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# WHO FRAMED THE STRIP?

A Cross-Cultural Comparison of the Newspaper coverage of  
la Promenade du Portage in Hull,  
1980-1995.

By  
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Submitted to the School of Graduate Studies and Research at the University of Ottawa  
in requirement for the degree of Masters in Arts  
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## **ABSTRACT**

Who framed the Strip? A cross-cultural comparison of the newspaper coverage of la promenade du Portage in Hull, 1980-1995.

In 1985 Hull was declared the Capital of Crime. Hull had won Quebec's unenviable title of having the highest crime rate in the province for 1984. The two dailies in the region, *Le Droit* (French) and *The Citizen* (English) closely followed the search for what was happening in the otherwise peaceful "village."

The reason was simple: the concentration of bars on la promenade du Portage. The Street had been completely remodelled in the seventies by the federal government; in order to re-launch Hull's downtown core, several bars had converged on the old Main Street.

La promenade's criminality and its cleanup was the subject of a large amount of newspaper articles. In this thesis I compare the ways in which the two newspapers covered the Street and the events which surrounded it. I do this at different levels: as a careful reader, through quantitative content analysis and through discourse analysis. The results show that the newspaper use very different perspectives from which to write about the same place.

These perspectives help us to understand the fundamental differences in the way each community thinks the bar Strip and what it represents. The representations of this contested street inform the way the communities understand each other as well as themselves.

Cultural geography is preoccupied with representations; it is through these that we learn to recognize ourselves and to recognize our place within society as well as within place. The Strip was covered in such a way as to help configure the myth that surrounds it. By using stereotypes and recurrent images, the newspapers increased the mystique and the myth of the place. In this thesis, I explore the links between place, media and representation.

## **RÉSUMÉ**

Who framed the Strip? A cross-cultural comparison of the newspaper coverage of the promenade du Portage in Hull, 1980-1995.

En 1985 la Ville de Hull fût déclaré la Capitale du Crime. Hull avait gagné le record peu enviable du taux de crime le plus élevé du Québec pour l'année 1984. Les deux journaux principaux de la région, *Le Droit* (Français) et *The Citizen* (Anglais) suivèrent de près les tentatives de la Ville pour expliquer ce qui se passait dans le "village" autrement paisible.

La raison était simple: la concentration de bars sur la promenade du Portage. La promenade avait été complètement remodelée dans les années soixante-dix par le gouvernement fédéral. Pour relancer l'économie du quartier, plusieurs bars s'installèrent sur l'ancienne rue Principale.

Beaucoup d'encre a coulé au sujet de cette rue, de sa criminalité et de son nettoyage. Dans ce travail je compare la façon dont les deux journaux ont traité de la rue et des événements qui l'entourent. Je fais ceci à différents niveaux: comme lecteur attentif, grâce à une analyse de contenu quantitative et une analyse discursive. Les résultats nous démontrent que les journaux utilisent des perspectives différentes pour décrire le même lieu.

Ces perspectives nous aident à comprendre des différences fondamentales dans la façon dont les deux communautés considèrent la promenade du Portage et ce qu'elle représente. Les représentations de cette rue informent la façon dont les communautés ce comprennent les unes et les autres et en même temps la façon dont elles se comprennent elles mêmes.

La géographie culturelle est préoccupée par les représentations; c'est à travers celles-ci que nous apprenons à nous reconnaître, à reconnaître notre place dans une société et dans les lieux. La couverture médiatique de la Strip a configuré le mythe qui l'entoure. En utilisant des stéréotypes et des images récurrentes, les journaux ont amplifié le mythe du lieu. Dans ce travail j'explore les relations entre lieu, médias et représentations.

## **PREFACE**

My interests in this project originate from two sources: geography and the media. Geography, my chosen pursuit, is my devotion to understanding place and what makes it tick. The media I find fascinating because of its potential power to inform our world. For various events going on in the world, we run to the mass media as our only source. Often, for events at the local level, we use only the media to find out what is going on.

