort in this life. And I guess he found that in my music and, you know, he took it over the edge of knowing my music versus knowing me and thought that we had to be together and stuff. You know, he tried a lot of different ways to contact me, and of course everybody was trying to sort of keep him away from me and he kept saying, "Well, they're all trying to keep us separate." . . . Like, yeah, they are on my request (Pringle, *CTV's W5*, October 28, 1997: 22:42:45-22:54:30).

During phase two of the coverage, the U.S. Justice Department reported that

stalking was a significant problem, affecting more than 12.4 million Americans annually

(Kesterton, *The Globe and Mail*, January 6, 1998: A14). Other findings from the

National Violence Against Women Survey disclosed "that one in four of the 1.4 million

stalking victims in the United States are men and 90 percent of these are stalked by other

men" (Kesterton, *The Globe and Mail*, June, 24, 1998: A20). These findings laid the

foundation for additional claims about male victims in the news, particularly male

celebrities.

Jonathan Norman's admiration for Steven Spielberg enhanced prior media

typifications of stalkers as mentally ill, and raised important issues in the news production

of celebrity stalking: privacy and victim anonymity. Prior to Norman's trial, the judge

and lawyers for both sides were concerned about the effects of pre-trial publicity on

potential jurors that would likely surface once the press identified Spielberg as a victim

(Reuters, *The Globe and Mail*, January 19, 1998: C3). During the trial, Norman's

defence lawyer, Chuk Kriendler admitted that his client suffered from mental illness, and

argued that "Mr. Norman would not have harmed Mr. Spielberg, a man he considered 'his

god'" (Reuters, *The Globe and Mail*, June 18, 1998: A19). Legal experts and judges,

however, reportedly acknowledged the seriousness of celebrity stalking by imposing a life

sentence on Mr. Norman.

Indeed, a minority of celebrity stalkers shared a strong disdain for their victims,

and according to reporters, wanted to harm them. Journalists enhanced medical claims

that celebrity stalkers were mentally ill. George Harrison was a reported exemplar. After

breaking into his home, 33-year-old Michael Abram stabbed Harrison in the chest.

Detective Chief Inspector Ewan Reed of the Thames Valley Police led the investigation,

and claimed "I don't believe it is a burglary that's gone wrong. I suspect the offender's

come down here deliberately" (Chin, *CBC The National*, December 30, 1999).

Journalists contextualized the attack as follows:

> **The incident occurred early yesterday morning, slightly more than 19
> years after fellow Beatle John Lennon was shot dead by an obsessive fan
> outside his New York apartment and adds to the long list of well-known
> people who have been attacked by strangers. In most cases, the
> strangers have turned out to be mentally unstable stalkers** (Freeman, The
> Globe and Mail, December 31, 1999: A1).

Family members also made claims about stalking news events, and they too,

spoke of stalkers as mentally ill. In news involving George Harrison, the suspect's

mother, Mrs. Abram, indicated that her son hated the Beatles "and even believes they are

witches and takes their lyrics seriously. He started to wear a Walkman to play music to

stop the voices in his head" (Freeman, *The Globe and Mail*, December 31, 1999: A1).

Mrs. Abram admitted that her son had used heroin in the past and had "drug psychosis,"

but doctors told her that the psychosis would stop once he stopped taking drugs (Freeman,

The Globe and Mail, December 31, 1999: A1).

Still, during phase two, experts expanded previous typifications of celebrity

stalkers. The 1997 death of Princess Diana was a catalyst for constructing the paparazzi

as stalkers. Journalists described them as a new breed who pursued and photographed

celebrities under the guise of employment (Woodward & Amarick, September 8, 1997:

38). Following these new claims, additional reports discovered other celebrities who

were stalked by the paparazzi, including Paul McCartney, Madonna, and Adrienne

Clarkson. Through regular news and letters to the editor, journalists and citizens called

for reforms:

> **Stalkerazzi, not paparazzi. As the power of the media increases in our
> information society, so too must measures to control the stalking
> paparazzi ...**
>
> Legislation is currently needed to limit the outrageous harassing behaviour
> that the paparazzi claim as their right (Bruni, *The Globe and Mail*, September
> 2, 1997: A16).

Through these claims, experts and citizens reportedly mobilized awareness and pushed

for laws to curtail the paparazzi and protect celebrities.

Social Problems Work and the Resurgence of Intimate Stalking (Phase Three)

Competing claims depicted stalking as an issue affecting celebrities and intimates

throughout the three phases of news reporting. The media shifted their focus to

celebrities during the second phase, and perpetuated the newsworthiness of stories

involving celebrities into the third phase. However, previous claims about stalking

affecting women and men in intimate relationships reasserted themselves and dominated

the third phase of the news coverage, comprising approximately 38 percent of all claims (38.2 %) (Table 16).

Again, legal experts and police (24.2 %) provided most claims on stalking, followed by security and technological experts (9.5 %), victims (8.1 %), victims' and stalkers' families (8 %), stalkers (7.6 %), victims' and stalkers' friends (5.7 %), women's and victim's organizations (5.2 %), and members of the medical community (0.9 %). Compared with the first phase, women's and victim's organizations, politicians, and medical experts played a less pivotal role in the claims-making process, while victims' and stalkers' families and friends assumed a more central role (Table 12).

During this phase, claims-makers made 76 stalking typifications. Females still comprised the majority of victims (79 %) in the news, marking an increase from celebrity stalking constructions during phase two. Males, on the other hand, accounted for less than 16 percent of the victims, a decrease from the previous phase, yet more than the first reported intimate stalking phase. Journalists reported one male intimate stalking victim; all other male victims were celebrities. News involving male and female victims in the same reported stalking event also decreased to under three percent. Celebrities accounted for 30 percent of the victims. News reports did not always identify the victim's sex (2.6 %).

While represented less in the news, males continued to account for most stalkers (72.4 %). Interestingly, most news that contained female stalkers was evinced in the final reporting phase (25 %). As with a minority of victims, news reports did not always disclose the sex of the stalker (2.6 %). Most stalkers were said to be previously involved

in intimate relationships with their victims (38.2 %), and approximately 22 percent of the news reports included homicide. Exclusive to the third phase, approximately 17 percent of stalking victims were reported to have committed suicide.

In November 2000, reporter Jonathan Gravenor enlisted the expertise of RCMP and academics to provide additional profiles of stalkers, victims, and the magnitude of the problem:

> JONATHAN GRAVENOR [Reporter]:We hear about the high profile celebrity cases . . . **But the majority of victims are ordinary women, and the majority of the stalkers are ex-boyfriends or husbands**

> CPL GREIGG WARREN [RCMP]: **The more severe offenses of uh, the old phrase, if I can't have you, no one can . . . that's when it's former intimates. It's usually a male stalking a female.**

> GRAVENOR: **And sometimes it turns deadly, like the case of Rhonda Lavoie. The Manitoba woman was harassed by her ex-husband. Even court orders couldn't keep him away. He eventually kidnapped her, then killed her. . .**

> KAREN BUSBY [Law Professor]: They don't have access to counselling, they don't have access to economic supports, they don't have access to legal advice and all these things together create conditions under which women continue to remain extremely vulnerable to abuse.

> GRAVENOR: **In 1993, the federal government passed a law to make stalking a crime. But now, seven years later, the number of incidents is still on the rise. And experts we talked to said that number will continue to rise, until stalkers themselves are treated before their crime of passion becomes an act of violence** (Robertson, *CTV News*, November 29, 2000:23:00:00-23:30:00 ET).

During the final phase of the coverage, intimate stalkers were typified much the same as they had been during the first phase. All females were said to be stalked by their former intimate male partners, with ex-boyfriends representing more of their stalkers than before. Claims-makers commonly referred to the risks women encountered when they

severed romantic ties, citing several women who were killed by their ex-husbands. Claims-makers reported that these men could not accept that their loved ones had moved on with their lives. To ensure that other suitors did not capture their hearts, they killed their former girlfriends and wives, often taking their own lives afterward. Linda Lee Anderson and Gillian Hadley suffered this unfortunate fate. Their stories were horrific, and both created public outcry amongst claims-makers in newspapers and on televised broadcasts. Neighbour Lynn Kosman told reporters that "Ms. Anderson had been in a tumultuous relationship with a man who caused problems after they broke up. She had changed her phone number to stop the harassment and did not hear from him for about a year" (Matas, *The Globe and Mail*, December 4, 2001: A14). When she started a new relationship, he resurfaced. *CTV News* reporter Kathy Tomlinson spoke to Mr. Engbretsen and other witnesses about what transpired between Linda Anderson, her boyfriend John Cleveland Heasman, and her former boyfriend, William James McCotter:

> STEVE CARTER [Witness]: This guy was possessed. Seemed like he wanted to finish these people off.

> TOMLINSON: Rob Engbretsen ran out barefoot with his camping axe, but then stopped cold fearing he'd be next.

> ROB ENGBRETSEN [Witness]: I got up and ran because I didn't want to get involved.

> TOMLINSON: Both victims were dead soon afterward. Their faces beaten beyond recognition. Thirty-eight year old William James McCotter was arrested nearby. What's even more outrageous to the victim's family and friends is that the accused wasn't stopped before now. **He was apparently obsessed with the victim Linda Anderson and he stalked her relentlessly. A year ago, he pleaded guilty to one charge of criminal harassment, and got probation. A restraining order telling him to stay away from her expired less than a month ago** (Rinaldo, *CTV News*, December 3, 2001: 23:00:00-23:30:00 ET).

Gillian Hadley suffered a similar fate. Domestic violence reportedly characterized

her marriage to Ralph. Despite restraining orders and court convictions for criminal

harassment, Ralph would not let her go. According to police reporter Timothy Appleby

"What seems clear is that on Tuesday – perhaps because his estranged wife had a new

boyfriend – Mr. Hadley finally snapped," shooting Gillian in the head before taking his

own life (Appleby, *The Globe and Mail*, June 22, 2000: A1). Journalists reported on Mr.

Hadley's suicide letter in other news stories, and Sergeant Jim Grimley added that "He

felt he had to do this to protect the child" (Huang, *The Globe and Mail*, June 23, 2000:

A3). Experts requested an inquest into the circumstances surrounding the murder-

suicide. Not quite two years after Gillian Hadley was murdered in her own home, *CTV's*

Peter Murphy revisited the events that transpired that night:

> PETER MURPHY [Reporter]: **When Ralph and Gillian Hadley's marriage turned sour he turned violent. Even though Ralph was on bail and under two restraining orders when he came to kill Gillian in June of 2000 there was no where for her to run.**

> JOHN WALLACE [Neighbour]: Gillian Hadley fought for her life that day, it was a desperate struggle.

> MURPHY: **John Wallace tried to pull a nude and screaming Gillian free from her deranged husband. But gave up when Ralph pulled a gun.**

> WALLACE: She was looking to us to help her and we weren't able to help her.

> MURPHY: Ralph Hadley pulled Gillian into the house shot her and then himself.

> WALLACE: **Having seen it first hand I now understand the horror of this kind of crime and the great need for action.** (Robertson, *CTV News*, February 8, 2002: 23:00:00-23:30:00 ET)

Typifications reported in the news emphasized the violence and danger intimate stalkers

posed, and experts' and citizens' criticisms highlighted the ineffectiveness of law and

order remedies.

The Social Problems Game

As mentioned earlier, the remaining news items (28.2 %) that did not contain

typifying examples highlighted legislative and police initiatives, reflecting successful

claims-making by experts and others who competed for legitimation in the *social*

problems game. All legal and non-legal reforms were contingent upon particular news

constructions of victims, their stalkers, and the circumstances in which stalking occurs.

Politicians comprised a minority of claims-makers during all three phases, yet they

capitalized on the media's typifications of stalking. As noted earlier, significant

legislative initiatives occurred during the first phase of news coverage. Most importantly,

Canada's criminal harassment legislation was introduced, amended, implemented, and

further amended.

The prospect of a new law to combat stalking was a highly contentious issue

among politicians, legal experts, and members of women's and victim's organizations in

the news. As evidenced in my analysis of *social problems work*, politicians drafted the

criminal harassment legislation with the knowledge that women were stalked by their

former boyfriends and husbands, and by April 1993, the law was among the *Criminal*

Code amendments that focused on public safety (Appleby, *The Globe and Mail*, April 28,

1993: A1). Other members of Parliament and the public shared these sentiments and

believed that the new law would better serve societies' interests.

Others had reservations. Defence lawyers believed that the law would create undue fear rather than address it. The NDP believed that the bill might be used against picketers during labour strikes, a condition that they wanted addressed before they would approve it. Women's organizations referred to the bill as "a piecemeal approach" (Appleby, *The Globe and Mail*, April 28, 1993: A1). According to journalists, women's organizations were concerned with the fear requirement. They believed that law enforcers would draw from a "reasonable man" standard, and undermine many of women's fears (Blais, *The Globe and Mail*, May 24, 1993: A11). Manitoba and Ontario also urged the federal government to change the intent specification, arguing that "Most men who do this behaviour are very clear that their intention is not to harass or intimidate" (Canadian Press, May 29, 1993: A7). After consulting with his department, Mr. Blais made the proposed changes as reported in *The Globe and Mail*:

> **The main amendment removes the need for a stalker to have had a specific intent to harass his victim, replacing it with the need to have acted "knowing that another person is harassed."**
>
> **The bill was also changed to temper its requirement that a person must reasonably fear for her safety before a charge can be laid, referring now to a reasonable fear for safety taking account of "all the circumstances"** (Canadian Press, *The Globe and Mail*, June 4, 1993: A8).

Following these changes, Senate approved the bill on June 23, 1993, and proclaimed a new offence of criminal harassment on August 1, 1993 (Canadian Press, *The Globe and Mail*, June 24, 1993: A4).

Justice Minister Allan Rock proposed the first official amendment in January, 1995 that would strengthened the law to "force people charged with or convicted of stalking to surrender all firearms" (Canadian Press, *The Globe and Mail*, January 17,

1995: A4). The 1996 *Canadian Criminal Code* added this amendment. The media's

coverage of several highly publicized murders during this time frame likely encouraged

the public's acceptance of the law and this amendment. Additionally, Manitoba Justice

Minister Rosemary Vodrey recommended a new law that would find stalkers who kill

their victims guilty of first degree murder (Canadian Press, *The Globe and Mail*, January

17, 1995: A4). While initially rejected, her initiative became part of Allan Rock's

Criminal Code amendment bill, as reported in the news:

> **The bill proposes that a stalker who commits a slaying would be charged
> with first-degree murder, whether the killing was planned or not. (First-
> degree murder convictions carry a mandatory life sentence with no
> eligibility for parole before 25 years).**
>
> The bill would also stipulate that being under a restraining order is an
> aggravating factor if one is convicted of stalking (Ha, *The Globe and Mail*,
> December 15, 1995: A4).

Experts introduced other legal initiatives. For example, two Ontario courts

planned to co-ordinate their efforts to prosecute cases of domestic violence. One Toronto

court would prosecute domestic violence cases, emphasizing stalking and failure to

comply with previous court orders, while the North York court would direct their efforts

at early intervention, including counselling and treatment rather than jail (Platiel, *The*

Globe and Mail, November 5, 1996: A3). Additional recommendations forced

individuals to wear electronic monitoring devices, allowing authorities to track their

movements if they were deemed to be dangerous (McIlroy, *The Globe and Mail*,

September 18, 1996: A1).

It could, therefore, be argued that legal experts, politicians, stalking victims, and

members of women's and victim's organizations all won the *social problems game*.

Owing to the construction of intimate stalking during the first phase of the news

coverage, politicians and legal experts were able to enact and amend anti-stalking

legislation with relative ease. Women's organizations successfully had the wording of

the proposed legislation changed to address their concerns, and victims secured legal

protection from their stalkers.

During the second phase of the news making process, changes in victim and

stalker constructions were reflected in public calls for laws to curtail the paparazzi.

Luciano Pavarotti exclaimed "There should be a law to protect citizens" (Woodward &

Amarick, *Maclean's*, September 8, 1997: 38). Actor Tom Cruise shared Pavarotti's

sentiments: "You don't know what it's like to be chased by them," explaining that "It is

harassment under the guise of, you know, 'We are the press, we are entitled.'"

(Woodward & Amarick, *Maclean's*, September 8, 1997: 38). Their pleas inspired

proposals for new American laws. According to Hatch (1998: 2), California

representative Sonny Bono introduced a bill that would make it a federal offence for any

individual to harass another "to obtain a photo or news story." Such reforms were

reportedly embraced by other states, including Michigan and Illinois, as long as the law

did not infringe rights guaranteed under the Constitution.

While celebrity stalking characterized the second phase of news representations,

most reported reforms emerged from intimate stalking claims. For example, while first

mentioned during phase one, a second legislative amendment to the *Canadian Criminal*

Code pertaining to restraining orders was officially added in 1997. Furthermore, federal

Justice Minister Anne McLellan recommended a third amendment that would increase

the maximum penalty for stalking from five years to ten (Matas, *The Globe and Mail.* December 3, 1999: A7). This amendment was approved in 2002. On a smaller scale, Manitoba introduced new laws in 1998 that would strengthen the province's approach to domestic violence, permitting police officers to seize vehicles that were used in alleged stalking offences (Roberts, *The Globe and Mail,* May 9, 1998: A2).

Claims about stalking as an intimacy issue provoked other initiatives. B.C. launched a program to teach victims how to fend off stalkers once harassment began; in turn, their knowledge would facilitate police and court actions (Staff, *The Globe and Mail,* April 21, 1997: A4). The Ontario government, in conjunction with Ericsson Communications Inc. and Rogers Cantel Inc. announced plans to combat stalking by giving female victims free cellular phones. Under a program called SupportLink, 300 phones were programmed and distributed to victims in Barrie and Ottawa, enabling them to contact 911 with one button. Ontario's Minister Responsible for Women's Issues commended the program stating that "It does offer another level of reassurance for women in a frightening situation" (Philp, *The Globe and Mail,* January 30, 1998: A7). Other women's groups were less enthusiastic, criticizing the government for developing new programs after eliminating social housing and welfare programs for women (Philp, *The Globe and Mail,* January 30, 1998: A7). Following B.C.'s initiative, the Nova Scotia government partnered with MT&T Mobility and Motorola to fund a $6,250 pilot program to allow victims to phone 911 regardless of their location (Canadian Press, *The Globe and Mail,* June 18, 1998: A14).

Politicians, legal officials, victims, and women's organizations all won the *social*

problems game during the second phase of coverage. Initiatives evoked favourable impressions for politicians, and assisted legal experts and women's organizations to protect victims of intimate stalking with cell phones. Expert claims raised awareness to the seriousness and pervasiveness of celebrity stalking and protected them as well.

The free cell phone program that began in Ottawa and Barrie spread to Toronto and Saskatoon during the third reporting phase and received coverage. In Toronto, victims obtained access to pre-programmed cell phones for one year, allowing them to speak to the police by pushing a single button (Ghafour, *The Globe and Mail*, March 21, 2000: A21). In Saskatoon, a cell phone program funded by SaskTel Mobility, Prairie Mobile Communications, and Audiovox Communications Corp began on January 8, 2001. Victims were immediately connected to police dispatch staff, who used computer-generated data on them and their stalkers to intervene and assist (Roberts, *The Globe and Mail*, January 9, 2001: A8).

Again, police, lawyers, and judges' claims were instrumental in raising the penalties for stalking and introducing stalking reforms, as part a large omnibus bill called *The Criminal Law Amendment Act* (MacKinnon, *The Globe and Mail*, March 15, 2001: A1). But reforms also emerged from minor claims during the third phase. For example, concern over cyber-stalking led British Columbia to launch a program to protect children from cyber-stalkers. Three initiatives were introduced to curb cyber-stalkers on the Internet. The first of these was a law that made it a criminal offence to use the Internet to entice children into criminal activity (Appleby, *The Globe and Mail*, September 16, 2000: A6). The second was a web-site, www.BytesCanada.com, designed to protect children's

safety online. It offered parents and children a number of guidelines to fend off cyber-stalkers and avoid harassment (*Maclean's*, September 3, 2001: 40). The third was a computer game that provided tips to protect children from stalkers who target them on the Internet (Matheson, *CTV's Canada AM*, August 3, 2000). To play the game, children pretended that they were RCMP officers who helped a father locate his missing child who was lured over the Internet. According to Drew Ann Wake:

> the idea of the game is that they're able to see another kid making mistakes that are very reasonable mistakes... And slowly they begin to realize there's a problem. And by the end of the game when they've had to track him down to one street address and they realize how difficult it is for the police to save a child they have a very different attitude (Matheson, *CTV's Canada AM*, August 3, 2000: 7:40:50-7:45:40 ET).

As with the previous two phases, legal experts, politicians, and women's organizations all won the *social problems game* during the third news reporting phase. The cell-phone program extended its reach to other provinces and protected women and men from dangerous stalkers. Technological experts were also winners during this phase, owing to the creation of laws designed specifically for cyber-stalkers and child victims and to their innovative educational awareness programs.

Conclusion

This chapter organized the news coverage into three phases based on the media's construction of stalking. Phase one incorporated news from 1993 to 1996 and was characterized by intimate stalking. Claims-makers spoke of men who stalked their former wives and girlfriends after their relationships dissolved. Successful claims-making helped mobilize Canada's anti-stalking law and was the impetus for the first two

amendments to the law surrounding firearm possession and violating restraining orders. Phase two began in 1997 through 1999 when claims-makers turned their attention to celebrity stalking. These claims were dominant, however, they did not influence Canadian policy. In the U.S., however, celebrity stalking constructions inspired the creation of state-level laws to curb the paparazzi, while other celebrity stalkers would be penalized under existing anti-stalking laws. However, during the second phase of news reporting in Canada, intimate stalking helped implement the provisions pertaining to restraining orders, and introduced the idea of raising the maximum penalties for stalking. Additionally, the government proposed increased funding for women's shelters as well as a cell phone program for stalking victims. Between 2000 and 2002, the press reverted back to dominant constructions of intimate stalking in their reports. Not surprisingly, the sentencing reform introduced during phase two was reintroduced during this phase, and a number of non-legal reforms ensued as well, including extending the cell-phone program to other jurisdictions. Minor claims of cyber-stalking also inspired laws to curb Internet predators and inspired programs to help parents and their children protect their privacy and safety when they go online.

Constructionist work uncovers how successful claims-making directs political and legal reforms. Social constructionist perspectives, however, focus primarily on "typical" constructions. Additionally, these approaches discuss stalking as types, rather than as discourse. This opens up the possibility of exploring multiple discourses at a given time to determine why the press gives some claims more credence than others, especially when they are not part of the constructions that dominate a given phase of news reporting.

The next chapter examines how power/knowledge regimes produce news truths about stalking in the media. Are stalking claims governed by a "politics of truth" about stalking that allows certain claims to be made? How do experts and other sources explain the occurrence of claims that do not adhere to this "politics of truth"? Are there multiple truths that coexist in the media? Do experts push subjugated knowledges back into focus through competing discourses? What are the implications of these truths for shaping our knowledge on stalking? What truths did policy reforms stem from?

.6.

Power, Knowledge, Truth, and Discourse on Stalking in the Media

Introduction

In this chapter, I deploy Michel Foucault's analysis of discourse to study the

multiple news truths about stalking. Foucault highlights the interconnections between

power, knowledge, truth, and discourse, and asserts that through power, certain groups

create knowledge about the world, and increase their ability to exercise social control

(Foucault, 1980: 51-52). In the last chapter, we discovered which claims-makers

influenced public policy. Conducting a Foucauldian analysis, this chapter examines why

their claims were so powerful. Drawing from Becker's (1967) work on hierarchies of

credibility, it investigates how the press bolstered the credibility of certain claims-makers,

how their claims inform our knowledge, and how certain discourses and truths are used to

empower certain individuals. I demonstrate that multiple discourses produce different

information, and consequently different knowledges on stalking. Furthermore, I argue

that a "politics of truth" emerged in the news that experts used to evaluate new claims and

knowledge in the press.

Power, Knowledge, Truth and Discourse

As briefly discussed in chapter 2, Foucault's concepts of power, knowledge, truth,

and discourse can enhance a constructionist analysis by examining how claims-makers use and reinforce their power through the media. Foucault (1980: 82) explains that society demands that truth be discovered, but he did not believe in the existence of an ultimate truth. Rather, he believes that multiple truths exist at any given time. Foucault (1980: 63) defines a discursive formation as "a system of regular dispersion of statements." Indeed, statements become placed and patterned to allow reality to be discussed a certain way. According to Foucault, power and truth are exercised together through discourse and are revealed in who speaks, how they speak, and what they say through discourse (Foucault, 1972: 216-220; 1980: 51-52). Truth operates through various institutions including educational systems and laboratories (Foucault, 1972: 216-220).

Foucault claims that multiple discourses exist with regard to any issue and that each discourse should be studied, for they expand the possibility for new knowledges and truths to emerge. For him, truth is a discontinuous knowledge represented by claims-makers, who have the power to define truth and reality (Foucault, 1980: 115). Power cannot be established nor exercised "without the production, accumulation, circulation and functioning of a discourse" (Foucault, 1980: 93). He adds that particular forms of truth are spread through various institutions including governments, corporations, universities, and the media (Foucault, 1980: 131-132). These truths involve the opinion of experts who perpetuate certain discourses, thus, they signify power relations (Foucault, 1980: 77). This thesis explores the power dynamics between experts speaking about competing discourses on stalking. It analyzes how they use and reinforce power through

the media, and how the press validates and circulates certain claims, while other knowledges are displaced.

Foucault's work on the connections between power, knowledge, truth, and discourse are relevant in studying the discursive statements made by the various claims-makers. This information provides a context for exploring the limits of what could be said about stalking, and which statements the press accredits. Scholars studying power/knowledge regimes must explore the various claims-makers speaking about stalking, with what authority, and on what grounds the press affords them credibility to speak the truth (Foucault, 1980: 87-89).

Equally important for him are subjugated knowledges. These disqualified discourses lay on the margins of knowledge and are what Foucault calls critical discourses, vital to evaluate dominant knowledges. He states:

> What it really does is to entertain the claims to attention of local, discontinuous, disqualified, illegitimate knowledges against the claims of a unitary body of theory which would filter, hierarchise and order them in the name of some true knowledge and some arbitrary idea of what constitutes a science and its objects (Foucault, 1980: 83).

Foucault believes that discontinuities are inherent within discourse and that through these contradictions, new discourses emerge. He sought to study the various types of contradictions, their functions, and the various levels at which they occur. He also claims that the replacement of one discourse over another is important, for it signifies changes in who can speak of stalking in the news.

I explore who benefits from this discourse, how it informs our knowledge, and how it is used to empower certain individuals. Following Foucault's guidelines, I

discovered the existence of five discursive formations in the news, each constituting

stalkers, victims, their relationships, and stalking behaviours. Through an analysis of

discourse, I examine the link between power and knowledge in relation to stalking,

uncovering the ways in which power and knowledge are perpetuated through the news. I

examine whether the language in the press differs in accordance with the gender of

stalkers and their victims, and if certain words are commonly associated with a particular

discourse on stalking.

Following the principles Foucault outlined, I explore how the news media's

discourse created a "politics of truth" about stalking. Discourse analysis uncovers how

competing claims about stalking issued by the medical community and women's

organizations, among others produce knowledge about stalking and how continuing to

discuss stalking in a particular manner empowers certain individuals, politically or

otherwise. Humans seek the truth, however, Foucault cautions that certain individuals

have material investments in the pursuit of knowledge. An analysis of discourse allowed

for the inclusion of additional voices in the news and for exploring the discontinuities

within each stalking discourse. Because I examined a broad period of time, I was able to

detect changes in how experts and citizens spoke of stalking. As we will see, they often

discussed victims and stalkers differently depending on the status of the victims and

stalkers in reported news events.

In chapter 2, I introduced Becker's (1967) work on *hierarchies of credibility* that

is very pertinent to claims-making. Because claims-makers have different credentials,

they produce different knowledges on stalking. Becker (1967: 241) notes that "credibility

and the right to be heard are differently distributed through the ranks of the system." In turn, the press bolsters their credibility by giving them the authority to speak in the media about stalking. Becker (1967) previously noted that science occupies the dominant position in the hierarchy, thus one would assume that the press would favour claims issued by members of the medical community. By examining the claims-making process, I determine whether the press prefers scientific claims or if journalists and reporters give credence to other experts and citizen sources.

Legal Discourse

The media drew from lawyers, judges, police, members of women's organizations, and citizens to make the news during the first phase of coverage. According to McCormick (1995: 29) "Various features of the account (the assault, a victim, an attacker, the police) become prescriptive aspects of the crime." News reports of stalking underscored this statement; sources almost exclusively constituted stalking as an issue affecting women as victims and their former boyfriends and spouses as stalkers. Foucault (1980: 131) stated:

> Each society has its regime of truth, its 'general politics' of truth: that is, the types of discourse which it accepts and makes function as true; the mechanisms and instances which enable one to distinguish true and false statements, the means by which each is sanctioned; the techniques and procedures accorded value in the acquisition of truth, the status of those who are charged with saying what counts as true.

Indeed, a "politics of truth" about stalking as a form of violence against women began functioning immediately in the news and governed the legal discourse. This truth, called *intimate stalking* was empirically supported by scholarly research, justice statistics, and

court data. Politicians were cognizant that such truths carried important implications for legal and non-legal reforms, thus they carefully filtered what could and could not be said about stalking. Politicians controlled the setting for news production in the months preceding the introduction of Canada's criminal harassment legislation in conferences, meetings, and other scheduled events. They made truth claims about female victims, male stalkers, and constituted stalking as behaviours that often escalate in homicide. Their narratives stressed the need for reforms that would protect women before they were murdered. However, they re-framed the image of victims using gender-neutral terminology to " . . . make it a new offence to watch, telephone or otherwise bother an unwilling person, with a maximum five-year penitentiary term attached" (Appleby, *The Globe and Mail*, April 28, 1993: A1).

Reportedly, their choice of gender-neutral terminology generated fury and frustration among members of women's organizations who wanted politicians to acknowledge the gendered nature of stalking. Experts who worked with women in the Metro Action Committee on Public Violence Against Women and Children in Toronto argued for "a law that is gender-sensitive" (Gallivan & Bazilli, *The Globe and Mail*, May 7, 1993: A19). They continued:

> the bill is seriously flawed. It needs a preamble to acknowledge that **the overwhelming majority of victims are women** . . . The preamble would explain that criminal harassment causes fear in the victim even without express threats. And it would explain that constant, unsought attention poisons a **woman's** everyday life because seemingly innocuous behaviour can, if persistent and unwanted, become harassment. . .
>
> . . . **Often it is the totality of the actions that causes the fear and psychological distress.** And very often this behaviour escalates into serious harm or murder (Gallivan & Bazilli, *The Globe and Mail*, May 7, 1993:

A19).

Reportedly, Canada's three political parties favoured a law. Liberal justice critic Russell MacLellan supported the law and welcomed similar legislation, however, the NDP were concerned with the wording of some of the elements of the proposed law. Notably, their concerns with social protesters did not emphasize gender. Editorialists echoed their concerns and drew parallels between criminal harassment and the rape shield law; both were reportedly rushed through Parliament. The rape shield law was later struck down as a result of inadequate wording (Editorial, *The Globe and Mail*, May 26, 1993: A20. Along with opposition parties, their concerns were reflected in changes to the "intent" and "fear" elements of the original law, as outlined in the *social problems game*. This demonstrates the power of women's organizations, whose truth claims, while cited less frequently in the news, urged politicians to change the requisite elements of the law; changes that reflected the "politics of truth" about *intimate stalking*. Women's organizations also demonstrated that power was evinced through the press' registration and circulation of their claims, and not by the number of times that they were sourced.

Power/knowledge regimes underpinned the legal discourse's changing "politics of truth." Stalking remained newsworthy and with the law in place, power relations shifted among the press, political experts, legal experts, and citizens. The press initially relied on citizens to foster political support for the new law, but after the law was passed, legal sources and victims were sourced more frequently. Their truth claims provided a political backdrop for the legal amendments that ensued; all were mentioned in news reports of intimate stalking. This was necessary for women's organizations to press for legal

changes that recognized the gendered nature of the crime - the "politics of truth" about *intimate stalking.*

After the law was incepted, police, court officials, and researchers constituted a wider range of possible relationships between stalkers and their victims in the press, revealing modifications in who could be spoken of as stalking victims. During the first phase of coverage, journalists and reporters produced news that recognized more male victims. As Foucault noted (1991: 159):

> the legitimacy of a common enterprise will be able to appear through concrete questions, difficult cases, revolutionary movements, reflections, and evidence. Yet the object is to proceed a little at a time, to introduce modifications that are capable of, if not finding solutions, then at least of changing the givens of a problem.

Males and physicians who perform abortions were newly constituted victims in the legal discourse, which further modified who could be spoken of as victims. This reportedly created contention among legal sources, academics, and women's organizations who felt it necessary to distinguish male and female victims based on their relationships with their stalkers. For example, criminologist Neil Boyd, believed "that the predators of women are rarely strangers" (Mitchell, *The Globe and Mail*, December 18, 1996: A9). Thus, while journalists spoke of male victims, they relied on experts who maintained that stalking occurred in prior intimate relationships, even though this truth claim was no longer necessary for implementing new legislation. However, there was another agenda, as we shall see.

Acknowledging male victims and same-sex stalking during the first reporting phase also spawned changes in the discursive rules to include female stalkers, a change

that became more pronounced during phase two of the coverage. As with male victims, experts did not uncritically accept women as stalkers, and journalists rarely reported on stories that contained female stalkers. They preferred the familiarity of stalking in intimate contexts, a truth strengthened and reinforced by the abundance and availability of news sources including police, members of women's organizations, politicians, psychiatrists, and lawyers. *Intimate stalking* was constructed as the dominant truth that was both legitimate and credible in the news, and most journalists registered claims and truths about male stalkers and female victims.

When reporters wrote about female stalkers, they relied on the same sources who had constructed *intimate stalking* truths. Not surprisingly these experts were reportedly reluctant to admit that women stalked men, even when victims had proof of phone calls, e-mails, letters, and gifts. Reporters described these encounters as exceptions in the news, and did not raise the same levels of public alarm as when males stalked. They too distinguished female and male stalkers in terms of their relationships with their victims, their motives, and the risks they posed. News involving the notorious sexual harassment/stalking case at Simon Fraser University is a case in point. After claiming that Mr. Donnelly subjected her to a more intense level of training, student Rachel Marsden quit the swim team. Reportedly, she asserted that coach Donnelly sexually harassed her, while he maintained that she stalked him. His evidence:

> consisted of hundreds of anonymous telephone calls, graffiti, provocative photographs of Ms. Marsden slipped under Mr. Donnelly's door, vandalization of his car, rumours that he and Ms. Marsden were in an intimate relationship, at least one graphic E-mail message inviting Mr. Donnelly to have sex with Ms. Marsden, unwanted gifts, stormy remonstrations and persistent appearances at Mr. Donnelly's office. Then

Ms. Marsden complained to SFU's sexual-harassment committee that Mr. Donnelly had stalked her, made abusive telephone calls and eventually date-raped her.

The committee believed Ms. Marsden, not Mr. Donnelly (Valpy, *The Globe and Mail*, September 18, 1997: A25).

The above quote exemplified the press' reluctance to register female stalkers, even with proof, preferring instead to perpetuate existing truths that men stalked women. When police laid charges and stalkers were convicted, defence lawyers also relied on these distinctions in debating penalties for female stalkers. They referred to truths about male stalkers. Legal experts had the power to shape public perceptions through the defences they argued and their rationales had the power to set legal precedents. As with medical experts, defence lawyers "argued that federal stalking laws were primarily designed to curb men, and that women convicted of stalking should get probation" (Canadian Press, *The Globe and Mail*, January 18, 1997: A11). Judges did not share their sentiments. They were not influenced by dominant truths about male stalkers; they imposed punitive prison terms to denounce all stalkers despite their gender. Their legal actions helped register new truths that women also stalked, and that their punishments should reflect the totality of their actions. This demonstrated that new truths could be registered once the law was in place.

Experts continued to offer interpretations of celebrity victims in the legal discourse during the second phase of news making. Indeed, discursive boundaries widened, including celebrities as regulars, and not exceptions in the legal discourse. Their stalking victimizations allowed new truths to come forth in the news, yet registering this new truth did not displace the existing "politics of truth" about *intimate stalking*, nor

did it displace reforms. Rather, journalists sourced experts who formulated new truths in the context of celebrity/fan relationships, commonly referred to as *celebrity stalking*, a truth validated through the academic literature. Police, security specialists, lawyers, and judges made truth claims about celebrity victims who were stalked by fans, and explained their behaviours as attempts to seduce their victims into romantic relationships or to harm them. As with intimate stalkers, their narratives sought recognition and protection for celebrities before their stalkers killed them. These multiple truths called for different strategies to address the issue. While their actions had been captured by the behavioural elements of state-level and federal U.S. anti-stalking laws, these laws warranted changes that recognized that some celebrity stalkers were motivated solely by profit.

News involving restraining orders, arrests, trials, and sentencing all provided journalists with unique opportunities to source lawyers, judges, and psychiatrists as experts to speak truths about *celebrity stalking*. In turn, they provided legal evidence and evaluations of celebrity stalkers, furthering the knowledge that they were mentally ill. Existing mental illness became legally relevant in determining whether these stalkers were criminally culpable and/or mentally fit to stand trial. Importantly, psychiatrists established this knowledge through assessing stalkers in hospitals, medical institutions, and other controlled settings. Consequently, they were privy to knowledge that other citizens were not, and the press relied on those who diagnosed celebrity stalkers, rather than on the stalkers themselves to write their stories. The press enhanced the credibility of their claims and circulated their truths.

Legal and medical experts validated their claims in two ways. First, as moral

entrepreneurs, legal and medical experts defined the parameters of stalking. Second, they

helped foster understanding of legal and medical jargon including stalking typologies,

fear requirements, restraining orders, and psychiatric disorders including erotomania,

obsessions, and attachments. As such, they formulated and guided truth-telling, validated

statements about *intimate stalking* and *celebrity stalking*, and to an extent, they censured

others by not elaborating or accrediting these accounts. In speaking of celebrity stalkers,

psychiatrists, lawyers, and judges determined which statements they would recount to the

press and used this information in support of their truth claims. Lawyers and judges

dispensed information of prior criminal records and motivations to discredit stalkers in

the media. Furthermore, they played on public perceptions of violence against women to

arouse suspicion and mistrust of intimate stalkers' accounts. Psychiatric testimony that

pathologized intimate stalkers had the same impact of censure on these stalkers as if their

behaviour had been labelled and medicalized. Psychiatrists and psychologists spoke of

their disturbed thought patterns and need to exert control, which diminished the

credibility of intimate and celebrity stalkers, and simultaneously elevated their own

credibility.

Amid this flurry of legal activity, reporters and journalists preferred news of

intimate stalkers and victims. Female victims inspired prominent legal reforms reported

during phase three, as legislators were now considering paparazzi laws. During this

phase of news making, legal experts and members of women's organizations expressed

concern with the number of women who had been murdered by their former boyfriends

and husbands. Victims and their families made themselves available to reporters,

particularly in the televised media and spoke of the injustices they suffered. Legal experts shared their outrage. On-going legal amendments, judicial proceedings, homicide, and suicide all contributed to the newsworthiness of stalking, and the press became more critical of these events.

Victims and citizen sources had the power to create knowledge. News involving homicide and suicide generated multiple medium coverage and contextualized sentencing reforms. Legal narratives were factual and spoke of the history between victims and stalkers, helping the audience understand the current legal issues being reported, including charges, trials, arrests, bail, sentencing, and release. Lawyers and judges explained the jargon surrounding the "requisite elements" of criminal harassment convictions, and the politics of truth about *intimate stalking* paved the way for legal sentencing reforms.

As news sources during phase three of news reporting, lawyers and other legal experts had the credibility to shape public knowledge that bullying was tantamount to stalking and should invoke the same penalties as stalking, referring to the requisite fear and intent elements of the offence. Bullies pursued their victims, phoned them, wrote threatening letters, watched their homes, and engaged in threatening conduct, the same behaviours punished under Canada's criminal harassment legislation. They caused bullied victims to fear for their safety. These constitutions were vital in setting precedents for dealing with bullies, widening the discursive rules of what constituted stalking. For example, news involving Dawn Marie Wesley's victimization was significant as "this case is believed to be the first time in Canada that after-school taunts

have led to charges under the Criminal Code" (Matas, *The Globe and Mail*, March 19, 2002: A11).

Moral Discourse

While legal experts, members of women's organizations, and citizens all participated in the moral discourse, the press preferred citizens' voices. The subjective nature of this discourse was evinced through power/knowledge regimes. Changes in the legal news discourse on stalking were coupled with modifications in the nature of the moral discourse. Foucault (1991: 151) stated: "one of the main opportunities for collaboration with "non-intellectuals" is in listening to their problems, and in working with them to formulate these problems." For him, experts can hinder the emergence of new discourses or modifications to existing ones, thus he believed that "it is necessary to do away with spokespersons" (Foucault, 1991: 160). As noted, citizens were important sources during phase one of the news coverage. Their letters to the editor were important in raising awareness of stalking and shaping public attitudes and perceptions about this behaviour. By constituting women as victims and their former boyfriends and husbands as their stalkers, the press mobilized citizen critique and outrage. In turn, they helped press for political initiatives such as implementing Canada's criminal harassment legislation. Newspapers, magazines, and radio broadcasts all provided ample space and opportunity for citizen input into the stalking phenomenon, and indeed, editorialists and citizens evoked a strong moral condemnation of stalkers and the criminal justice system alike. The following except is illustrative:

Stalking is psychological torture. Women must be protected against stalkers, and perpetrators must be punished. Our governments should act quickly to bring forward legislation, and have police and courts trained to make sure a new law is enforced. While we need strong laws, **let's not forget that the problem begins with the belief that men have the right to control women's lives, women's bodies and women's desires. Educating men about the need to support women's right to equality and autonomy, and guaranteeing those rights in practice, are, in the long run, the way to end the problem** (Kaufman, *The Globe and Mail*, February 19, 1993: A22).