An inspiration to me for this thesis is my uncle in New Orleans. He is a retired World War II veteran who watches much television. I was there a few years ago with some friends for a vacation. As soon as we arrived at his house, he pulled out a map of the city and highlighted, in pink, the areas where we were not to go. He had been listening to years of local newscasts; these were the areas where the murders happened, if you went in there you would unlikely come out the other side. Knowing that my uncle's fears must have been somewhat exaggerated, I walked through those areas, in order to get a "feel" for the place. I saw poverty, certainly, but I did not see any crime. I saw children playing ball in the street and old men sitting on folding chairs, beer can in hand. There are certainly elevated crime rates in the Crescent City, but the people in the really bad areas did not even notice me, an indisputable northerner, walking through their housing projects.

I lived in downtown Hull for two years. I did not see a murder, a stabbing, or any theft. I did hear some people yell at each other and some cars with very loud stereos, but these were the worst reminders of what once had been the Strip. I kept looking for the signs of violent action and the drunk young Ontarians pissing on my front door, they never materialized. My neighbors were pot-heads and homosexuals, artists and musicians, students. A typical vagrant-class neighborhood. It was very friendly, unjudgemental and down-to-earth. It is the only place I have ever lived where I addressed all my neighbors by their first names. It was never a problem to go ask them for a cup of sugar or a boost in the middle of winter.

I would never tell someone that it is not safe to walk in the streets of Hull because I sincerely refuse to believe it. Hull is a very safe place. Actually, there is a noticeable police presence in downtown Hull and they add to the feeling of security.

That someone would be afraid of Hull, as they might be if their only experience with it was the news coverage, seems preposterous to me. I find it astonishing that someone might judge a place by its media portrayal and nothing else. Yet, when one realizes that he has impressions of far away places never visited, one realizes that these must have come from somewhere. They do. We hear about other places all the time. Our impressions of those places can become attached to certain stereotypes. The myth of what they are like continues to grow, often for the worse.

That people might be afraid to walk in downtown Hull at night is my inspiration for writing this paper. I hope nothing bad happens to them when they do confront their fear, and I hope they tell all their neighbors about it.

## **CHAPTER 1: A SETTING, A HISTORY, REPRESENTATIONS**

### **1.1 Introduction: Hull, the Media and Geography**

When people asked me what my thesis was about, I would retort by asking them what they knew about Hull. The answers I heard were usually vague (many people had actually never been there) but nonetheless centered around alcohol and misconduct. Through this informal experiment of mine it became clear to me that Hull has indeed acquired quite a reputation.

Hull is remarkable in the amount of media coverage it has received. Media coverage has been extensive at the local level and might have contributed to Hull's reputation as a place to go out for a drink. Much of the coverage that Hull got over the eighties and early nineties was centered on one single street, the infamous bar Strip. That street's vocation was drinking, and its reputation was built around the craziness that reigned over the atmosphere late at night.

The connection between reputation and media might be explained through geography. Geography attempts to understand places and the way that people interact with and in them. Through an analysis of the media coverage of the events that surrounded the busy street, we can begin to understand some of the perceptions that were formed within the population and how these perceptions might have informed the discourses on Hull.

Representations of ourselves are a means through which we understand our situation and role in society. In this way, representations of a place help us to contextualize the experience of that place (Brosseau & Gilbert, 1996, 83). In other words, what we have seen and heard about a place before will help us to know what behavior is expected of us, what is allowable and how others will be acting. Representations help us to understand just what it is that a place expects of us.

Mass media are a major force in our society: "As public 'sense making' institutions, the media profoundly influence the fabric of political life and everyday culture" (Robinson, 1998, 5). As such, the media deserve the attention of geographers. The mass media inform the way we perceive the world and as such might influence the way we interact with it.

The media are limited, by practicality, in their sources of information. They favor the consistent and easily accessible ones such as the police or the courts or other authorities. In the same way, they are also limited in the actual sites to which they can go for stories. A particular place might become associated with criminal events and violence, as reporters will favor covering the sites where crimes are most likely to occur. Downtown Hull is a place that suffered such a fate.