Citizens reiterated truth claims about *intimate stalking* issued by victims, legal experts, and medical experts using strong emotive language that morally denounced stalkers, evoked sympathy toward victims who were relentlessly pursued, and demanded political action. To press the urgency of the situation, they cited examples of women who had been murdered by their stalkers. Because they expressed their opinions through letters to the editor, they were not subject to censure in the news. In the process, they helped shape knowledge for other citizens, who often reaffirmed their demands for public recognition and political action. Journalists and reporters reiterated their concerns through their own editorials and opinion columns. The Tories carefully noted that citizens wanted legal reforms and they quickly took actions. They used citizens' fear of crime and their view of the immorality of stalking to justify enacting the anti-stalking legislation so quickly. Thus, politicians and citizens reinforced each other's power: citizens' calls for stalking reforms were answered by Tory politicians who were trying to manage their reputation as a law and order party. By passing this new legislation, the Tories had hoped to secure votes for the upcoming federal election.

Citizen sources remained central to the moral discourse into phase two of the coverage, and they maintained critical stances toward the way that law enforcement and

the legal system handled stalking cases. Victims shared their experiences in the news.

and informed the public what it was like to be stalked. These news stories generated

moral condemnation of the legal order. Executive editor of Elm Street magazine.

Elizabeth Renzetti, echoed these critical stances in the news:

> **This isn't supposed to happen any more. There's not much you can do
> to protect yourself from random violence . . . but there's supposed to be
> a net in place to protect people who do the right thing:** report the assaults
> against them, get restraining orders, move away. . . **Why do police and the
> legal system keep letting women down?**
>
> **Consider Arlene May, who instead of living life and watching her
> grandchildren grow up, has had the unfortunate distinction of becoming
> the poster girl for domestic homicide. In 1996, May was murdered by
> her former boyfriend Randy Iles, who had been stalking her and who
> ignored the court orders to stay away from May. She, too, knew what
> was going to happen. She wrote a will several days before she died. . .**
> A task force to study the recommendations followed, this one struck by **the
> Ontario government – which has been bloodthirsty in its slashing of
> services to women's support groups** . . . (*The Globe and Mail*, July 1, 1999:
> C5).

Journalists incorporated additional victims' accounts in the news, and they gave more

credence to the narrative that stalking disproportionately affects women who have

severed intimate ties, reinforcing the politics of truth about *intimate stalking*.

Modifications in the rules constituting celebrity victims in the legal discourse

during phase two also sparked a new moral outrage at the paparazzi who pursued

celebrities. Framed by Princess Diana's death, news accounts increasingly affirmed

celebrities' rights to privacy, and condemned the paparazzi for their dangerous tactics for

profit. As we saw in chapter 5, celebrities themselves became active news makers and

regular news sources. They expressed concern for their safety and called for government

intervention. Their social and economic power combined with citizen support, fostered

discussions of legislative changes that registered the "politics of truth" about *celebrity stalking* in the legal discourse. Citizens helped register the credibility of this truth in the moral discourse, and reinforced celebrities' calls for action. Most citizens could not identify with being pursued by the paparazzi, yet they challenged public perceptions that the press are entitled to violate celebrities' lives. A few journalists and reporters spoke to celebrity photographers to get their perspectives on the situation, however, they reported their statements with a tone of criticism and even sarcasm, when the paparazzi blamed celebrities for their victimizations.

By the third reporting phase, politicians were cited less frequently, and their truth claims and credibility were challenged and contextualized. Meanwhile, the press began asking the same questions as the families' of victims who had been stalked and murdered, including the efficacy of restraining orders, firearms, and effective/appropriate sentences. Journalists began to examine prior relationships between victims and their stalkers in constructing the news. The press evaluated their statements, made inferences about stalking events, and echoed their calls for reforms. As legal experts drew analogies between stalking and bullying, the moral discourse incurred modifications. Indeed, the media's reliance on citizen sources during this time frame helped the public accept this new conception of stalking. Through their letters to the editor, opinion commentaries, and editorials, citizens condemned both stalking and bullying and supported legal reforms. After teenager Dawn-Marie Wesley committed suicide, a student's letter to the editor accentuated the need for reform:

> **Now is the time for people to hear the truth. The message must be loud and clear: Bullying will not be tolerated. Offenders have to demonstrate**

that they understand the consequences of their behaviour. . . And schools have to have functioning mechanisms to deal with the disruptive behaviour, the harassing phone calls, the nasty asides, the brutal threats.

Bullying changes the way people live their lives forever. Let's hope it doesn't take another story in the newspaper for something to be done (Cockerton, *The Globe and Mail*, May 16, 2002: A17).

This increased media attention had similar effects on our knowledge of stalking as with phase one. Some citizens were bullied themselves and informed the public what it was like to be bullied. Still others shared why they bullied their classmates, and after Dawn-Marie's suicide, they reiterated that schools need to be more proactive and educate students about the consequences of bullying. As evinced by the above quote, other citizens offered remedies for bullying. Their narratives relied on emotive terms to describe how they were tormented, and many identified with Dawn-Marie Wesley as they described the emotional impact of bullying on their well-being. Some stories involved victims, who, like Dawn-Marie, felt that death was their only escape from the misery bestowed by others; their friends shared their heartbreaking stories in the press.

Technological Discourse

While absent in phase one, a technological discourse emerged in the news by the second phase of news coverage. Reportedly, this discourse required a certain level of sophistication shared by technological and surveillance experts, specially trained members of the RCMP, industrial espionage specialists, and citizen's groups who had training and expertise to combat cyber-crime. These groups all acted as experts who provided technological knowledge of stalking in the news. Indeed, this discourse marked

modifications in the rules of discursive formations concerning victims, stalkers, the relationships between them, and the behaviours that constituted stalking. Contrary to the legal, moral, medical, and to an extent, the political discourses, the technological discourse did not constitute a "politics of truth" about stalking in the early news coverage.

Experts in the technological discourse spoke of victims who had been cyber-stalked. Here the means that stalkers' deployed to pursue their victims was much more relevant for journalists than the sex of victims or their relationships with stalkers. Thus, this discourse represented what Foucault (1980: 83) called a subjugated knowledge on the margins of the hierarchy. Up to this point, all of the discourses on stalking explained the motives, behaviours, and consequences of stalking in terms of the relationships between victims and stalkers. Because experts spoke of cyber-stalkers and their victims as strangers, their relationships lost the same frame of reference for journalists and reporters writing the news. This information did not provide a vantage point for understanding how these individuals met or why stalkers pursued them. Rather, cyber-stalkers seemed to pick their victims at random, which made it difficult for journalists to report similarities between this and other forms of stalking to help the public understand this crime.

In the later reporting of the second phase, legal and technological experts reported incidents of females who had been harassed by cyber-stalkers in chat rooms, thus they reiterated the "gendered" nature of stalking in the press. But the "politics of truth" of *cyber-stalking* first constituted male cyber-stalkers who pursued young females in chat rooms. Experts reported more news of these child victims and the propensity of this

crime to escalate to abduction and sexual assault. As with the moral discourse, the press incorporated legal experts' opinions to legitimize this discourse, particularly since technological experts reconstructed the problem as one affecting new victim and stalker demographics. Their claims raised awareness to this new milieu of stalking others, and to the threat that cyber-stalkers represented toward children.

With discursive modifications naming child victims of cyber-stalkers, the technological discourse took on an urgent tone in the news during the third phase of reporting. According to journalists, "What sets the Internet apart from other ways of meeting people is that it permits imposters to develop relationships by pretending to be someone they are not" (Appleby, *The Globe and Mail*, September 16, 2000: A6). These new victim and stalker constitutions enabled legal experts to push for new laws, as outlined in the *social problems game*.

While a given discourse may dominate relations of power and knowledge at a certain time, discourses can transform over time, and along with these changes, new knowledges emerge (Foucault, 1980: 112). Foucault was not disturbed by these rapidly emerging new discourses, rather, he believed that they signified modifications in the rules that govern which discursive statements are validated. In turn, these discursive statements validate other similar statements, thereby creating a new set of discursive propositions (Foucault, 1980: 112).

As the mediums of stalking evolved, experts constituted new victims, stalkers, and stalking events. Our knowledge of stalking increased as experts drew attention to the existence of a variety of stalkers, victims, and stalking events. Technological experts had

special training and knowledge of how stalkers used technology to commit crimes. As such, the press had little selection of sources to write news of cyber-stalking, particularly since many child victims were unaccessible to them. Technological experts and citizen sources controlled what information they were willing to dispense to the media. In turn, it was difficult for the press to dispute their information, thus, they accepted their statements as "true." Additionally, the press could only speak with stalkers who were accessible, as many captured stalkers resided in countries outside of Canada.

Indeed, the technological discourse was a subjugated discourse. Cyber-stalking represented a minority of all claims, yet technological experts and specially trained police officers exerted a great deal of power in mobilizing reforms and exercising social control. Most American states have since adopted cyber-crime legislation (Mansbridge, *CBC The National*, October 2, 2002: 10:00 PM ET). In Canada, Manitoba created an online tip service to catch stalkers, while cyber-stalking reportedly inspired proposals for a new law in Ottawa (Mansbridge, *CBC The National*, May 22, 2001: 10:00 PM ET).

Political Discourse

News coverage of stalking during the first phase recognized stalking as a potential legal offence. Politicians, legal experts, and members of women's organizations all participated in this discourse. While the political discourse was not commonly engaged throughout my analysis, its effects on power and knowledge were more pronounced during phase one. News reports highlighted the dissent among political parties and women's groups. As noted earlier, politicians had access to controlled information about

the prospect of criminalizing stalking at political conferences. Constituting stalkers and their victims as women and men who had shared prior intimate relationships helped politicians justify an anti-stalking law. It also reaffirmed that they were addressing societal concerns and helped manage the Tories' image as a party devoted to crime control in the wake of a federal election, as violence against women was a pressing social issue that voters would want to rectify. Other political parties were more reserved, expressing concern over possible individuals who could, but should not, be captured by the behavioural definitions. This reinforced that stalking affected men and women in prior intimate relationships.

Members of women's organizations entered into a powerplay with the Tories in the news, accusing them of "electioneering," using the new law to increase their popularity before the election. According to Susan Basili, legal director of Metro Action Committee on Violence Against Women and Children:

> **We've got a federal election coming up, and we've got federal politicians who see an easy issue, because violence against women has now all of a sudden become a motherhood issue. . .**

She added:

> . . . we need to increase funding to women's shelters, we need to increase funding to women's organizations. We have to take these issues out of the increasing federal-government agenda that they're calling crime prevention, and put these resources into systems in our community where they will be available for women who need them (As cited in Finlay, *CBC Radio Transcripts: Centrepoint*, April 25, 1993).

While representatives from women's organizations wanted to eradicate stalking, according to the press, a law was not their first recourse. As the above quote exemplified, they wanted political action to alleviate the conditions that made women vulnerable to

stalkers. Increased spending on shelters and social housing would foster independence among women plagued by domestic violence. Their statements reaffirmed the "politics of truth" about *intimate stalking* that affected men and women who had been involved in intimate relationships.

With criminal harassment in place by phase two of the news reporting, journalists and reporters continued to seek the voices of politicians to write their stories. However, rather than Justice Ministers, they preferred politicians who specialized in women's issues: Ministers of Women's Issues and Ministers of Women's Equality. Maintaining intimate constitutions of stalking, they debated non-legal avenues to alleviate stalking, and experts from women's organizations supported non-legal reforms. Reporters and journalists emphasized scenarios whereby stalkers had violated restraining orders in pursuit of their female victims and they scrutinized the efficacy of these protective measures in the news. These politicians and members of women's organizations only validated statements that acknowledged stalking as a form of male violence against women, and devised measures with these victims in mind. The power of women's organizations was undeniable. Even though they were sourced less often after the first phase of news reporting, their credibility empowered them to create stalking truths that the press registered. These truths helped them secure funding and emphasize the links between stalking and murder:

> Ms. Cunningham acknowledged that the cell phones would not replace funding cut from battered women's shelters and second-stage housing, but she said this province would be putting $27-million into programs combatting violence against women over the next three years (Philp, *The Globe and Mail*, January 30, 1998: A7)

While the Tory government was overthrown by the Liberals during the federal election of the first reporting phase, the Liberals advanced their agenda for amending the criminal harassment legislation during phase three. Experts accepted the law, but continued to speak of *intimate stalking* truths as a knowledge that was credible to help them amend the law. As we saw earlier, new claims emerged in the technological discourse that constituted child victims of Internet predators. These new constitutions created a politics of truth called *cyber-stalking*. Issues of political motive and advantage resurfaced soon after the Liberals strategically drafted legislation that targeted cyber-stalkers with a series of other laws that essentially forced opposing parties to accept their controversial bill. Politicians used the politics of truth about *cyber-stalking* combined with social concern for child victims to further their political agenda.

Medical Discourse

Prior research created medical typologies of celebrity stalkers (Zona et al., 1993). Using these typologies, experts constituted a medical discourse early in the news coverage on stalking, when celebrity victims were stalked and physically attacked by mentally-ill stalkers. Power/knowledge regimes underpinned the medical discourse. This discourse was among the most restrictive, being spoken of solely by members of the medical community, and to an extent, legal experts in the courts. During the first phase, the medical discourse incurred significant modifications in whose behaviour could be pathologized, marked by Patricia Allen's story (refer back to pages 103-104). Recall that Colin McGregor and Patricia Allen's happy marriage soon deteriorated as his wife's

success spurned his jealousy and rage. He experienced "delusional symptoms" and psychiatrists diagnosed him with a "delusional disorder" that led him to kill his wife, thus medical experts now spoke of men who stalked their former wives and girlfriends (Smith, *The Globe and Mail*, January 29, 1994: D2).

Renowned football player O.J. Simpson inspired another change in how men who stalked their former wives were constituted in the news. Medical experts attributed stalkers' actions to "distorted thinking patterns" arising from "attachment difficulties." Their pathologies were discussed as obsessions, yet not accorded a "medical" delineation as with those who stalked celebrities, and prior examples of intimate stalkers. Nonetheless, experts deemed them dangerous.

By the second phase, psychiatrists and psychologists pathologized male and female stalkers who pursued celebrities, reaffirming the "politics of truth" about *celebrity stalking* that had been established in the legal discourse. This paved the way for pathologizing other female stalkers, but medical experts carefully distinguished them from male stalkers, and journalists and reporters accepted their medical truths. Medical experts continued to discursively constitute male stalkers by the third phase of the coverage, and gender remained central to their distinctions. Indeed, experts either inferred or assumed that female stalkers suffered from "mental illness," alluding to their less violent natures and the different circumstances surrounding their pursuits. The medical discourse denied that female stalkers were dangerous or that they willfully stalked others. Medical experts preferred to delineate their conduct as "obsessive pursuits," which carried different connotations for public knowledge about their motives

and the repercussions for their victims.

Power/knowledge regimes were evinced in two manners in relation to medical experts in the news. First, psychiatrists yield power through their diagnoses. Indeed, psychiatrists had access to specialized knowledge and jargon that provided them with a "mechanism" of power to pathologize stalkers' thoughts and behaviours. Confirming Becker's (1967) finding, as members of the scientific community, psychiatrists spoke the official truth in the hierarchy of credibility. They established truths that lawyers used as evidence in judicial proceedings. Prosecuting attorneys "bolstered" this hierarchy of credibility in court. They called upon psychiatrists as experts to discuss the behaviours in which celebrity stalkers engaged, and used their expertise to discredit other rationales that were offered to explain their behaviours and motives in the press. They provided scientific truths that were empirically derived, verifiable, and indisputable.

As medical experts, psychiatrists evaluated stalkers to determine their legal culpability and their fitness to stand trial. Therefore, their truths had direct repercussions for how stalkers were processed and for controlling knowledge about stalking.

Second, as news sources, they normalized stalking events by describing patterns of behaviour consistent with mentally-ill stalkers, which the press accepted and circulated, furthering the "politics of truth" about *celebrity stalking*. As we saw through the claims-making process during the second phase of news reporting, on the surface, celebrity stalkers committed many of the same behaviours as other stalkers. However, they engaged in more surveillance to make contact with their victims, their gifts were strange and threatening, and they represented threats to celebrities and their staff. In describing

these behaviours, psychiatrists created "truths" about *celebrity stalking*, while journalists and reporters normalized this behaviour in the news. Their assessment of Gunter Parche during the first phase of news reporting became prescriptive for constituting these stalkers, using medical jargon and incorporating psychiatric testimony during legal proceedings. They also yield power in having individuals committed to psychiatric institutions and secured facilities.

Defence attorneys favoured medical experts because they were the only individuals who could "prove" that their clients suffered from mental illness and were not responsible for their actions. Thus, while psychiatrists were among the least sourced groups, their power to produce knowledge and truth was undeniable. They controlled the direction of judicial proceedings, directed the fate of stalkers with suspected mental illnesses, and influenced public knowledge of stalking.

Conclusion

Foucault's work enhanced constructionist work by situating the multiple claims on stalking within discursive frameworks. Indeed, his work permitted an analysis of multiple discourses on stalking, and demonstrated that power/knowledge regimes allowed certain truths about stalking to emerge. Characteristic of each phase, a "politics of truth" about stalking was challenged and modified, widening the scope of victims, stalkers, and the circumstances in which stalking occurred. The news discourse on stalking reinforced a politics of truth about *intimate stalking*. Legal experts, politicians, and citizens had the power to strengthen this truth. However, as time lapsed and additional claims came forth,

this politics of truth could not account for new stalking events. Indeed, experts

constituted another "politics of truth" about *celebrity stalking*. By the third phase,

additional truths led to a third "politics of truth" about *cyber-stalking* in the news. Each

of these truths mobilized reforms and illustrated that the power of claims-makers was not

correlated with the number of times they were sourced in the press, nor were they

contingent upon the press' dominant constructions of stalking during a given phase.

Their power depended on how the press registered, circulated, and responded to their

claims.

 While Foucault's work encouraged studying stalking discursively and highlighted

the connections between power, knowledge, truth, and discourse, it cannot account for the

consumer appeal of different discourses. Furthermore, Foucault's work does not

distinguish between different styles of media discourse, nor their respective value within

consumer societies. The next chapter incorporates Baudrillard's work and explores the

relationship between discourse style and consumer societies by answering the following

questions: Why does the news constitute multiple discourses? Are discourses

characterized by a particular style? Why are different styles necessary and what do they

offer? What are the implications for our knowledge of stalking?

.7.

Seduction, Discourse, and Stalking in the Consumer Society

Introduction

Throughout the news, stalking became a contested space filled with competing

claims. While stalking in the context of prior intimate relationships seems to dominate

the news discourse, experts continue to discuss stalking in the context of celebrity/fan and

other relationships. Baudrillard's (1988) work on consumer society, the "sign,"

seduction, and discourse provides a framework for understanding why discourses on

stalking compete for media prominence. I argue that the style of a discourse does not

depend on the discourse itself. Rather, styles vary depending on the status of the stalkers

and victims reported therein. While names, occupations, pathologies, and news event

locations form the basis of discourses involving celebrities, the same content provides a

vantage point for understanding stalking through more latent explanatory frameworks.

Consumer Societies, Manifest, and Latent Discourse

I introduced Baudrillard's (1988) work on consumer society, seduction, and

manifest and latent (interpretive) discourse in chapter 2. In this chapter, I apply these

concepts and discuss their role in consumer societies. In consumer societies, the

relationship between consumers and objects has changed. Interactions no longer occur between humans, but between humans and objects (Baudrillard, 1988: 29-31). Baudrillard (1988: 29) explains that there is a:

> Permanent festive celebration of objects in advertising with hundreds of daily mass media messages; from the proliferation of somewhat obsessional objects to the symbolic psychodrama which fuels the nocturnal objects that come to haunt us even in our dreams.

Consumption has thus become an important endeavour that occupies much consumer time and energy. Baudrillard (1988: 31-34) notes that consumers are driven by their quest for happiness and satisfaction, which they achieve by purchasing objects for their respective sign value. In this sense, objects are not purchased for their utility, rather, they respond to "the metaphoric or displaced expression of desire, and the production of a code of social values through the use of differentiating signs" (Baudrillard, 1988: 46). Thus, consumption has collective rather than individual meaning; society communicates through a language that is constituted through the marketing, sale, and acquisition of commodities that signify signs such as celebrities (Baudrillard, 1988: 48).

Competition exists between and within different forms of media. In his work on seduction, Baudrillard builds on Foucault's idea of discourse. For Baudrillard (1988: 149) "Seduction is that which extracts meaning from discourse and detracts it from its truth." Seduction lures consumers to purchase products based on the superficial components of discourse, the traps of appearances, rather than on the meaning inherent in that discourse. Indeed, the consumer appeal of objects is based on the seductive value of their signs rather than the truths and meaning they reveal (Baudrillard, 1988: 149).

Baudrillard (1988: 150) distinguishes between manifest and latent (interpretive)

discourses. Manifest discourse includes the superficial, in which seducing "signs" precludes searching for the truth in favour of fascinating others. Discourse is displaced by the signs that circulate on the surface. Latent discourses, however, look beyond the seductive appeal of appearances; their objective is to convey meaning, provide information, and allude to truths embodied in the content of discourse (Baudrillard, 1988: 149-150).

My research explores the discursive style that characterizes the legal, moral, political, technological, and medical discourses in the news media. In the methodology chapter, I outlined several indices of discourse style that helped determine if it was manifest or latent, including how names, occupations, and locations are incorporated into the discourse. These indices helped assess which style characterized each discourse on stalking and allowed for an analysis of the implications for informing our knowledge. Prior research on stalking in the media suggested that discourses on intimate stalking do not appear in the media unless they involved high profile victims and/or stalkers, violence, or homicide. However, this research is dated, which led me to speculate that intimate stalking might exemplify a latent (interpretive) discourse, whereby journalists and reporters extract, explore, and discuss the meaning of the content embedded in the media's discourse on stalking. Because intimate stalking has been studied so extensively by academics, journalists and reporters might be more inclined to elaborate on the meaning inherent in discourses that contain these victims. Additionally, because intimate stalking, as the name implies, involves victims and stalkers who were once involved, the content may be easier for the press to interpret, fitting within existing theoretical

frameworks on stalking.

Next, I direct my inquiry to Baudrillard's (1988) work on the media and consumer culture to offer an explanation of why media discourses on stalking compete. This situates the consumer value and newsworthiness of discourses containing celebrities compared with other discourses on stalking, by exploring which types of content value the media, motivated by consumer societies, prefers. Consumers' interests also shape and are shaped by the media's construction of stalking. Baudrillard's (1988) work on seduction and consumer society also provides insight as to why certain stalking discourses regularly appear in the news media.

Through a content and discourse analysis, I examine whether current discourses that feature celebrities are characterized as manifest discourses that seek to capture the audiences' attention without alluding to any "truths." As such, these discourses may seduce consumers in their quest to aspire to the sign of celebrity. This could offer insight as to why the knowledge on this type of stalking remains limited and unexplored. My analysis determines whether these stories are sensationalized for their consumer value, to seduce consumers, without revealing the truths that lie beneath the "appearances" of discourse. A content analysis unveils whether stories about celebrity stalking focus more on the celebrity victims or sensationalize their stalkers, who they may portray as delusional. My analysis of discourse ascertains whether these discourses, in turn, have the same seducing power over consumers who still strive to feel connected with the sign.

First, I examine the manifest discourse, the more superficial aspects of discourse, those that focus on the sign, the celebrity. This includes headlines, the types of celebrity

victims, their stalkers, the nature of the stalking incident, and whether the story is sensationalized because celebrities are involved. By acknowledging the seducing aspects of discourse through a content analysis, I proceed to analyze the meaning inherent in discourses that contain celebrity and other stalking victims. Second, I examine the latent (interpretive) discourses including celebrities and other victims and stalkers. These discourses could contain important information that helps shape our understanding of celebrity stalking. It is possible that manifest discourses prevent high profile individuals from being incorporated into existing discourses on stalking, particularly those that speak of stalking in the context of intimate relationships. Furthermore, when the media only focuses on the manifest aspects of discourse, on their victimizations for their consumer appeal, little understanding emerges.

Manifest Discourse

During the first reporting phase, a modest percentage of the news discourses were manifest. Indeed, manifest features were common in news involving celebrities as victims and stalkers, and other stalkers who worked in unusual or prestigious occupations. Surette (1998: 69) maintained that while crime news tends to overlook victims, they can enhance the newsworthiness of an event; victims become important sources of information as a story increases in news prominence. Stalking news underscored this assertion, especially when celebrities were involved. Celebrities are integral to consumer societies, and not surprisingly, manifest content comprised the basis for most of the legal discourse containing celebrity victims and stalkers.

Celebrities' names appeared more often in the headlines and other news locations. Some illustrative examples included: "Hockey players not immune to stalkers' threats Doug Gilmour was under police protection after a caller threatened to kill him last February" (Shoalts, *The Globe and Mail*, May 11, 1994: C8), "Graf harassed by heckler. Man ejected from Wimbledon grounds after abusive remarks" (Spander, *The Globe and Mail*, June 23, 1993: C6), and "Court restrains Madonna stalker" (Reuters, *The Globe and Mail*, August 9, 1994: C4). Their stalkers also contributed to the consumer appeal of stalking in the news. Journalists and reporters often framed the stalkers' identities with the celebrities they targeted, such as the "Madonna Stalker," (Reuters News Agency, March 23, 1996: C11), and "Attacker of Seles walks away free" (Associated Press, *The Globe and Mail*, October 14, 1993: C8).

The legal discourse continued to draw attention to names in headlines and in the body of the news during the second phase of coverage, including "Steven Spielberg named as potential victim in stalking case" (Reuters, *The Globe and Mail*, January 19, 1998: C3), and "Harrison latest victim of celebrity obsession: From Lennon to Letterman, Reagan to Seles, public figures must face the threat of stalking" (Posner, *The Globe and Mail*, December 31, 1999: A3). As with the first phase of reporting, journalists and reporters aligned celebrity stalkers' identities with their victims, such as "Spielberg's Stalker" (Associated Press and Reuters, June 18, 1998: A19).

Journalists used names to seduce consumers to read or watch the news. Martina Hingis' stalking ordeal remained newsworthy into the third phase and some journalists found creative ways to frame the new crime using victims' names, such as "Hingis stalker

sent to jail" (Reuters News Agency, *The Globe and Mail*, April 13, 2001: A2), or

"Canadian sent for tests in Kennedy stalking case" (Reuters News Agency, *The Globe*

and Mail, May 8, 2002: A14). Furthermore, celebrities' occupations were noted,

typically within the body of the news. Some were discussed in terms of movies they had

starred in or produced, songs they had sung, tournaments they had won, and political

party affiliations. These aspects of discourse seduced a reading audience rather than

informed them about stalking. As Baudrillard (1988: 149-150) noted of manifest

discourse:

> What actually . . . makes it seductive, is its very appearance: the aleatory,
> meaningless, or ritualistic and meticulous, circulation of signs on the surface;
> its inflections, and its nuances. All of this effaces the content value (teneur)
> of meaning, and this is seductive. The meaning of an interpretive discourse,
> by contrast, has never seduced anyone.

Journalists went to great lengths to ensure that readers recognized when celebrities and

other high profile individuals were involved to validate their reported stalking events.

They often mobilized lawyers and police to enhance the aleatory and add to the

sensational. Bill Clinton's stalking ordeal exemplified this point. During the first phase

of reporting, the press elaborated the following details: "A Florida man has been arrested

and charged with threatening to kill President Bill Clinton, after stalking the President's

jogging route in Washington, officials said yesterday" (Reuters News Agency, *The Globe*

and Mail, February 19, 1994: A12). The story concluded with the following: "The Secret

Service declined to answer questions about the case. Mr. Clinton has frequently

complained about feeling isolated in the White House and loves to mingle with crowds"

(Reuters News Agency, *The Globe and Mail*, February 19, 1994: A12).

By the second phase of the coverage, journalists and reporters capitalized on sensational stories involving celebrity victims, incorporating more details of their celebrity than necessary for an understanding about stalking to emerge. In Baudrillard's (1988: 150) words, they uprooted meaning and converted it into a game "to some other elusive ritual, more adventurous and more seductive than the mastery of meaning." This was a common reporting tactic within the legal discourse. The following excerpts pertaining to Steven Spielberg's stalker's trial were telling: "Steven Spielberg, the film director, has told of his horror at discovering that he was the target of a homosexual stalker who planned to kidnap, torture and rape him" (Kesterton, *The Globe and Mail*, January 6, 1998: A14). Other news named Spielberg as "the creator of some of Hollywood's biggest blockbusters" (Reuters News Agency, *The Globe and Mail*, January 19, 1998: C3). Still others disclosed that "he was in Ireland filming Saving Private Ryan when Mr. Norman was arrested last summer"(Associated Press & Reuters, *The Globe and Mail*, June 18, 1998: A19). Other celebrities were similarly constituted. Rather than merely mentioning the victim's name, the following story established that "Patrick Stewart, who plays Captain Jean-Luc Picard on Star Trek, has been stalked around the world for the past two years" (Kesterton, *The Globe and Mail*, June 24, 1998: A20).

Into the third phase of reporting, the legal discourse tended to adhere to a latent storytelling format. Journalists and reporters ensured its appeal by incorporating manifest details of victims' occupations. Caroline Kennedy-Schlossberg attracted the attention of a Canadian stalker, and because she came from a celebrated family that has suffered several tragedies, journalists used this information to enhance the appeal of the news. For

example, one report introduced her as the "daughter of assassinated president John

Kennedy" (Reuters News Agency, *The Globe and Mail*, May 8, 2002: A14). Other

reports incorporated details of her father's legacy into news of her stalking, as in the

following: Caroline Kennedy-Schlossberg "is the author of four books, including a

collection of poetry to honour her mother and recently released Profiles in Courage for

Our Time, an update of her father's Pulitzer Prize-winner" (Cernetig, *The Globe and

Mail*, May 22, 2002: A14).

Another interesting finding emerged from the news. Because many celebrities

were stalked at home, the location of their homes became an important aspect of the legal

news discourse. During the first phase of news making, journalists and reporters

discussed celebrities' residences in terms of area, city, or general location, and included

external features of their properties. For example, speaking of Madonna's home, Reuters

reported that "The 35-year-old singer's million dollar Hollywood estate is guarded by an

electronic gate, security fence and television cameras" (Reuters, *The Globe and Mail*,

August 9, 1994: C4). Still another story added that because of the stalking, Madonna

"decided to put her Hollywood mansion up for sale because it had become 'an attraction

for negative energy'" (Reuters, *The Globe and Mail*, January 4, 1996: C3).

While not central to the moral, medical, and political discourses, when stalkers

attempted to contact their victims at home, the legal discourse encompassed details of

celebrities' homes during phase two of the news coverage. Spielberg's residence was

referred to as his "Pacific Palisades home" (Reuters News Agency, *The Globe and Mail*,

June 18, 1998: A19). Newfoundland Premier Brian Tobin's home was similarly the locus

of a stalker's harassment (Davies, *Maclean's*, November 16, 1998: 12), while George

Harrison's stalker also forced his way into ". . . his estate in Henley-on-Thames, west of

London" (Freeman, *The Globe and Mail*, December 31, 1999: A1).

By the third phase, news reports included locations of events where celebrity

victims were stalked, rather than their homes. For example, Marinta Hingis attracted the

attention of a stalker who pursued her at her tennis matches. As one report noted, "A

man who claims he is romantically involved with Martina Hingis was arrested and

charged with stalking her at the Ericsson Open in Key Biscayne, Fla" (*The Globe and

Mail*, April 1, 2000: S4). These locations were not important for policy reforms, but

captivated readers with descriptive information about the details of celebrity athletes'

lives. Additional details of this case emerged months after his arrest. According to

reports "The charges against Rajcevic would be dropped if he agrees to sign an order

stating that he will keep away from Hingis, who is playing in the U.S. Open in New York.

But he refuses" (*The Globe and Mail*, August 30, 2000: S11).

Stalkers' occupations were less pivotal. The press usually only mentioned them in

the legal discourse involving celebrity victims, or when celebrities or other high profile

individuals were accused stalkers. A minority of news reports that involved high profile

stalkers appeared in the headlines. In the medical discourse during phase one,

Psychiatrist Wolfgang Pinski, who examined Guenter Parche after his arrest for stalking

and stabbing Monica Seles, noted that "Parche worked as a lathe operator until he quit his

job in distress in 1991, when Seles replaced Graf as the No. 1 player in women's tennis"

(Associated Press, *The Globe and Mail*, October 14, 1993: C8). Other news during this

phase emphasized details of high-profile stalkers' occupations to contextualize their

pursuits. The following excerpt exemplified how surface effects became a dominant

fixture of reports that involved high-profile stalkers throughout the news:

> CAPE CANAVERAL, Fla. **An astronaut is in the hot seat, fending off a harassment lawsuit and unwanted questions on the eve of a mission.**
>
> **Army Lieutenant-Colonel Charles Gemar, who is due to take off for space next week,** is being sued by an aerospace engineer who said he harassed and stalked her after she gave birth to his child two years ago. . .
>
> **"He represents NASA's reputation," she said. . . They don't need this type of stuff in the press . . . "** (Associated Press, *The Globe and Mail,* February 25, 1994: A12).

By the third phase, news reports increasingly incorporated stalkers' occupations

into the headlines. Examples included: "Captain charged with stalking" (Canadian Press,

The Globe and Mail, April 13, 2000: A7), "Just Desserts lawyer charged: Harassed by ex-

lover other attorney says" (Cheney, *The Globe and Mail,* May 13, 2000: A29), and

"Policeman fired for improper conduct" (Canadian Press, *The Globe and Mail,* August 1,

2000: A6). Journalists and reporters mentioned other stalkers' occupations in the body of

the discourse during the same time frame. The following story involving Martina Hingis

and her stalker was illustrative: "Dubravko Rajcevic, a Croatian-born architect, was

convicted by a Miami-Dade county jury last week on four charges – one of stalking and

three of trespassing" (Reuters News Agency, *The Globe and Mail,* April 13, 2001: A2).

Their motives and any underlying mental illness attributed to celebrity stalkers

added another sensational effect that enhanced discourses containing celebrity victims.

For example, Steffi Graf's stalker, who "shoved a knife into Seles' shoulder blade,

contended after his arrest that he did it to ensure Graf's ascendancy to the top ranking in

women's tennis" (Spander, *The Globe and Mail*, June 23, 1993: C6). As mentioned

earlier, experts noted that Guenter Parche's personality was abnormal (Associated Press,

The Globe and Mail, October 14, 1993: C8).

By the second phase of news reporting, mental illness and pathologies added to

the consumer appeal of manifest discourses. This phase saw an increase in reports of

celebrity stalking, and not surprisingly, mental illness plagued many celebrity stalkers.

The press capitalized on reporting details of mental illness in their coverage of Margaret

Mary Ray's suicide. The following excerpt is illustrative "Ray spent various terms

behind bars and in mental institutions over the years for harassing Letterman and, more

recently, former U.S. astronaut Story Musgrave" (Associated Press, *The Globe and Mail*,

October 7, 1998: C3). This story incorporated details of a 1992 interview that the

Advocate had with David Letterman about Ms. Ray, where he claimed that ". . . she's

insane. . .," and added ". . . you don't want to do anything to make it worse than it is"

(Associated Press, *The Globe and Mail*, October 7, 1998: C3). By the third phase of

news reporting, mental illness did not add the same aleatory effect for journalists and

reporters as with the previous two phases. They incorporated discussions of mental

illness into more explanatory frameworks, as we will see in the next section on latent

discourse.

During phase two of the news coverage, gender became significant in the

headlines of reports that involved female stalkers. Even when female stalkers were not

named in the headlines, the press almost always indicated their gender, as illustrated by

the following headline: "Woman kills stalker" (*The Globe and Mail*, May 12, 1999: A19).

In September 1997, *Flare* published an article devoted to female stalkers entitled "Love

overboard [Female stalkers]" (Schuler, *Flare*, September, 1997: 120-126).

With new constitutions of female stalkers in the legal, moral, and medical

discourses during the second reporting phase, gender remained an important factor that

commodified stalking into the third phase. The following headlines are exemplars:

"Woman found guilty of stalking executive: Goldman Sachs president harassed for 5

years" (Gadd, *The Globe and Mail*, April 8, 2000: A28), and "B.C. woman faces charge

of harassment" (Mickelburgh, *The Globe and Mail*, November 22, 2002: A12)

Latent Discourse and Understanding Stalking in the News

Unlike celebrities, journalists and reporters did not automatically include ordinary

victims' names in the news, perhaps reflecting privacy or safety concerns that the press

seemed to overlook when celebrities were involved in reported stalking events. However,

when mentioned, most appeared in the main body of the news rather than the headlines or

leads. Murdered victims were an exception. Their names commonly appeared in

headlines or leads, in addition to the body of the story. Because intimate stalkers and

victims had dated, married, or cohabited, a degree of intimacy existed and there was a

history that could be spoken of in detail. Thus, news reports incorporated names,

occupations, and stalking locations into more interpretive discursive frameworks that

explained why the stalking occurred. While all discourses offered interpretations, the

legal and medical discourses were more consistent in this style during the first phase of

the coverage, despite the victims' or stalkers' status.

Intimate Stalking

The legal, moral, and medical discourses interpreted intimate reported stalking events very similarly. In these scenarios, following the dissolution of their intimate relationships, stalkers engaged in menacing and harassing behaviours to reunite with their loved ones. When they realized that their partners were not coming back, and particularly when they had established new intimate relationships, they killed their wives, and often themselves. Indeed, homicide was a reported landmark of these discourses, acting as a catalyst for interpretive moral, legal, and political news discourses. In contextualizing these incidents, journalists and reporters often reverted back to when the couples met, detailed how their romances blossomed, then sharply diverted to the circumstances that ended their relationships. Indeed, violence, and domestic, emotional, and verbal abuse precluded victims' decisions to leave. This marked a shift in their stalkers' motivations. Engulfed with rage, these stalkers no longer sought reunions, rather, they reportedly set out to psychologically or physically harm, and even kill their victims.

Patricia Allen's stalking and murder by her estranged husband Colin McGregor set a precedent for the latent discursive style, storytelling, and historical analyses that characterized most news reports of intimate stalking (refer again to pages 103-104). Likewise, news involving O.J. Simpson exemplified how manifest content laid the foundation for interpretive analyses when celebrities were accused intimate stalkers:

> District attorney Chris Darden likened Mr. Simpson to a time bomb whose deadly fuse finally burned up. And **he urged the jurors not to be swayed by the defendant's celebrity status or by a legal "smokescreen" concealing years of mounting violence by a successful, jealous man** accustomed to getting everything he wanted (Appleby, *The Globe and Mail*, September 28, 1995: A18)

Mr. Darden continued:

> **"He's a murderer - he's also one hell of a football player. But he's still a murderer ... "** (As cited in Appleby, *The Globe and Mail*, September 28, 1995: A18).

Not all reported intimate stalkers had been married to their victims and their stories rarely involved murder. Still, according to the press, these victims were subjected to psychological terror and physical harm after their intimate partners refused to accept the demise of their relationships. During the second phase of the news coverage, another story emerged with significant repercussions for intimate stalkers and victims. It involved Arlene May and her former boyfriend Randy Iles, as introduced in chapter 6 (page 141). Violence and legal actions reportedly characterized their relationship. Their story exemplified latent legal discursive styles echoing those from the first reporting phase and illustrated how names, locations, and legal indicators all formed the basis for a more explanatory discourse, as the following excerpt exemplified:

> **Ms. May ... met Mr. Iles in Craigleith, northwest of Collingwood ...**
> The two began an affair, and it quickly turned violent.
>
> In November of 1995, police arrested Mr. Iles twice for attacking and threatening and forcible confinement.
>
> Mr. Iles was released on $2,000 bail and ordered not to contact Ms. May or to possess any firearms.
>
> **Ms. May fled briefly to a shelter, but the next month she was seen with Mr. Iles and asked for a variance to his bail order ...**
>
> In February, the relationship turned violent again ...
>
> On the afternoon of March 8, 1995, Mr. Iles, armed with a shotgun, burst into Ms. May's split-level house ...
>
> ... Ms. May was dead and Mr. Iles had turned the gun on himself

(Armstrong, *The Globe and Mail*, February 16, 1998: A8).

Undeniably, legal manifest discourses sold sensational news, however, the truth effects

that emerged from storytelling in latent legal, moral, medical, political, and technological

discourses were instrumental to create reforms. Arlene May's story, for instance, resulted

in an inquest designed to improve protection services for victims of domestic violence.

Latent discursive styles continued to evoke reforms during the third phase of the

coverage.