In this thesis, I hope to bring geography and media studies closer by exploring how geographers could use mass media as a source of spatial information. Through these different analytical techniques, I hope to relate how la promenade du Portage was represented in the media and thus help to uncover the discourses that described the contested Strip and shaped people's expectations of it.

Hull can also serve as an example of a place considered problematic by the media; and this study may serve other studies interested in exploring the meanings and proliferation of stereotypes attached to a particular site.

## **1.2 Objectives**

In the following pages I explore the ways in which media have presented a particular site. I do this through different readings of the articles that appeared in the two leading (French and English) daily newspapers of the Ottawa area concerning la promenade du Portage in Hull over fifteen years.

Each of these readings is aimed at reconstituting the meanings of a portrayal at different levels. I use the tools and concepts of quantitative content analysis, discourse analysis and myth to understand and expose the different layers of meaning of place contained in the articles. I compare the coverage from each of the newspapers in order to gain insights into how each cultural group may understand the contested ground, and, through it, how they understand each another.

As a whole, I hope to unfold the discourse flows that surrounded the bar Strip and capitalize on their differences in order to show how the news media's coverage is influenced by production constraints and information biases or filters. Implied within these representations is the reproduction of sense attached to a place. I explore how the media may have been an active agent in propagating taken-for-grantedness within the discourse that surrounded the Strip.

### **1.3 History**

Hull is located across the Ottawa River from Canada's national capital. In order to understand Hull, one must understand its relationship to Ottawa. The Outaouais is viewed by Chad Gaffield as "une région entre deux mondes" (Gaffield, 1994, 14). What he means is that it is an area which is influenced by two different realities: Ottawa serves as the main city and it is under the influence of the federal government. Yet the Outaouais is in Quebec and as such considers itself a part of the French Canadian homeland. The Outaouais acts as a buffer zone between Quebec and Ontario. Hull is the very crossroads upon which the cultures meet; it is a zone of contact where both cultures are present in spirit and in reality. Downtown Hull is linked to downtown Ottawa by four bridges and as such it is the focus of the "in-betweenness" which characterizes the region.

Ottawa is often portrayed as a conservative city. Inhabited by civil servants from all parts of Canada, it is ruled by a protestant ethic of temperance - its bars traditionally closed early. Hull's reputation is based on the fact that traditionally, people from Ottawa would cross the river to Hull when seeking fun times. Hull, being a part of Quebec, had a more liberal attitude towards drink as well as more liberal drinking laws. For example, throughout the eighties, bars in Ontario had to shut at one in the morning while those in Quebec remained open until three.

Hull is physically in Ottawa's shadow. Ottawa also shadows Hull economically. It is a blue-collar town where people worked in factories. Hull was traditionally one of the poorest neighborhoods in the region, and the downtown still is. This poverty has always helped foster the image of the rich Ontarian within the Hullois, and it has emphasized Hull's sense of inferiority next to the relatively prosperous Ottawa. This poverty also justifies Hull's role as host to the Ontarians: if they come to Hull to spend their dollars, it will supply Hull with jobs and income (Brosseau & Gilbert, 1996, 80).

### **1.3.1 Drinking at the turn of the century**

The eighties were not the first time that the residents of Hull questioned whether they were the true masters of their territory: at least twice before in the last century there were struggles by residents, clergy, Council and police to limit bar-related activities. This excerpt printed in *Le Droit* in 1992, taken from a newspaper article in 1909 reminds readers that the problem is old:

'La ville est littéralement remplie de salops (sic) que la police d'Ottawa a chassé de ce côté-ci. La procession de vauriens grossit chaque soir sur les deux ponts qui conduisent à Hull et les autorités ne sévissent pas (...on devrait) repousser à coups de bâton (...) toute cette engeance puante qui vient encanailler notre monde.' (Le Spectateur, 29 juillet, 1909).<sup>1</sup>

The facts I am using in this thesis are not new, Hull has been through similar circumstances before and likely will go through them again; these are part of the unavoidable reality of a border between different cultures that there will be tensions. Those tensions have more chances to exert themselves when the border is situated in an urbanized area. Hull has always had more liberal drinking laws and more bars than Ottawa. Consequentially, there have always been Ottawans who visit Hull in search of good times and there have always been segments of the Hull populace troubled by this reality.