Victims' homes were rarely mentioned, however, the town or city became

newsworthy in reports that involved homicide. Journalists and reporters used this

information to contextualize the stalking, infer explanations, and press for inquests and

policy reforms, as in a tragic event that occurred in British Columbia. According to

reports, a man stalked and killed his former girlfriend and her new boyfriend, as the

following headline denotes "Couple beat to death in Langley, BC" (Rinaldo, *CTV News*,

December 3, 2001: 23:00:00-23:30:00 Eastern Time). In other news, Winnipeg gained

national attention when police reportedly failed to respond to the pleas of two sisters who

were stalked and subsequently murdered (Rinaldo, *CTV News*, February 18, 2000:

23:00:00-23:30:00 Eastern Time).

Celebrity Stalking

Manifest styles of news discourse characterized the consumer society. Details of

celebrities' lives are highly marketable, and their crime victimizations were no exception.

These effects enticed consumers and established connections with the sign, persuading

them to purchase newspapers, magazines, and to watch televised broadcasts. In this sense, the press commodified stalking much like clothing, records, and movies. Most news involving celebrities did not follow the storytelling format that typified intimate stalking, regardless of the discourse. Rather, their experiences with stalkers were incorporated into larger discourses on security measures for celebrities, fans, and the paparazzi.

A more thorough analysis looked beyond the surface features of the news to uncover similarities between victims of celebrity and intimate stalking. While males accounted for more victims of celebrity stalking than intimate stalking, female celebrities still comprised the majority of victims, and most were stalked by males. Experts diagnosed celebrity stalkers with mental disorders including erotomania, especially when they tried to develop intimate relationships with celebrities. As we saw in the medical discourse, intimate stalkers have increasingly been pathologized, not from mental illnesses per se, but from obsessions that drove them to harass their victims.

Victims of intimate and celebrity stalking reacted similarly. Fear was a major component of their lived realities; some victims suffered physically and emotionally in response to being stalked. For example, after suffering from a stab wound, Monica Seles admitted that being stalked has had a profound impact on her sense of well-being:

> Because I still cannot play tennis I am not travelling now, but **I fear for my fellow athletes, public figures and other potential victims of senseless crimes** who have to go out today and tomorrow, knowing that a criminal who commits such an act will not be punished (Associated Press, *The Globe and Mail*, October 14, 1993: C8).

During Robert Dewey Hoskins' trial, Madonna reported that "she had nightmares as a

result of the threats" (Reuters, *The Globe and Mail*, January 4, 1996: C3). Male

celebrities were also affected. After being threatened by a stalker, Doug Gilmour

admitted "That's part of the reason why it's tough for me to stop and sign autographs"

(Shoalts, *The Globe and Mail*, May 11, 1994: C8). Still, Steven Spielberg described his

victim impact during Jonathan Norman's trial, and testified "that he has suffered from

anguish, nightmares and fears for his family ever since" (Associated Press & Reuters, *The

Globe and Mail*, June 18, 1998: A19).

Despite these similarities, important distinctions exist between celebrity and

intimate stalkers, thus some experts have offered sociological explanations for stalkers'

pursuits of celebrities in the press. For example, John Hannigan, a sociology professor at

the University of Toronto stated:

> All television shows and films rely on what sociologists call para-social
> interaction to engage the viewer. That means we relate to characters on the
> screen and "attribute a certain degree of reality to them," Hannigan explains.
> "We all do that, or shows wouldn't have any appeal." Trouble arises when
> fans, usually those with pre-existing mental illnesses, can't pull back, and the
> celebrity stalker is born (Honey, *The Globe and Mail*, April 7, 2001: R1).

Other sociology professors explained the increased numbers of stalkers who

pursued athletes. The following excerpt from *CBC's Saturday Report* typified the rise in

obsessive behaviours toward athletes:

> BRENDA IRVING: Stalking has long been the bane of movie stars and other
> entertainers . . . But in the multi-media age, sports is the new glamour
> profession. These superstars have become inviting targets for fans turned
> fanatic . . .
>
> SANDRA KIRBY (Sociology Professor, University of Winnipeg): I think
> when fans want to establish a personal relationship with an athlete, in spite
> of the athlete's resistance, that's fanaticism.

IRVING: Sandra Kirby is a former Olympic rower. Now she's a sport sociology professor. Kirby conducted a survey of Canada's amateur athletes . . . She asked if they'd ever been stalked or received harassing telephone calls or mail. Only six percent said yes. Kirby says while the numbers are low, the emotional impact remains high.

KIRBY: I know of one account . . . This man would appear at the start line of every race. He would be there watching her compete. She felt totally pursued by this man. And eventually she and her coach worked out that they would not have to publish her training schedule. . . And eventually he sort of gave up which is unusual. Usually, they don't give up easily. They just pursue a little bit harder (Kelley, *CBC's Saturday Report*, October 7, 2000: 6:00AM ET).

Courtship Stalking

Courtship stalking attracted the least amount of news coverage compared with other reported stalking events. Still, journalists drew parallels between courtship and intimate stalking in the legal and political discourses. In these news events, reporters discussed stalkers as males, and a few females who developed attractions toward members of the opposite sex whom they had brief encounters with at stores or businesses. Courtship stalkers also encompassed individuals who developed escalated feelings toward their friends and acquaintances. These stalkers reportedly followed their victims to gather information to make more direct contact, with the goal of creating intimate relationships. They did not harbour negative feelings toward their victims and did not want to harm them. Journalists drew analogies between their conduct and persistent suitors in popular films, who tried to "woo" their victims. These news events did not involve homicide, however, politicians and legal experts relied on these examples in the legal and political discourses during the first phase of news reporting to widen the scope of the problem, and to gain public support for the criminal harassment legislation.

In contextualizing courtship stalking events, journalists and reporters often described how the individuals met, which enabled the reader to understand how stalkers developed their feelings and often why they embarked upon particular stalking behaviours to access information. Many followed their victims to their homes and workplaces, and made additional contact by sending letters and gifts. Because these stalkers and victims were strangers, there was no history that could be spoken of except the tactics in which these stalkers engaged, and the resultant fear that they bestowed upon their victims. Indeed, as with intimate stalkers, when victims rejected courtship stalkers, rage often fuelled their pursuits. Journalists incorporated manifest content when legal actions had been taken, including victims' and stalkers' names, their occupations, age, residence, and their relationships. This information allowed them to describe how and why the stalking occurred, contextualizing the pursuit in light of charges, trials, convictions, and sentences.

By phase two, news of courtship stalking continued, and they involved female victims and male stalkers. When stalkers had been friends or even acquaintances with their victims, journalists used the same storytelling format that characterized intimate stalking. They referred to the relationships between stalkers and their victims, discussed how they met, and the events that led stalkers to try to alter the nature of their existing relationships. Violence and homicide were not relevant to these stories, as victims sought police assistance before their fears materialized. Before legal and non-legal reforms were introduced in the press, victims' concerns about restraining orders made them powerful exemplars in the legal and political discourses. Such examples strengthened these discourses, making them more credible and underscored the need for reforms, as in the

following excerpt:

> Mr. Mageau had already spent six months in jail before sentencing. He met the victim in 1993, when both were college students. He became obsessed with her and in 1995 was charged with criminal harassment. He later breached a peace bond ordering him to avoid her neighbourhood, and when he was arrested he told police he would kill the woman when he got out of jail (Laghi & Howard, *The Globe and Mail*, October 24, 1997: A1).

As with intimate stalking, the press provided names when applicable. Victims who were stalked by strangers were unable to identify their stalkers to the authorities, who would then provide the press with details. Victims' names, however, were included in the news to elicit truth effects, rather than become the focus of the news. Because the news identified stalking behaviours, victims' homes and the cities in which they resided only became relevant insofar as victims were followed to these locations. Some news reports used the city or town as a locus for their stories, warning residents of potential predators who targeted particular communities or demographics.

By the third phase of news coverage, courtship stalking declined in importance, however, journalists and reporters continued to engage in latent storytelling formats. Gender remained relevant, and the press registered male victims of courtship stalking. Rather than focus on the history of the relationship and its current state, these latent discourses incorporated victims' and stalkers' names, their occupations, and convictions as catalysts for determining their stalkers' motives. The legal discourse continued to incorporate stalkers' names for male and female stalkers alike. However, victims' names were usually only incorporated when they were male and when their occupations and workplaces were attributed as motives for their pursuits.

Anger/Revenge Stalking

News coverage of anger/revenge stalking also followed a storytelling format, typical of latent news among the legal and moral discourses. Most news reporting of anger/revenge stalking began in the aftermath of a tragic or near-fatal physical retaliation. Journalists described what had happened and took the reader back in time to contextualize the event. Similar to intimate stalking, they often included the victims' names, especially when they were seriously injured or killed. Victims' occupations were also instrumental in shaping the public's understanding of anger/revenge stalking and the intimidation that preceded the violence. Oftentimes, stalkers pursued their victims, not based on who they were, but because they protested their victims' occupations.

Physicians who performed abortions were among the first victims in legal latent news discourses during the first reporting phase. They were frequently targeted by anti-abortion activists who had moved beyond verbal to more physical protests. Unlike other stalkers, victims of anger/revenge stalkers need not reject their stalkers to alter their motives. They tormented female patients and doctors who entered abortion clinics, stalked their homes, and verbally harassed them and their families. They were "fanatics" who, in the process of saving lives, infringed others' rights and sometimes took their lives. Location was key to setting precedents and for giving doctors an opportunity to speak openly about their experiences with stalkers, as illustrated below:

> In his ruling, Provincial Court Judge Kerry Smith expressed the opinion
> that the "outrageous" actions of the pickets, who have targeted the homes
> and offices of at least a dozen Vancouver area doctors in the past year or
> so, are probably illegal . . .

> Ms. Thompson said that while Dr. Sutter and Dr. Wright are among the first

B.C. physicians to speak publicly about the protests at their home and offices, they are far from alone. In response to a survey mailed to fewer than two dozen doctors who perform abortions in the Vancouver region, the coalition has been advised that about a dozen have been picketed or followed at their homes and offices . . ." (Wilson, *The Globe and Mail*, September 29, 1993: N9).

Stories like this one demonstrated that the press equated extreme protesting with criminal harassment and therefore, those guilty were subject to penal law.

Non-intimate Anger/revenge stalking narratives incurred changes during the second and third reporting phases. Violence and intimidation still characterized these scenarios, however, victims and stalkers were acquainted, usually in professional relationships. Despite the nature of their relationships, they were disgruntled over losing their jobs or after being criticized. In retaliation, they stalked other employees and individuals who they blamed for their current predicament. As with the first reporting phase, manifest content provided a framework for deeper understandings to emerge.

Following from prior news narratives during the first phase, latent discourses of anger/revenge stalking during the third phase of the coverage often began with a discussion of a tragic incident, such as a victim committing suicide. Journalists provided commentary on the relationship between victims and their stalkers, how they met, and paved the way for the intimidation and threatening that culminated in the reported tragedy. Journalists also incorporated details of the city in which the stalking occurred, since these stories became important incentives for legal reforms and for changing dominant ideologies about stalking and its consequences. As with prior legal and moral stalking narratives that included victims' names, victims of anger/revenge stalking were no exception. Along with legal actions, this manifest content became central in the

headlines and lead statements.

During the third phase of reporting, locations became important manifest content within latent moral and legal discourses. These stalkings were part of their larger campaigns of bullying and harassment. For one victim, the psychological and emotional pain was so unbearable that she took her own life, a significant, yet unheard of consequence for victims that drew attention to British Columbia. Up to this point, stalkers committed suicide after they murdered their victims and wives; suicide was reportedly a devastating consequence for victims. This victim's experience was incorporated in discussions of bullying, drawing parallels with other teenagers' experiences, one in Halifax.

By the third phase, victims and their stalkers had been close friends or neighbours. Altercations and intimidation were commonly reported through phone calls, following, vandalism, and threatening verbal gestures. Other legal discourses incorporated details of names, occupations, locations and legal actions to set the stage for explaining how disputes between neighbours led to stalking, and how details of their relationships and motives were revealed when journalists and reporters explained verdict rationales:

> . . . A Montreal advertising executive has been acquitted of harassing a gay couple living next door to him in a case that made national headlines because of the allegations of homophobia in a prosperous, otherwise peaceful bedroom community. . .

> In his 11-page ruling, Quebec Court Judge Jean Falardeau noted a litany of clashes between the two sides, with the gay couple claiming that since May, 2000, they were subjected to name-calling, golf balls putted toward them and Mr. Walker staring at them for hours . . .

> Mr. Wouters, a milliner and couturier, and Mr. Thibault, a photo technician, last July became the first gay couple to avail themselves of the new legal

forum of civil union that gives Quebec's same-sex couples quasi-marriage
(Ha, *The Globe and Mail*, November 27, 2002: A10).

Cyber-Stalking

As we saw in chapter 4, significant news events during the second phase of the

coverage spawned a new discursive formation. These stalkers used evolving technology

to pursue their victims. Reporters noted that these stalkers were often males who targeted

pre-teenage and adult women. Like courtship stalkers, cyber-stalkers reportedly differed

in their motives. Some were very calculating perpetrators who used the Internet to

develop friendships with other children by pretending to be children themselves. They

asked seemingly innocent questions to obtain information, and then arranged meetings

where they could lure their young victims into sexual crimes. The Internet helped other

cyber-stalkers develop detailed repertories of personal information that they used to

seduce, harass, annoy, scare, harm, or bribe their victims.

Journalists reporting on these news stories combined manifest and latent features,

much the same as the other forms of stalking. For example, victims' names became

important features in establishing a context for the news. Like courtship stalking, victims

who were cyber-stalked often had no existing relationships with their stalkers, thus,

reporters elaborated on the behavioural tactics that the stalkers' deployed. This enhanced

the truth-effects of cyber-stalking and the fear it caused, even though they described them

as remote.

Journalists restricted names to adult victims; some only provided first names and

pseudonyms. Locations became important manifest features of legal and technological

discourses. They informed the public how these stalkers pursued their victims, and

reiterated that anyone could be targeted by cyber-stalkers. The Tamais' cyber-stalking

tale fuelled the technological discourse, which emphasized the sophistication and

technological prowess required for cyber-stalkers to track their victims. The following

story detailed their home and allowed reporters to contextualize how the stalking

occurred:

> The family moved into the $160, 000 house in October. It is a modern, brick
> two-story home at the end of a cul-de-sac in tiny Emeryville . . .
>
> . . . Security and electronics experts say the Tamais' so-called custom home
> probably included a few features the family did not bargain for, including
> devices to overhear conversations and centralize control of the electrical
> system . . .
>
> Most experts figure that Sommy had access to the Tamais home while it was
> being built or was even involved in its construction and wiring.
>
> He also could be tapping into the home through Bell Canada's lines, cable or
> computer mainframe, suggesting that he could be a current or former
> employee of Bell (Gooderham, *The Globe and Mail*, April 18, 1997: A8).

The latent content in the news also illustrated the pervasiveness and reality of cyber-

stalking.

By the third phase, child abduction spawned developments in interpretive

technological, moral, and legal discourses pertaining to cyber-stalkers. Following latent

storytelling formats, journalists opened their stories with tragic events and provided

examples of cyber-stalkers whose intentions excluded murder, but were nonetheless

sinister, frightening, and annoying for victims. These stalkers usually met their child and

adult victims in chat rooms and with the passage of time, their messages became lewd,

vulgar, and threatening among adult victims.

Locations and victims' age became important manifest content in legal, moral, and technological discourses when children were abducted. New developments in technology and Spyware became accessible to stalkers, who used them to "lure" unsuspecting children over the Internet by posing as their friends. The details of their homes were less instrumental in shaping the public's understanding of cyber-stalking. By this phase, cyber-stalkers relied solely on the Internet to harass their victims. Consider the following excerpt from *CTV's Canada AM*:

> MATHESON: And what do they offer? How do they entice kids? What works?
>
> WATERS: I think that what kids don't realize is that when they're online they're talking to a stranger. And their defences are broken down, they start to give out information they shouldn't . . . So they don't look at it the same way as you could warn them they're out on the street about talking to strangers. What they think they're doing is that they're talking to a friend because they've come to know them personally through the chats that they have online (Matheson, *CTV'S Canada AM*, August 3, 2000: 7:40:50-7:45:40).

These latent discourses had three purposes: they informed the public how cyber-stalkers operated and taught people how to protect their privacy and themselves online. They also helped legislators formulate cyber-stalking laws.

Conclusion

This chapter explored the discursive styles that competed for prominence in consumer societies. While most news on stalking incorporated manifest content in constructing their stories, the legal discourse emphasized this content and it formed the basis of most news that involved celebrities and other high profile victims and stalkers.

However, it should be noted that while this content was most pronounced in the legal discourse, the discursive style of stalking in the news was influenced by the status of the victims and stalkers involved rather than the discourse itself. Undeniably, some discourses involving celebrities and other high profile victims attempted to explain the behaviour and event, yet extensive repetition of manifest content diverted the reader's attention to these surface features, in lieu of more latent understanding of the phenomenon. While acknowledging the surface features, I looked for content that would provide clues as to why stalkers targeted celebrities, and why other victims of courtship, anger/revenge, and cyber stalking were pursued.

By contrast, news discourses that involved ordinary victims and stalkers were latent in character. These news events involved men and women who had been intimately involved, which provided journalists with background information to engage in storytelling narratives. They were all similar and started with the event that fuelled the news, then reverted back to discuss the histories between victims and stalkers, including how their relationships formed and dissolved. This information helped readers understand why the stalking occurred. Manifest content was not as common, and was emphasized only when violence and homicide occurred. Having examined the intricacies between claims-making, power/knowledge regimes, and social discourse, what does it all mean? The final chapter in this thesis contextualizes my findings and theoretical arguments by comparing it to previous studies of the news media. What have we learned? Does this thesis open the possibility of exploring stalking in other contexts and from different analytical perspectives?

.8.

Conclusion

Introduction

In this chapter, I link all of my research findings and theoretical arguments to offer a more critical sociological and criminological analysis of the dynamics of the news media, truth, power, and knowledge. With this crime permeating many forms of media, it is time to critically understand why it continues to be newsworthy, who benefits from it, and why society is so fascinated with news of stalking and celebrity stalking. In this chapter, I compare news reporting of stalking with the academic literature. Next, I compare the news coverage of stalking with news coverage of crime in general and with the news coverage of stalking in particular. In conclusion, I offer some preliminary observations on constructed news truths and offer directions for future research on stalking.

The News and the Academic Literature on Stalking

News representations of stalking mirror the academic literature on stalking in several ways, particularly in discussing the gendered dimension of the crime (Kong, 1997; Kong, 1999; Hackett, 2000; Bjerregaard, 2000: Fisher et al., 2002; Logan et al., 2000; Walker, 2000; Tjaden & Thoennes, 2000a; Nicastro et al., 2000). By far, the press

depicted several male stalkers and female victims during all reporting periods and across all mediums. Not surprisingly, most victims had previously dated or been married to their stalkers before they were stalked. In fact, journalists and reporters reinforced the link between stalking and violence against women, and continued to source experts who strengthened this connection. This latter finding reflects much of the academic literature that has studied the connections between stalking and domestic violence (Bjerregaard, 2000; Fisher et al., 2002; Logan et al., 2000; Walker, 2000; Tjaden & Thoennes, 2000a; Nicastro et al., 2000). These researchers found that men and women were more likely to report being stalked by former, rather than by current spouses.

Importantly, my research adds to the literature on celebrity stalking. Claims-makers continued to incorporate news that involved celebrities and fans, thus, the significance of celebrity stalking did not cease when the public recognized the problem in Canada. The press enhanced the literature, and applied it in Canadian contexts when discussing the experiences of high-profile victims including Sarah McLachlan. Additionally, reporters and journalists analyzed American stalking events from Canadian perspectives, and drew parallels between the threats that American and Canadian celebrities faced. The press did not marginalize the impact of celebrity stalking on high profile victims, nor did they blame victims for attracting stalkers.

News representations of stalking confirmed the demographic characteristics that scholars have attributed to stalkers. For instance, Bjerregaard (2000: 392) found that the average male stalker is 35, that they are well-educated, and that they pursue their victims for extended periods of time. In my analysis, most reported stalkers were in their thirties.

Many reporters and journalists enlisted the expertise of medical experts to discuss the "typical" stalker and their risk of recidivism. These experts reiterated that stalkers were very intelligent and calculating, and that they represented a high risk for re-offending. Notably, many of the stalkers in reported news events occupied high-profile jobs. This finding, however, could reflect journalists' preference for selecting newsworthy stories, rather than represent a common demographic among stalkers.

Scholars have created typologies to characterize the many manifestations of stalking (Zona et al., 1993; Kong 1997, 1999; Sinclair & Frieze, 2000; Emerson et al.. 1998). Interestingly, legal experts and psychiatrists relied on these typologies and frequently spoke of simple obsessional stalkers, erotomanic stalkers, celebrity stalkers, and to a lesser extent, revenge stalkers in the press. Claims-makers discussed these typologies in the early reporting on stalking, as they assessed the connections between stalkers, their victims, their motives, and stalking behaviours. Once again, the press relied on stalking typologies in the later reporting period, particularly when obsessional stalkers murdered their victims. Experts drew from these typologies to explain these heinous crimes to the public.

The effectiveness of restraining orders and the prospect of an anti-stalking law were common elements in the early news coverage. In the press, experts and citizens established that a law was needed, while politicians and members of women's organizations provided ample debate about its utility. According to journalists and reporters, after criminal harassment became effective on August 1, 1993, police enforced the law as victims brought complaints to their attention. Decisions surrounding charges,

convictions, and sentencing all became newsworthy and confirmed Hackett's (2000) finding that compared with other offenders, convicted stalkers receive longer periods of probation, often two years in duration. It can be argued then, that news representations of stalking were quite similar to the data presented in the academic literature. In fact, the experts that the press sourced reinforced the knowledge that scholars have produced through victimization surveys and official police data.

My research also found important distinctions between news portrayals of stalking and the academic literature. For instance, unlike the literature, none of the news reports contained victims who were currently involved in intimate relationships with their stalkers. Notably, compared with the literature, more male victims were represented in the news media, particularly celebrities and high profile males (Kong, 1997; Kong, 1999; Hackett, 2000; Bjerregaard, 2000; Tjaden & Thoennes, 2000b). My research found two additional relationships that did not fit a typology per se, yet were very influential in the news: child victims and Internet predators, and youth stalkers (bullies) and their victims.

In their reports, the press focused on the impact of stalking on victims (Bjerregaard, 2000: 403; Logan et al., 2000: 104). These scholars found that female victims suffered from anxiety attacks, sleeplessness, and nightmares. In news reports, journalists and reporters also noted that victims suffered fear and emotional distress after being pursued (Bjerregaard, 2000). This finding created a point of divergence between my research and the academic literature. While the majority of female victims confirmed their fears of stalkers in the news, male victims also openly expressed their fears in the media. This finding, however, may be attributed to the increased number of male victims

in reported stalking events, particularly as their stalkers were processed through the courts. As previously outlined, fear was a requisite element for charges to be laid and convictions to be registered under both the Canadian and American anti-stalking laws. As cases were processed through the criminal justice system, journalists and reporters had opportunities to write newsworthy stories that often highlighted the emotional impact of stalking. Experts in the news drew parallels between male and female stalkers' behaviours, and the resultant fear that they instilled in their victims. This challenges Bjerregaard's (2000) suspicion that males do not take legal actions against their stalkers to preserve their sense of masculinity. News reports conveyed the opposite effect; male victims restored the harmful effects of being stalked by pursuing legal redress, with no reported impact on their self-esteem.

Importantly, my analysis also discovered a younger range of stalkers and victims in the news. Unlike scholars who described children as secondary victims in intimate stalking scenarios, the press constituted children and youths as the primary targets in reported stalking events. These new age demographics had important repercussions for truths about stalking to emerge in the news. Contrary to the academic literature, they were involved in non-intimate stalking events. In fact, as I outlined earlier, the majority of younger victims and stalkers were involved in reported anger/revenge and cyber stalking events.

My research differs from the academic literature in another important way. Contrary to Dunn's (2002) finding that police were critical of female stalking victims who sought their assistance, in my analysis, legal experts were reportedly very

sympathetic to their plight. In some news reports, police, lawyers, and judges labelled females and others as stalking victims even when these individuals did not identify themselves as victims. This commonly occurred when victims were murdered by their former boyfriends and spouses, and police took legal actions against their perpetrators. Legal experts also labelled bullied youths as stalking victims, as many youths would not have the knowledge of this new crime to self-define as victims. Other victims, including celebrities and ordinary citizens actively constructed themselves as stalking victims, particularly when their stalkers violated restraining orders or received ineffective sentences. Indeed, legal experts reportedly treated all stalking victims equally despite their status.

Contrary to police and official reports that examined court data in detail (Kong, 1997; Kong, 1999; Hackett, 2000), journalists and reporters only included legal indicators in the news when applicable. In these reported stalking events, victims and stalkers were often, but not exclusively, celebrities or other high profile individuals. Alternatively, these reports involved precedent-setting verdicts and sentences. The latter included banishment, stalking convictions for bullying, and sentencing circles. Sentence length marked another difference between my analysis of news representations of stalking and the academic literature. For example, most reported prison terms were for periods longer than six months, and women were reportedly charged and convicted of stalking more in the news than in the academic literature.

News Representations of Crime and Justice

As with the academic literature, new representations of stalking resembled those of crime and justice in general. For instance, Surette (1998) asserted that the public would be more inclined to accept a new issue if experts linked it with one that had already been established in the media, such as domestic violence. My analysis of stalking in the news confirmed this assertion. By far, intimate stalking events dominated both print and electronic media. Experts, reporters, and journalists emphasized the link between stalking and domestic violence, a familiar and very serious crime problem acknowledged in the media. The press accredited claims made by women's organizations, victims, and their families, and shaped the public's outrage over stalking. News accounts that included murder reinforced and strengthened this connection.

Overall, legal experts comprised less than half of the news sources on stalking. As we saw in chapter 5, lawyers, judges, and other legal experts were sourced only slightly more than citizens. Journalists accepted legal sources' claims about the need for amendments, which confirmed Becker's (1967), Surette's (1998), Chermak's (1998: 162) and Ericson and Voumvakis' (1982) findings that legal experts are credible press sources. Journalists and reporters also wrote very detailed, graphic narratives of victims' suffering to shape public attitudes about stalking as a pressing social issue. News representations of stalking confirmed Surette's (1998) finding that the press tends to limit their coverage to successful criminal justice actions. Indeed, several reported stalking events attracted press coverage from charges to sentencing. While the press preferred multiple medium coverage of news events that involved celebrity victims such as Madonna, Steven

Spielberg, and Martina Hingis, graphic stories and precedent-setting news generated

multiple coverage both within and between print and electronic mediums. Journalists and

reporters capitalized on the availability of press sources to produce stories during each

stage of the judicial proceedings.

My analysis of the news also diverged from news representations of crime and

justice in other important ways. While experts and citizens linked stalking with domestic

violence to facilitate the public's acceptance of this crime, journalists and reporters also

depicted children, teenagers, and men as victims, and women and teenagers as stalkers.

These new conceptions challenged what stalking involved and expanded the boundaries

of who could be spoken of as victims and stalkers. News representations of stalking

underscored this assertion. The link between stalking and bullying gained public

acceptance and legitimation in the press, and through their letters to the editor, the public

validated this pressing social issue.

My research also ran contrary to Surette's (1998) finding that journalists and

reporters tend to write stories that reflect successful criminal justice actions. In my

analysis, the press also included news when accused stalkers were cleared of charges and

when charges were dropped. It should be noted that most of these news events involved

high status individuals who were accused of stalking. Surette (1998: 68) found that crime

news enhances details of the crime, but gives little regard to the personality of the

criminal or the victims. Once again, news representations of stalking contradict his

finding, as stalkers' personalities became very relevant in the news. Experts, journalists

and reporters established typologies of stalkers, and assessed stalkers' mens rea and their

fitness to stand trial. Experts also examined stalkers' personalities to explain their unusual pursuit behaviours.

News representations of stalking challenged yet another finding about news portrayals of crime and justice. Surette (1998: 69) asserted that sensational reporting does not inform our knowledge of crime. As we saw, latent discursive styles characterized most news reports of stalking. In these, journalists and reporters engaged in elaborate storytelling to foster the public's understanding of particular reported stalking events. This was paramount when news reports involved ordinary individuals, unique sentences, and reforms. It can be argued that the press focused on the entertainment value of the news when celebrities were involved in reported stalking events. Nonetheless, journalists included enough details to help readers and viewers understand the reported crimes, and in some instances, sourced experts to offer explanations of these events.

Studying the News and News Representations of Stalking

My research shares a few similarities with prior studies that examined news representations of stalking. Constructionist perspectives have allowed scholars to study the connections between media constructions and the subsequent public/legal recognition of problems like stalking. Prior research by Lowney and Best (1995: 47) concluded that stalking exemplified the complexity of constructing social problems. They underscored the importance of examining how claims evolved over time to understand the typifying conditions that mobilized new laws. Lowney and Best (1995: 47) found that as claims-makers changed the typifying conditions of stalking over time, intimate stalking

constructions displaced celebrity stalking and redefined the problem. My research also found that claims-makers competed to define stalking in Canada. Politicians, legal experts, and members of women's organizations, among others provided examples of celebrity stalking and intimate stalking throughout my analysis. Ultimately, dominant constructions of intimate stalking that affected men and women who had been intimately involved reportedly fuelled the swift enactment of Canada's anti-stalking legislation.

Kamir (2001) also noted the interplay between cultural depictions of stalking and the law. He claimed that legislators amended the California statute in accordance with dominant cultural depictions, rather than on the gendered nature of stalking. Legislative changes that allowed judges to send stalkers for psychiatric evaluations pertained to celebrity stalkers, not men and women who were once intimately involved. Consequently, they directed reforms that treated mentally-ill stalkers and misguided solutions for men who stalked their former wives and girlfriends, the more common stalkers in the United States.

Generally speaking, my analysis of news representations of stalking differed in very significant ways from prior media analyses by Lowney and Best (1995), Way (1994), and Kamir (2001). Most importantly, *social problems work* and the *social problems game* did not cease when Canada's anti-stalking law came into effect on August 1, 1993. Indeed, stalking became a contentious crime topic in the news, and as new claims came forth, legislators were forced to evaluate the efficacy of the criminal harassment law. This thesis has taken constructionist analyses to the next level. I demonstrated that claims-making continued to exert power in the media by influencing legal amendments

and other political initiatives after laws were in place. Competing constructions between intimate and celebrity stalking were at the crux of most claims and enabled experts and citizen sources to validate their proposed changes in Canada and the United States. Even minor constructions of stalking had the power to mobilize new laws that were designed in accordance with the age of victims and the motives of their stalkers.

Most reforms were contingent on dominant constructions of intimate stalking, however, during the second reporting phase, dominant celebrity stalking constructions were necessary for new American laws to stop the paparazzi. Canadian citizens reaffirmed the need for American laws. Even when celebrity stalking dominated the news, claims-makers provided the press with numerous examples of intimate stalkers and victims to press for reforms in the area of domestic violence. This proved that the number of times experts were sourced was not indicative of the power of their claims to bring forth reforms.

While victims produced a minority of claims in Lowney and Best's (1995), Way's (1994), and Kamir's (2001) studies, they became important news sources in my study. By the second and third reporting phases, they, along with their families, were the second highest sourced group. This finding refutes Surette's (1998) assertion that victims are rarely sourced in the news. In my analysis of the news, citizens continued to share their experiences in the news, while journalists and reporters continued to source victims and other citizens to provide knowledge and to make recommendations about stalking. The press accorded them a measure of credibility that underscored many accounts provided by politicians and legal sources in pressing for reforms.

Way (1994) noted that during the late 1980s and early 1990s, when Canadian legislators were trying to persuade the public to support a law to combat stalking, the news coverage of stalking was sensationalistic. She maintained that such sensationalistic reporting resulted in a moral panic that allowed politicians to capitalize on the public's fears of stalking. Unlike Way's (1994) research, news representations of stalking did not constitute a moral panic. With the law in place, the Tories had nothing to gain by amending the legislation. Discussions of electioneering that had dominated the political discourse lost relevance after the Liberals defeated the Tories in the federal election during the first reporting phase. After the election, the Liberals had no political motive to advance the Tory's agenda regarding stalking.

Furthermore, Way (1994) argued that politicians failed to consult with women's organizations to ensure that the legislation would not disadvantage women. After analyzing national news, I found the opposite, as evinced through the *social problems game*. Undeniably, tension characterized politicians' relationships with members of women's organizations, and power struggles were inherent. However, in the months before Canada's anti-stalking law was officially introduced, several conferences were held to debate the law. Reporting on these events, journalists frequently cited members of women's organizations as experts to evaluate claims, just as Altheide (2002) maintained is typical in constructing the news. Journalists registered their critical stance toward the government's motives and the elements of the law, and continued to follow scheduled events closely to determine whether Pierre Blais acknowledged their concerns.

As we saw, Pierre Blais, who was Canada's Justice Minister at the time,

considered issues that women's organizations raised around the "fear" and "intent" requirements that would recognize the gendered dimension of stalking, despite using gender-neutral terminology in the *Criminal Code*. After consulting with his committee, the proposed legislation was modified before being proclaimed into law. Women's organizations were, therefore, very important claims-makers in my analysis of the news. My research found that politicians amended the law to coincide with new claims of escalating violence and as claims-makers challenged the efficacy of restraining orders. While Way (1994) acknowledged these changes, she maintained her stance that Pierre Blais' actions constituted political opportunism. By examining the claims-making process in detail, I found the coverage to be proactive and inclusive of a variety of sources.

In the United States, Kamir (2001) equated the media's coverage of stalking with sensationalistic reporting that misrepresented the problem as one plaguing celebrities. While Kamir (2001) concluded that cultural images of stalking could be potentially devastating for stalkers and victims who may be caught or missed in the trap of the law, the Canadian news media did not envision the anti-stalking legislation in this manner. In fact, reporters and journalists continued to seek experts who provided insight about the problem as new reported stalking events challenged existing victim and stalker typifications in the news. This meant that new victims, stalkers, and stalking behaviours were constituted in the press. Experts in the news did not infer that all stalkers suffered from mental illness, nor did they all agree that the same law would protect victims. My study of the news found that specialized stalking laws were needed to address the

paparazzi who pursued celebrities and cyber-stalkers who targeted children.

The existence of multiple claims implied the co-existence of multiple discourses on stalking. In this thesis, I argued that the legal, political, moral, and medical discourses on stalking lend insight into power/knowledge regimes surrounding the amendments to the law, and each amendment adhered to a "politics of truth" about stalking. Prior literature confirmed that stalking is another manifestation of violence against women (Way, 1994; Lowney & Best, 1995). Indeed, a "politics of truth" about *intimate stalking* was at the heart of most claims and discourse, and most experts acknowledged this truth when they evaluated claims.

As experts spoke of additional victims (celebrities and males) in the legal, moral, political, and medical discourses, the rules for each discursive formation incurred modifications in who could be spoken of as victims and stalkers. Not surprisingly, a new "politics of truth" emerged constituting *celebrity stalking*. This finding also bridges a gap between my study and prior media research (Way, 1994; Lowney & Best, 1995). Unlike their analyses, journalists and reporters did not dismiss the experiences of ordinary victims for celebrities based on their status or the number of typifying examples that came forth. Rather, they embraced the opportunity to produce news that included a diversity of victims and stalkers. Claims-makers provided narratives that functioned as distinct truth claims that the press deemed to be newsworthy.

Contrary to Loseke's (2003) assertion that dominant claims are successful if they become part of policy reforms, my research demonstrated that minor claims and knowledges can also result in policy reforms. These claims might be overlooked,

particularly by scholars who examine dominant constructions without appreciating how constructions of victims and stalkers influence policies. While cyber-stalking claims were not reflected in Way's (1994) or Lowney and Best's (1995) research, they clearly had important implications for public knowledge and remedies during the 21st century. Technological experts and specialized police officers spoke of cyber-stalkers, their victims, and the conditions that made this type of stalking possible, and as we saw, their claims led to the creation of laws designed to protect children, in addition to discussions of a national law in Canada.

Foucault's work on power/knowledge regimes allowed multiple truths to emerge and function in the news, each constituting victims, stalkers, and stalking events that would not be reflected through dominant claims-making. As we saw, truths stemmed from intimate stalkers, to celebrity stalkers, to Internet predators. This new truth did not replace the *intimate stalking* politics of truth that had been established in the news, rather, it complimented it and allowed for multiple truths on stalking to co-exist and function in the news. Indeed, cyber-stalking emerged in the second reporting period after the criminal harassment law was enacted in Canada. This type of stalking reflected changing technological mediums that forced the typifying conditions about stalking to change in the press. Even though this claim accounted for a minority of claims-making, it led to the third "politics of truth" about *cyber-stalking*.

My research examined several indices of sensationalism to explain why multiple discourses appeared and adopted different discursive styles that competed in the news. I argued that discursive styles were not based on the discourses per se, but reflected the

status of the victims and stalkers contained in the reported events. Not surprisingly, discourses that included celebrities as victims or stalkers, and other authority figures were most often manifest. They elaborated on surface features to commodify stalking. Stories involving ordinary men and women also included manifest content, however, experts used this information to contextualize the event, often in storytelling narratives. Importantly, my research discovered that both discursive styles yield power by informing our knowledge on stalking. The success of both discursive styles demonstrates that if the audience examines the news content more closely, they will discover the knowledge waiting to inform them on stalking, and the similarities and differences between many manifestations of stalking.

Concluding Remarks and Future Directions

This thesis opens the possibility of re-exploring many social and criminal problems that have inspired laws, particularly those that have been amended to determine how experts use power to bring about these changes through the claims-making process. Additionally, competing claims implies that a "politics of truth" exists about social problems that guides expert opinion. My findings open up the possibility of exploring future research in five main areas. First, because I analyzed national news sources including Canada's leading national newspaper, future research could explore national trends by conducting a cross-sectional analysis using leading newspapers and magazines for each region in Canada. It would be interesting to see if similar patterns emerge or if regional differences exist in terms of which claims-makers speak in the press, whose

claims are validated, and which "truths" are accredited.

Second, future studies could direct their inquiry to local news sources, and conduct an analysis of the claims-making process to determine if local events contribute to new claims or if they channel which claims will be registered in the press. Specific types of stalking may be more pronounced in certain jurisdictions if not by chance, then by the habitation of individuals who occupy very specific occupations, such as physicians who perform abortions. We learned that they have been stalked by anti-abortion zealots. It is possible that a significant local event could invoke completely different views of stalking, particularly if it is studied through a local newspaper or television station. In turn, these claims could result in consequences that are significant for the local region, yet are not accorded as much coverage in the national news.

Third, claims-makers brought forth new claims pertaining to cyber-stalking and technological experts underscored the seriousness and pervasiveness of this crime in the press. Indeed, researchers can certainly examine this growing phenomenon, as the research on cyber-stalking is still in its infancy. They can conduct comparative analyses between cyber-stalking among adults and children, as we have already seen that while they pursue their victims using similar tactics, these calculating stalkers often have very different motives. My research illustrated that claims-makers mobilized reforms designed to capture individuals and sexual predators who target children over the Internet. Future researchers could investigate the link between cyber-stalking and child abduction to ascertain how the press has evaluated the effectiveness of these laws and if specific regions have enacted their own cyber-stalking laws or other remedies.

Fourth, the technological discourse that emerged in my analysis indicates that journalists and reporters are directing their inquiries at Internet crimes more generally. Stalking can thus be envisioned as an exemplar of an Internet crime. Connections between stalking, surveillance, and technology could be explored to determine how technological advances, including Spyware are facilitating Internet crime. In fact, many computer and technological experts have noted that Spyware represents a particularly troubling condition for computer-users, as there are often no visible signs that it exists. For instance, unlike viruses, Spyware does not interrupt the operation of a computer. Rather, the individuals who ingeniously develop Spyware use it to obtain information about their victims, not necessarily to pursue them, but to deplete their bank accounts and wreak havoc on their lives. Further research is also needed to understand how law enforcement is coping with these technological advances and how they are speaking of cyber-crime and cyber-stalking in the press.

Finally, bullying emerged as a significant social problem in my analysis. The significance of experts' analogies between stalking and bullying should not be underscored. This opens up a very exciting and promising area of research for academics. They could explore whether additional legal experts and citizens have drawn the same analogies locally or nationally to cope with bullies. Regions targeted by tragic events could have much to offer about the connections between the media, claims-making, and local school policies, as well as provincial and regional laws. For example, a tragic tale of bullying resulted in horrific consequences in Halifax a few years ago. While experts mentioned this particular tragedy in the national news, they did not elaborate on how the

local press conceived of the event. Alternatively, scholars could examine the effects that truth and power exert through discourses on bullying. It would be interesting and invaluable to determine whether multiple discourses on bullying exist, what truth effects emerge from the different discourses, and with what implications for informing our knowledge. Indeed, bullying might come to represent another politics of truth in the news, one that constitutes child victims and stalkers.

This thesis has deployed several research methodologies and diverse theoretical perspectives to study news representations of stalking. It discovered new claims, knowledges, and truths about stalking and media representations of crime and justice that open several possibilities for future media investigations. In conclusion, we should not undermine the power of news representations in shaping our perceptions and social evaluations of crime, as our mediated knowledge facilitates social changes and policies. In the case of stalking, these reforms mirrored experts' constructions of stalking and, therefore, were reportedly positive for victims and society alike. Future studies will tell if the trend continues or if the press' construction of crime results in policies that inadequately define the social reality of particular crimes like stalking.

Tables

Table 1: Stories by Year

Year	%
1993	12.2
1994	6.3
1995	7.4
1996	8.9
1997	11.2
1998	13.3
1999	9.6
2000	13.7
2001	7.4
2002	10
Total	100
(n)	(270)

Table 2: News Medium by Phase

	1993-1996		1997-1999		2000-2002	
Medium						
Newspaper	88.3	%	78.3	%	61.9	%
Magazine	10.6		13		6	
Television/Radio	1.1		8.7		32.1	
Total	100		100		100	
(n)	(94)		(92)		(84)	

Table 3: Story Type by Phase

	1993-1996		1997-1999		2000-2002	
Story Type						
Feature Story	7.4	%	7.6	%	1.2	%
Ordinary Story	57.5		59.8		61.9	
Interview	1.1		3.3		13.1	
Editorial	10.6		6.5		2.4	
Letters to Editor	9.6		5.4		2.4	
Sports	5.3		3.3		8.3	
Arts/Music	5.3		5.4		0	
Other	3.2		8.7		10.7	
Total	100	%	100	%	100	%
(n)	(94)		(92)		(84)	

Table 4: Story Placement by Phase

	1993-1996		1997-1999		2000-2002	
Story Placement						
Front Page/Lead	12.7	%	5.4	%	3.6	%
Section A	46.8		51.1		40.5	
Other Front Page	2.1		4.3		4.8	
Sports	0		3.3		8.3	
Other Sectional News	26.6		20.7		9.5	
Letters to Editor	9.6		4.3		1.2	
Morning Broadcast	1.1		2.2		8.3	
Evening Broadcast	0		7.6		23.8	
Not Mentioned	1.1		1.1		0	
Total	100	%	100	%	100	%
(n)	(94)		(92)		(84)	

Table 5: Type of Coverage by Phase

	1993-1996		1997-1999		2000-2002	
Type of Coverage						
Primary	71.3	%	63.1	%	75	%
Secondary	19.1		21.7		10.7	
Tertiary	9.6		15.2		14.3	
Total	100	%	100	%	100	%
(n)	(94)		(92)		(84)	

Table 6: News Producers by Phase

	1993-1996		1997-199		2000-2002	
Producers						
Reporters/Journalists	23.4	%	42.4	%	66.7	%
Wire Services	31.9		23.9		16.7	
Citizens	9.6		5.5		3.5	
Editors	10.6		6.5		1.2	
Other	12.8		6.5		2.4	
Not Mentioned	11.7		15.2		9.5	
Total	100	%	100	%	100	%
(n)	(94)		(92)		(84)	

Table 7: News Initiating Incident by Phase

	1993-1996		1997-1999		2000-2002	
Incident						
Scheduled Event	29.8	%	22.8	%	36.9	%
Unscheduled Event	2.1		8.7		5.9	
Continuing News	35.1		38.1		36.9	
Other	17		25		16.7	
Not Mentioned	16		5.4		3.6	
Total	100	%	100	%	100	%
(n)	(94)		(92)		(84)	

Table 8: News Event Location

Location	%
Atlantic Canada	1.5
Central Canada	31.9
Prairies	7.4
British Columbia	10.3
Northwest Territories	0.4
Canada as a whole	14.8
United States	17.8
Europe	5.6
Other	1.1
Not mentioned	9.2
Total	100
(n)	(27)

Table 9: News Event Location by Phase

Location	1993-1996		1997-1999		2000-2002	
Atlantic Canada	1.1	%	2.2	%	1.2	%
Central Canada	24.5		45.6		25	
Prairies	3.2		7.6		11.9	
British Columbia	5.3		7.6		19	
Northwest Territories	0		1.1		0	
Canada as a whole	30.8		2.2		10.7	
United States	21.3		16.3		15.5	
Europe	4.2		8.7		3.6	
Other	1.1		1.1		1.2	
Not mentioned	8.5		7.6		11.9	
Total	100	%	100	%	100	%
(n)	(94)		(92)		(84)	

Table 10: Information Denoted by Headlines and Lead Statements by Phase

Information	1993 - 1996 Headlines		Leads		1997 - 1999 Headlines		Leads		2000 - 2002 Headlines		Leads	
Control Action	19.2	%	17	%	5.4	%	1.1	%	10.7	%	7.1	%
Primary Understanding	34		41.5		59.8		67.3		48.8		61.9	
Background Information	13.8		13.8		20.7		26.1		32.1		17.9	
Evaluations	17		21.3		5.4		4.3		3.6		4.8	
Recommendations	7.5		3.2		0		1.2		1.2		0	
Other	8.5		3.2		8.7		0		3.6		8.3	
Total	100	%	100	%	100	%	100	%	100	%	100	%
(n)	(94)		(94)		(92)		(92)		(84)		(84)	

Table11: Number of Sources by Phase

Number of Sources	1993-1996		1997-1999		2000-2002	
One	30.9	%	22.8	%	26.2	%
Two	11.7		26.1		20.2	
Three	19.1		19.6		7.1	
More Than Three	28.7		22.8		29.8	
Not Specified	9.6		8.7		16.7	
Total	100	%	100	%	100	%
(n)	(94)		(92)		(84)	

Table 12: News Sources By Phase

Source	1993-1996		1997-1999		2000-2002	
Police	8.9	%	10.7	%	13.3	%
Legal Experts	21.2		21.3		10.9	
Women's Organizations	14.1		4.9		5.2	
Politicians	7.1		5.3		3.8	
Medical Experts	5.6		6.6		0.9	
Security	7.4		6.6		9.5	
Victims	13.8		18.4		8.1	
Stalkers	4.8		3.7		7.6	
Victims'/Stalkers' Families	1.1		2.9		8	
Friends	1.5		0.4		5.7	
Neighbours	0.4		0.8		0	
Other	14.1		18.4		27	
Total	100	%	100	%	100	%
(n)	(269)		(244)		(211)	

Table 13: News Contexts by Phase

	1993-1996		1997-1999		2000-2002	
Context						
Authors	34	%	40.2	%	36.9	%
Interviews	1.1		4.4		14.3	
Official Meeting	33		26.1		22.6	
Media Report	10.6		6.5		7.1	
Other	21.3		22.8		19.1	
Total	100	%	100	%	100	%
(n)	(94)		(92)		(84)	

Table 14: Knowledge Production by Phase

	1993-1996		1997-1999		2000-2002	
Knowledge						
Primary	40.4	%	53.3	%	36.9	%
Secondary	5.3		4.3		8.3	
Tertiary	6.4		9.8		10.7	
Evaluative	18.1		28.3		32.2	
Recommendations	29.8		4.3		11.9	
Total	100	%	100	%	100	%
(n)	(94)		(92)		(84)	

Table 15: Intended Source Effects by Phase

Effects	1993-1996		1997-1999		2000-2002	
Legal	37.2	%	15.2	%	16.7	%
Funding	12.8		16.3		17.9	
Awareness	20.2		20.7		26.2	
Sensational	25.5		40.2		32.1	
Other	4.3		7.6		7.1	
Total	100	%	100	%	100	%
(n)	(94)		(92)		(84)	

Table 16: Stalking Constructions by Phase

Type of Stalking	1993-1996		1997-1999		2000-2002	
Intimate Stalking	47.9	%	24.8	%	38.2	%
Celebrity Stalking	22.5		43.6		28.9	
Cyber-Stalking	1.4		8.9		5.3	
Anger-Revenge Stalking	5.6		10.9		22.4	
Courtship Stalking	14.1		7.9		3.9	
Other	8.5		3.9		1.3	
Total	100	%	100	%	100	%
(n)	(71)		(101)		(76)	

Table 17: Victim's Gender by Gender of Stalkers by Phase

	1993 - 1996				1997 - 1999				2000 - 2002			
	Male	Female	Not Specified		Male	Female	Not Specified		Male	Female	Not Specified	
Victim												
Male	4.7 %	50 %	40	%	20.5%	68.4 %	33.3	%	12.7%	20 %	100	%
Female	95.3	50	60		69.9	26.3	55.6		81.8	70	0	
Male + Female	0	0	0		9.6	0	11.1		3.6	0	0	
Not Specified	0	0	0		0	5.3	0		1.8	10	0	
Total	100 %	100 %	100	%	100 %	100 %	100	%	99	100 %	100	%
(n)	(64)	(2)	(5)		(73)	(19)	(9)		(55)	(20)	(1)	

Table 18: Victims' and Stalkers' Status by Phase

	1993 -	1996	1997 -	1999	2000 -	2002
	Victim	Stalker	Victim	Stalker	Victim	Stalker
Status						
Actor/Actress	0 %	0 %	18.3 %	0 %	5.1 %	0 %
Singer	9.9	0	11.9	0	2.6	0
Politician	1.4	0	2.8	2	3.8	0
Athlete	8.4	7	4.6	1	14.1	0
Royalty	0	91.5	2.8	0	0	0
Other Public Figure	2.8	0	0.9	1	3.9	0
Ordinary Citizen	77.5	91.5	58.7	89.1	70.5	98.7
Paparazzi	0	1.4	0	6.9	0	1.3
Total	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	%	%
(n)	(71)	(71)	(109)	(101)	(76)	(78)

Table 19: Victims' and Stalkers' Age by Phase

| Age Range | 1993 | - | 1996 | | 1997 | - | 1999 | | 2000 | - | 2002 | |
	Victim		Stalker		Victim		Stalker		Victim		Stalker	
10-19	8.5	%	0	%	4.6	%	0	%	24.4	%	17.7	%
20-29	7		2.8		11.9		6.9		5.1		7.6	
30-39	14.1		19.7		9.2		16.8		9		20.2	
40-49	2.8		9.9		3.7		17.8		5.1		11.4	
50+	2.8		1.4		9.2		2		5.1		1.3	
Not Mentioned	64.8		66.2		61.4		56.5		51.3		41.8	
Total	100	%	100	%	100	%	100	%	100	%	100	%
(n)	(71)		(71)		(109)		(109)		(78)		(79)	

Table 20: Typifying Conditions by Phase

Conditions	1993-1996		1997-1999		2000-2002	
Victim Female	91.5	%	61.4	%	79	%
Victims Male	8.5		30.7		15.8	
Male + Female Victims	0		7.9		2.6	
Not Specified	0		0		2.6	
Victim Celebrity	22.5		44.6		30.3	
Stalker Male	90.1		72.3		72.4	
Stalker Female	2.8		17.8		25	
Stalker Paparazzi	7.1		9.9		2.6	
Intimates	47.9		24.8		38.2	
Fans	22.5		43.6		28.9	
Friends/Acquaintances	4.2		3		25	
Relatives	0		5.9		0	
Strangers	11.3		3		2.6	
Professional Relationship	2.8		7.9		4	
Colleagues	1.4		6.9		0	
Other	9.9		4.9		1.3	
Homicide	28.2		19.8		22.4	
Suicide	0		0		17.1	
Accidental Death	0		2		0	
Restraining Orders	9.9		10.9		18.4	
(n)	(71)		(101)		(76)	

Table 21: Explanations by Phase

Explanation	1993-1996		1997-1999		2000-2002	
Intimate Anger/Revenge	40.9	%	21.8	%	38.2	%
Recreate Relationship	7		3		0	
Individual Pathology	21.2		14.9		21.1	
Non-intimate Anger/Revenge	5.6		14.9		23.7	
Create Intimate Relationship	8.5		17.8		7.9	
Profit	7		9.9		2.6	
Other	7		16.8		3.9	
Not Mentioned	2.8		0.9		2.6	
Total	100	%	100	%	100	%
(n)	(71)		(101)		(76)	

Table 22: Discourse by Phase

Discourse	1993-1996		1997-1999		2000-2002	
Legal	58.5	%	47.9	%	53.6	%
Moral	19.2		19.6		26.2	
Political	9.6		3.2		3.5	
Technological	0		11.9		13.1	
Medical	4.2		7.6		2.4	
Other	8.5		9.8		1.2	
Total	100	%	100	%	100	%
(n)	(94)		(92)		(84)	

Table 23: Stage of Stalking Produced in the News by Phase

Stage of Stalking	1993-1996		1997-1999		2000-2002	
Pre-Arrest	38.1	%	41.6	%	31.6	%
Arrested	19.7		17.8		19.7	
Court	21.1		10.9		32.9	
Disposition	16.9		21.8		4	
Not Specified	4.2		7.9		11.8	
Total	100	%	100	%	100	%
(n)	(71)		(101)		(76)	

Table 24: Criminal Records by Phase

Type of Record	1993-1996		1997-1999		2000-2002	
No Record	0	%	3	%	7.9	%
Violent	14.1		4.9		3.9	
Non-violent	2.8		2		3.9	
Criminal Harassment (CH)	1.4		0		2.6	
(CH) and Violent	0		0		1.4	
(CH) and Non-violent	0		1		0	
Not Mentioned	81.7		89.1		80.3	
Total	100	%	100	%	100	%
(n)	(71)		(101)		(76)	

Table 25: Charges by Phase

	1993-1996		1997-1999		2000-2002	
Charges						
Criminal Harassment (CH)	9.9	%	18.8	%	28.9	%
(CH) and Threats	4.2		1		6.6	
(CH) and Breach of Probation	0		2		5.3	
(CH) and Assault	0		1		1.3	
(CH) and Other Offences	7		4		14.5	
Charges Excluding (CH)	25.4		5.9		9.2	
Not Mentioned	1.4		1		1.3	
Not Applicable	52.1		66.3		32.9	
Total	100	%	100	%	100	%
(n)	(71)		(101)		(76)	

Table 26: Court Dispositions by Phase

Court Dispositions	1993-1996		1997-1999		2000-2002	
Prison Terms	44.5	%	66.6	%	18.2	%
Probation	0		0		0	
Prison and Probation	11.1		0		4.5	
Probation and Other	11.1		16.7		9.1	
Fines	22.2		0		9.1	
Other	0		16.7		9.1	
Not Specified	11.1		0		50	
Total	100	%	100	%	100	%
(n)	(71)		(101)		(76)	

Table 27: Length of Prison Terms and Periods of Probation by Phase

Length	1993 - 1996 Prison		1993 - 1996 Probation		1997 - 1999 Prison		1997 - 1999 Probation		2000 - 2002 Prison		2000 - 2002 Probation	
Less than 6 Months	20	%	0	%	50	%	0	%	25	%	0	%
6-11 Months	40		0		0		0		0		0	
12-17 Months	0		50		0		0		0		0	
18-23 Months	0		0		0		0		25		33.3	
24 Months or More	40		50		50		100		50		66.7	
Total	100	%	100	%	100	%	100	%	100	%	100	%
(n)	(5)		(2)		(8)		(4)		(4)		(3)	

Table 28: Amount of Coverage by Phase

# Days	1993 - 1996 Celebrities		1993 - 1996 Ordinary		1997 - 1999 Celebrity		1997 - 1999 Ordinary		2000 - 2002 Celebrity		2000 - 2002 Ordinary	
1 day	31.8	%	78.8	%	44.8	%	45	%	57.9	%	47.9	%
2 days	22.7		12.1		17.2		4.1		10.5		15.2	
3 days	0		9.1		0		12.2		0		6.5	
4 days	0		0		13.8		0		0		0	
5 days	45.5		0		17.2		16.3		0		0	
6 days	0		0		0		12.2		0		0	
7 days or More	0		0		7		10.2		31.6		30.4	
Total	100	%	100	%	100	%	100	%	100	%	100	%
(n)	(22)		(33)		(29)		(49)		(19)		(46)	

Table 29: Use of Capitals in Titles by Phase

	1993 - 1996				1997 - 1999				2000 - 2002			
	Celebrity		Ordinary		Celebrity		Ordinary		Celebrity		Ordinary	
Capitals												
1 word	18.2	%	15.1	%	13.8	%	2	%	10.5	%	0	%
2 words	9.1		12.1		3.5		4.1		0		0	
3 words	9.1		6.1		3.5		6.1		0		4.3	
Entire Title	0		15.1		13.8		8.2		28.6		4.3	
No Capitals	63.6		51.6		65.4		79.6		26.3		91.4	
Total	100	%	100	%	100	%	100	%	100	%	100	%
(n)	(22)		(33)		(29)		(49)		(19)		(46)	

Table 30: Use of Names in the News by Phase

Use of Names	1993 - 1996 Celebrity		1993 - 1996 Ordinary		1997 - 1999 Celebrity		1997 - 1999 Ordinary		2000 - 2002 Celebrity		2000 - 2002 Ordinary	
Victim	28.5	%	34	%	31.2	%	7.5	%	36.4	%	38.9	%
Stalker	4.8		14		2.1		13.2		0		16.7	
Victim + Stalker	61.9		32		66.7		64.2		63.6		31.4	
No Names	4.8		20		0		15.1		0		13	
Total	100	%	100	%	100	%	100		100	%	100	%
(n)	(21)		(50)		(48)		(53)		(22)		(54)	

Table 31: Number of Times Victims' Names Appeared in the News by Phase

# Names	1993 - 1996 Celebrity		1993 - 1996 Ordinary		1997 - 1999 Celebrity		1997 - 1999 Ordinary		2000 - 2002 Celebrity		2000 - 2002 Ordinary	
1 Time	10.5	%	30.3	%	31.9	%	26.3	%	13.6	%	21	%
2 Times	0		15.1		19.1		13.2		9.1		10.5	
3 Times	5.3		6.1		6.4		10.5		27.3		5.3	
4 Times	21.1		12.1		27.7		34.2		45.5		55.3	
More than 4 Times	63.1		36.4		14.9		15.8		4.5		7.9	
Total	100	%	100	%	100	%	100	%	100	%	100	%
(n)	(19)		(33)		(47)		(38)		(22)		(38)	

Table 32: Number of Times Stalkers' Names Appeared in the News by Phase

# Times Names	1993 - 1996 Celebrity		1996 Ordinary		1997 - 1999 Celebrity		1999 Ordinary		2000 - 2002 Celebrity		2002 Ordinary	
1 Time	7.1	%	17.4	%	39.4	%	24.4	%	28.6	%	26.9	%
2 Times	14.3		17.4		24.2		17.1		21.4		3.9	
3 Times	21.5		8.7		12.1		7.3		14.3		7.7	
4 Times	7.1		8.7		9.1		31.7		35.7		46.1	
More than 4 Times	50		47.8		15.2		19.5		0		15.4	
Total	100	%	100	%	100	%	100	%	100	%	100	%
(n)	(14)		(23)		(33)		(41)		(14)		(26)	

Table 33: Location of Victims' Names in the News by Phase

	1993 - 1996		1997 - 1999		2000 - 2002	
	Celebrity	Ordinary	Celebrity	Ordinary	Celebrity	Ordinary
Location						
Headline	0 %	3 %	0 %	0 %	0 %	0 %
Lead	0	0	0	2.6	0	2.6
First Paragraph	0	0	2.2	0	0	79
Body	21.1	57.6	48.9	55.3	36.4	18.4
End	0	0	0	0	0	0
More than 1 Location	78.9	39.4	48.9	42.1	63.6	0
Total	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %
(n)	(19)	(33)	(47)	(38)	(22)	(38)

Table 34: Location of Stalker's Names in the News by Phase

Location	1993 - 1996 Celebrity		1993 - 1996 Ordinary		1997 - 1999 Celebrity		1997 - 1999 Ordinary		2000 - 2002 Celebrity		2000 - 2002 Ordinary	
Headline	0	%	0	%	0	%	0	%	0	%	0	%
Lead	0		0		0		0		0		0	
First Paragraph	0		0		0		0		0		0	
Body	42.9		43.5		69.7		51.2		78.6		76.9	
End	0		4.3		3		0		7.1		0	
More Than 1 Location	57.1		52.2		27.3		48.8		14.3		23.1	
Total	100	%	100	%	100	%	100	%	100	%	100	%
(n)	(14)		(23)		(33)		(41)		(14)		(26)	

Table 35: Location of Victims' Occupations in the News by Phase

Location	1993 - 1996 Celebrity		1996 Ordinary		1997 - 1999 Celebrity		1999 Ordinary		2000 - 2002 Celebrity		2002 Ordinary	
Headlines	10	%	2.3	%	4.2	%	2.2	%	31.8	%	2.2	%
Lead	5		2.3		12.8		0		13.6		4.5	
First Paragraph	20		4.7		12.8		4.3		9.1		11.1	
Body	30		27.9		59.6		32.6		9.1		33.3	
End	5		0		4.2		0		31.8		6.7	
More Than 1 Location	5		2.3		6.4		8.7		0		2.2	
Not Mentioned	25		60.5		0		52.2		4.6		40	
Total	100	%	100	%	100	%	100	%	100	%	100	%
(n)	(20)		(43)		(47)		(46)		(22)		(45)	

Table 36: Location of Stalkers' Occupations in the News by Phase

Location	1993 - 1996 Celebrity		1996 Ordinary		1997 - 1999 Celebrity		1999 Ordinary		2000 - 2002 Celebrity		2002 Ordinary	
Headlines	0	%	3		6.1	%	8.2	%	7.1	%	9.1	%
Lead	0		0		3		0		7.1		0	
First Paragraph	6.7		0		3		6.1		7.1		9.1	
Body	26.6		27.3		33.4		18.4		28.7		42.4	
End	0		0		3		0		0		0	
More Than 1 Location	6.7		6.1		0		10.2		0		0	
Not Mentioned	60		63.6		51.5		57.1		50		39.4	
Total	100	%	100 %		100	%	100	%	100	%	100	%
(n)	(15)		(33)		(33)		(49)		(14)		(33)	

Table 37: Legal Outcome Mentioned in the News by Phase

	1993 - 1996		1997 - 1999		2000 - 2002	
	Celebrity	Ordinary	Celebrity	Ordinary	Celebrity	Ordinary
Legal Outcome						
Charges	42.9 %	20 %	20.8 %	16.9 %	45.5 %	27.8 %
Verdict	9.5	2	0	5.7	9.1	24.1
Sentence Type	0	4	0	1.9	0	3.7
Sentence Type + Length	9.5	28	10.4	15.1	13.6	7.4
Not Mentioned	38.1	46	68.8	60.4	31.8	37
Total	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %
(n)	(21)	(50)	(48)	(53)	(22)	(54)

Table 38: Location of Legal Outcome in the News by Phase

Location	1993 - 1996 Celebrity	1993 - 1996 Ordinary	1997 - 1999 Celebrity	1997 - 1999 Ordinary	2000 - 2002 Celebrity	2000 - 2002 Ordinary
Headline	15.4 %	3.7 %	33.3 %	33.3 %	0 %	17.6 %
Lead	0	3.7	6.7	0	26.6	11.8
First Paragraph	30.8	7.4	6.7	4.8	13.3	5.9
Body	46.1	70.4	53.3	42.9	46.7	58.8
End	0	3.7	0	9.5	6.7	5.9
More Than 1 Location	7.7	11.1	0	9.5	6.7	0
Total	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %
(n)	(13)	(27)	(15)	(21)	(15)	(34)

Table 39: Number of Times Fear is Mentioned in the News by Phase

| # Times | 1993 - 1996 | | 1997 - 1999 | | 2000 - 2002 | |
	Celebrity	Ordinary	Celebrity	Ordinary	Celebrity	Ordinary
1 Time	71.4 %	50 %	66.7 %	57.1 %	75 %	72.7 %
2 Times	14.3	33.4	0	28.6	25	18.2
3 Times	14.3	8.3	0	14.3	0	9.1
4 Times or More	0	8.3	33.3	0	0	0
Total	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %
(n)	(7)	(12)	(3)	(14)	(4)	(22)

Table 40: Location of Fear in the News by Phase

Location	1993 - 1996 Celebrity	1996 Ordinary	1997 - 1999 Celebrity	1999 Ordinary	2000 - 2002 Celebrity	2002 Ordinary
Headline	0 %	0 %	0 %	0 %	0 %	0 %
Lead	0	8.3	0	0	0	0
First Paragraph	0	0	0	0	0	0
Body	85.7	83.4	66.7	57.1	25	36.4
End	0	0	0	0	0	0
More than 1 Location	14.3	8.3	33.3	42.9	75	63.6
Total	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %
(n)	(7)	(12)	(3)	(14)	(4)	(22)

Table 41: Presentation of Fear in the News by Phase

Presentation	1993 - 1996 Celebrity		1993 - 1996 Ordinary		1997 - 1999 Celebrity		1997 - 1999 Ordinary		2000 - 2002 Celebrity		2000 - 2002 Ordinary	
Blame Stalker	0	%	8.3	%	33.3	%	0	%	0	%	22.7	%
Sympathize with Stalker	0		8.3		0		0		0		0	
Blame Victim	0		0		0		7.1		0		4.5	
Sympathize with Victim	71.4		66.7		66.7		64.3		50		54.6	
Blame Stalker + Sympathize with Victim	14.3		0		0		7.1		0		9.1	
Blame Stalker + Sympathize with Victim + Criticize Justice System	0		16.7		0		0		0		0	
Not Specified	14.3		0		0		21.5		50		9.1	
Total	100	%	100	%	100	%	100	%	100	%	100	%
(n)	(7)		(12)		(3)		(14)		(4)		(45	

Table 42: Fear and Geographic Location in the News by Phase

| | 1993 - 1996 | | 1997 - 1999 | | 2000 - 2002 | |
	Celebrity	Ordinary	Celebrity	Ordinary	Celebrity	Ordinary
Location						
Local + Random	0 %	0 %	0 %	0 %	0 %	0 %
Local + Not Random	0	16.7	0	50	75	68.2
Distant + Random	0	0	0	0	0	0
Distant + Not Random	0	25	66.7	0	0	0
Not Specified	100	58.3	33.3	50	25	31.8
Total	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %
(n)	(7)	(12)	(3)	(14)	(4)	(22)

Table 43: Stalking Pathologies Noted in the News by Phase

	1993 - 1996		1997 - 1999		2000 - 2002	
	Celebrity	Ordinary	Celebrity	Ordinary	Celebrity	Ordinary
Stalking Pathologized						
Yes	28.6 %	18 %	22.9 %	11.3 %	22.7 %	7.4 %
No	4.8	4	2.1	0	0	0
Not Mentioned	66.6	78	75	88.7	77.3	92.6
Total	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %
(n)	(21)	(50)	(48)	(53)	(22)	(54)

Table 44: Nature of Pathologies in the News by Phase

Source	1993 - 1996 Celebrity		Ordinary		1997 - 1999 Celebrity		Ordinary		2000 - 2002 Celebrity		Ordinary	
Stalker's Personality	16.7	%	22.2	%	9.1	%	0	%	0	%	0	%
Stalker's Behaviour	16.7		0		0		16.7		0		0	
Stalker's Personality + Behaviour	0		11.1		18.2		0		0		0	
Obsession Noted	66.6		66.7		72.7		83.3		100		100	
Total	100	%	100	%	100	%	100	%	100	%	100	%
(n)	(6)		(9)		(11)		(6)		(5)		(4)	

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Appendices

Appendix 1: The Criminal Harassment Legislation

Criminal harassment appears in the Canadian Criminal Code as follows:

264   (1) No person shall, without lawful authority and knowing that another person is harassed or reckless as to whether the other person is harassed, engage in conduct referred to in subsection (2) that causes the other person reasonably, in all the circumstances, to fear for their safety or the safety of anyone known to them.

(2) The conduct mentioned in subsection (1) consists of

(a) repeatedly following from place to place the other person or anyone known to them;

(b) repeatedly communicating with, either directly or indirectly, the other person or anyone known to them;

(c) besetting or watching the dwelling-house, or place where the other person, or anyone known to them, resides, works, carries on business or happens to be or

(d) engaging in threatening conduct directed at the other person or any member of their family.

(3) Every person who contravenes this section is guilty of

(a) an indictable offence and is liable to imprisonment for a term not exceeding ten years; or

(b) an offence punishable on summary conviction.

(4) Where a person is convicted of an offence under this section, the court imposing the sentence on the person shall consider as an aggravating factor that, at the time the offence was committed, the person contravened

(a) the terms or conditions of an order pursuant to section 810, 810.1 or 810.2; or

(b) the terms or conditions of any other order or recognizance made or entered into under the common law or a provision of this or any other Act of Parliament or of a province that is similar in effect to an order or recognizance referred to in paragraph (a).

(5) Where the court is satisfied of the existence of an aggravating factor referred to in subsection (4), but does not give effect to it for sentencing purposes, the court shall give reasons for its decision (*Martin's Annual Criminal Code*, 2004: 519-520).

Appendix 2: Representing Stalking in the News - Code Book

Indicators of Newsworthiness

1. Year of story:

a) 1993
b) 1994
c) 1995
d) 1996
e) 1997
f) 1998
g) 1999
h) 2000
i) 2001
j) 2002

2. News medium:

a) newspaper
b) popular news magazine
c) transcribed television/radio broadcast

3. Range of news coverage:

a) single news media (newspaper, magazine, television or radio)
b) multiple news media (more than one medium covering a story)

4. Type of news story (news item):

a) feature story
b) ordinary news report
c) news interview
d) editorial
e) letter to the editor/commentary/opinion column
f) sports
g) arts/music
h) other

5. Story placement:

a) front page/lead story or interview
b) section A news (within first half of t.v. or radio broadcast)
c) other sectional front page news (B1, C1, D1, N1, S1 or before the final half of the

broadcast)
d) sports
e) other sectional news
f) letters to the editor
g) morning broadcast
h) evening broadcast
i) not mentioned

6. Type of news coverage (number of words used in the story or broadcast):

a) primary stories (5 or more column inches of text/text transcribed = 208 words or more)
b) secondary stories (2.5-4.9 inches of text/text transcribed = 96 words to 207 words)
c) tertiary stories (1.6-2.4 inches of text/text transcribed = 50 to 95 words)

Indicators of News Production

7. News item producers:

a) reporter (regular reporter/columnist or broadcast anchor)
b) wire service (Canadian Press, Reuters, Associated Press)
c) citizens
d) columnists/editors
e) other
f) not mentioned

8. News-event initiating incident:

a) scheduled event (conference, recurring event)
b) unscheduled event (journalists reacting to spot news of serious crimes)
c) other media/continuing news (follows from other stories in news outlet or other outlets)
d) other
e) not mentioned

9. News-event locations:

a) Atlantic Canada (Maritimes - Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Newfoundland, and P.E.I.)
b) Central Canada (Quebec, Ontario)
c) Prairies (Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta)
d) British Columbia
e) Northwest Territories

f) Canada as a whole
g) United States
h) Europe
i) other
j) not mentioned

10. Headline denotes:

a) control action (describes actions taken by those involved in the reported event)
b) primary understanding (facts directly relevant to the story)
c) background information (information not relevant to the story but provides a context for it)
d) evaluations (assessments of whether someone or something was good or bad)
e) recommendations
f) other

11. Lead statement denotes:

a) control action (describes actions taken by those involved in the reported event)
b) primary understanding (facts directly relevant to the story)
c) background information (information not relevant to the story but provides a context for it)
d) evaluations (assessments of whether someone or something was good or bad)
e) recommendations
f) other

12. Focus of story:

a) directly discusses stalking
b) indirectly discusses/incorporates stalking within a larger context

13. Type of discourse (thematic content):

a) legal discourse
b) moral discourse
c) political discourse
d) technological discourse
e) medical discourse
f) other

14. Style of news discourse:

a) manifest (focuses on surface effects - titles, use of names)
b) interpretive (focuses on truth effects - storytelling, history between parties)

Indicators of New Sources:

15. Who is sourced with the news:

a) police (officers, chiefs)
b) legal sources (judges, lawyers, criminal justice experts)
c) members of women's/victims' organizations (NAC, Metrac, etc.)
d) politicians
e) medical community (psychiatrists, psychologists, physicians)
f) security
g) victims
h) stalkers
i) victims' families
j) stalkers' families
k) victims'/stalkers' friends
l) neighbours
m) other

16. Number of sources cited:

a) one (other than journalist, news anchor, etc.)
b) two (other than journalist, news anchor, etc.)
c) three (other than journalist, news anchor, etc.)
d) more than three (other than journalist, news anchor, etc.)
e) not specified

17. News-source context:

a) authors (journalists, broadcast anchors, other authors of the news story)
b) interview (one-on-one)
c) official meeting (courts, inquiries, legislatures, legislative committees)
d) media report (reference to previous report in the media)
e) other

18. Type of knowledge provided by source(s):

a) primary (factual - what happened)
b) secondary (explanatory - why it happened)
c) tertiary (descriptive - what it was like to be involved in the event)
d) evaluative (moral - was the event/incident positive or negative)
e) recommendations (what should be done about the incident)

19. Intended source effects:

a) legal effect (enact or amend legislation)
b) funding/protection for stalking victims
c) raising public/political awareness to stalking
d) sensational effect (commodify stalking through various news outlets)
e) other
f) not mentioned

Representing stalking in the news:

20. Type of stalking:

a) intimate stalking (includes intimate celebrities as stalkers and/or victims)
b) celebrity stalking (involving strangers)
c) cyber stalking
d) non-intimate anger/revenge stalking
e) courtship stalking
f) other

21. Number of victims:

a) one
b) two
c) three
d) more than three
e) not specified
f) not applicable

22. Sex of primary victim (key victim or celebrity):

a) male
b) female
c) male and female stalkers
d) not specified
e) not applicable

23. Sex of secondary victim(s) (victims' relatives, friends, staff, co-workers):

a) male
b) female
c) male and female victims (if 2 secondary victims or more)
d) not mentioned
e) not applicable

24. Age of primary victim:

a) 10 to 19 years old
b) 20 to 29 years old
c) 30 to 39 years old
d) 40 to 49 years old
e) 50 years or older
f) not mentioned
g) not applicable

25. Primary victim's status:

a) actor/actress/producer
b) singer/songwriter
c) politician
d) athlete/sports figure
e) royalty
f) other public figure
g) ordinary citizen
h) paparazzi
i) not mentioned
j) not applicable

26. Number of stalkers:

a) one
b) two
c) three
d) more than three
e) not mentioned
f) not applicable

27. Sex of primary stalker:

a) male
b) female
c) not specified
d) not applicable

28. Sex of secondary stalkers (those who assist the stalker):

a) male
b) female
c) both male and female (if 2 secondary stalkers or more)

d) not mentioned

e) not applicable

29. Age of primary stalker:

a) 10 to 19 years old

b) 20 to 29 years old

c) 30 to 39 years old

d) 40 to 49 years old

e) 50 years or older

f) not mentioned

g) not applicable

30. Primary stalker's status:

a) actor/actress/producer

b) singer/songwriter

c) politician

d) athlete/sports figure

e) royalty

f) other public figure

g) ordinary citizen

h) paparazzi

i) not mentioned

j) not applicable

31. Relationship between victim/stalker at the time the stalking occurred:

a) current intimate partners (dating, married, common-law)

b) former intimate partners (estranged, separated, divorced)

c) strangers

d) acquaintances/friends

e) celebrity/fan

f) co-workers

g) other professional relationship (employer/employee, teacher/student)

h) relatives

i) paparazzi

j) not mentioned

k) not applicable

32. Type of stalking behaviour:

a) phone calls

b) following
c) watching home/workplace/studio
d) letters (including electronic correspondence)
e) gifts
f) subtle or overt threatening gestures/threats
g) combination of two or more stalking behaviours
h) other
i) not mentioned
j) not applicable

33. Explanations of stalking (motive):

a) anger/revenge over dissolution of intimate relationships/domestic violence
b) recreate intimate relationship
c) diagnosis of individual pathology (erotomania, mental illness, obsessional, delusional)
d) non-intimate anger/revenge (directed at victim's occupation)
e) create intimate relationship
f) profit
g) other explanations
h) not mentioned
i) not applicable

34. Previous violence between victim/offender:

a) yes
b) no
c) not mentioned
d) not applicable

35. Stalking resulted in harm to victim:

a) yes
b) no
c) not mentioned
d) not applicable

36. Type of harm victim incurred:

a) physical harm (excluding murder)
b) emotional/psychological harm (fear/distress)
c) physical and emotional/psychological harm
d) homicide
e) suicide
f) accidental death

g) not mentioned
h) not applicable

37. Stalking resulted in homicide:

a) yes
b) no
c) not mentioned
d) not applicable

News indicators of legal discourse

38. Stage of stalking produced in the news:

a) pre-arrest (stalker was not arrested)
b) arrest (stalker arrested but not processed through the courts)
c) court (stalker appeared in court - preliminary hearing or sentencing)
d) disposition (stalker has served or is serving their sentence for stalking)
e) not mentioned
f) not applicable

39. Presence of restraining order at the time the stalking occurred:

a) yes
b) no
c) granted after stalking incident
d) no contact as part of bail
e) no contact near victim's home
f) not mentioned
d) not applicable

40. Criminal record (prior to current stalking news event):

a) no criminal record:
b) violent
c) non-violent
d) criminal harassment
e) criminal harassment and violent
f) criminal harassment and non-violent
g) not mentioned
h) not applicable

41. Charges laid:

a) criminal harassment only
b) criminal harassment and uttering threats (death/other)
c) criminal harassment and breach of probation/recognizance
d) criminal harassment and assault (with/without weapon)
e) criminal harassment and other Criminal Code offence(s)
f) charges excluding criminal harassment
g) not mentioned
h) not applicable

42. Convictions for stalking:

a) yes
b) no
c) not mentioned
d) not applicable

43. Court disposition for stalking:

a) prison term (includes concurrent or consecutive sentences to another offence)
b) probation (includes concurrent or consecutive sentences to another offence)
c) prison term and probation (includes concurrent or consecutive sentences to another offence)
d) probation and other
e) fines
f) prison and other
g) other
h) not mentioned
i) not applicable

44. Length of prison term for stalking:

a) less than 6 moths
b) 6 to 11 months
c) 12 to 17 months
d) 18 to 23 months
e) 24 months or more
f) not mentioned
g) not applicable

45. Length of probation:

a) less than 6 moths
b) 6 to 11 months
c) 12 to 17 months

d) 18 to 23 months
e) 24 months or more
f) not mentioned
g) not applicable

Indicators of Sensationalism:

46. Cumulative number of days stories of celebrity stalkers/victims are featured/covered:

a) one day
b) two days
c) three days
d) four days
e) five days
f) six days
g) seven days or more
h) not mentioned
i) not applicable

47. Cumulative number of days stories of other stalkers/victims are featured/covered:

a) one day
b) two days
c) three days
d) four days
e) five days
f) six days
g) seven days or more
h) not mentioned
i) not applicable

48. Use of capitalized words in title of news story:

a) one complete word in title (not just first letter of a word)
b) two complete words in title (not just first letter of two words)
c) three words or more but not entire title (not just first letter of three words or more)
d) entire title capitalized (every letter of every word)
e) no capitals used in title (except proper nouns)

49. Use of names in news:

a) victim named only
b) stalker named only

c) victim and stalker named
d) no names were mentioned
e) not applicable

50. Number of times victims' names appear:

a) once
b) twice
c) three times
d) four times
e) more than four times
f) not applicable

51. Location of victims' names in news discourse:

a) headline
b) lead statement
c) first paragraph
d) within main body of story/interview
e) end of story
f) more than 1 of these news locations
g) not applicable

52. Victims' occupation mentioned in:

a) headline
b) lead statement
c) first paragraph
d) within main body of story/interview
e) end of story
f) more than 1 of these news locations
g) not mentioned
h) not applicable

53. Victim harm mentioned in:

a) headline
b) lead statement
c) first paragraph
d) within main body of story/interview
e) end of story
f) more than 1 of these news locations
g) not applicable

54. Number of times stalkers' names appear:

a) once
b) twice
c) three times
d) four times
e) more than four times
f) not applicable

55. Location of stalkers' names in news discourse:

a) headline
b) lead statement
c) first paragraph
d) within main body of story/interview
e) end of story
f) more than 1 of these news locations
g) not applicable

56. Stalkers' occupation mentioned in:

a) headline
b) lead statement
c) first paragraph
d) within main body of story/interview
e) end of story
f) more than 1 of these news locations
g) not mentioned
h) not applicable

57. Relationship between stalker and victim appears in:

a) headline
b) lead statement
c) first paragraph
d) within main body of story/interview
e) end of story
f) more than 1 of these news locations
g) not mentioned
h) not applicable

58. Stalking behaviour(s) mentioned in:

a) headline

b) lead statement
c) first paragraph
d) within main body of story/interview
e) end of story
f) more than 1 of these news locations
g) not mentioned
h) not applicable

59. Legal outcome mentioned:

a) charges (charged or charges dropped)
b) verdict (guilty or not-guilty)
c) sentence (type of sentence only)
d) sentence (type and length)
e) not mentioned
f) not applicable

60. Location of legal outcome in news discourse:

a) headline
b) lead statement
c) first paragraph
d) within main body of story/interview
e) end of story
f) more than 1 of these news locations
g) not mentioned
h) not applicable

61. Presentation of fear in the news:

a) moral condemnation/blame of stalker
b) sympathy toward stalker
c) moral condemnation/victim blame
d) sympathy toward victim
e) moral condemnation of stalker and sympathy toward victim
f) moral condemnation of stalker/sympathy toward victim/criticism of legal/police initiatives
g) not mentioned
h) not applicable

62. The word "fear" appears:

a) in the headline

b) in the lead statement
c) in the main body of the story
d) more than 1 of these news locations
e) not mentioned
f) not applicable

63. Number of times the word "fear" is mentioned:

a) once
b) twice
c) three times
d) four times or more
e) not mentioned
f) not applicable

64. Fear mentioned in relation to the location of the stalking incident:

a) local (stalking was random)
b) local (stalking was not random)
c) distant (stalking was random)
d) distant (stalking was not random)
e) not specified
f) not applicable

65. Stalking discussed in terms of pathology:

a) yes
b) no
c) not mentioned
d) not applicable

66. Pathology mentioned in relation to:

a) stalker's personality
b) stalker's behaviour
c) stalker's personality and behaviour
d) obsession noted
e) not mentioned
f) not applicable