### **1.3.2 Industry and development**

Downtown Hull was traditionally dominated by saw mills, paper mills, and other manufacturing industries. These factories provided employment for the proletariat who inhabited the modest houses of the island of Hull. In the sixties, most of the plants had shut down or moved away, leaving Hull with a poor and aging population and a dismal future. This did not fit the landscape of Ottawa which was booming under the governments of Pearson and Trudeau who more or less doubled the size of the federal government.

The federal government had also become more involved with the planning of its region through the creation of the National Capital Commission. It was mandated to

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<sup>1</sup> *Le Droit*, 7/18/1992, p.14, "Les problèmes de criminalité ne datent pas d'hier: Quand Hull était le 'petit Chicago'," André Cellard.

make the region a truly unified federal capital with grand boulevards and monumental vistas emphasizing the centrally located houses of parliament, in a similar style to Washington D.C., Brasilia, or New Delhi. The Greber Report of 1949 outlined a new plan for the whole region, it valued an increased amount of green space in the region and de-valued the industrial heritage. More than ever, it was felt that the Ottawa region should be beautiful enough to foster the image of a capital for all Canadians. The role that the report outlined for Quebec was all about recreation: land was purchased in the Gatineau Hills and in downtown Hull with the intention of increasing the amount of park space for the whole region's inhabitants as well as moving some of the ugly vestiges of industry.

The late sixties was a time of massive implementations when it came to urban planning: planners opted for huge structures, indoor malls, complete redesigns of downtown business cores, destruction of unused industrial amenities and the creation of giant transportation infrastructures to support the proliferation of the automobile as the choice for efficient transit. Downtown Hull was seen as a blight on the area, stuck in the economy of the declining secondary sector. As such, it was unworthy of being part of the capital region. Because it literally juts out into a bend in the Ottawa River, its role as a crossroads for a region with growing suburbs became evident. Hull was marked for drastic changes.

At this time, Quebec nationalism was again becoming an important factor on the Canadian political landscape. In order to appease some of Quebec's anti-federalist sentiment, the Canadian government relocated several of its departments in Quebec. The purpose was to reaffirm the symbolic role of the government in all of the region as well as to encourage the use of French in the civil service. The Trudeau administration also saw these moves as necessary to eliminate economic disparities between the two

sides of the river. Bringing government to the Quebec side would help to spread the wealth provided by a growing sector of the economy (Andrew, 1994, 469). The provincial government also bought land and built offices in Hull, but on a much smaller scale. This was done in part to counteract the movement of the federal government.

In these federal and provincial proposals, the Municipal Council of Hull saw a way out of downtown Hull's apparent misery: rebuild it and money will follow. The Council anticipated that private-sector capital would follow the influx of government investment in the downtown core: the whole downtown would rebuild progressively and become an urban-bourgeois neighborhood. Gentrification seemed inevitable due to the relatively inexpensive real estate in downtown Hull, the booming economy of the region and Hull's central location.

The concept of completely rebuilding downtown Hull was not accepted without a fight; the people of Hull mobilized to let the various governments know that they were unhappy with the plans. The clergy led the protest movement in the beginning and looked to cooperate with the government in order to find the best compromise for everybody. Later, intellectuals leading the fight against expropriations used Marxist interpretations of the situation; however, their activity alienated the local population who participated in the demonstrative process less and less (Bachand, 1980). Through these protests, it was clear that there was a spirit of community in downtown Hull and that the inhabitants did care about their neighborhood. However, as Bachand concludes, the leadership of the protesters never really reflected the views of the inhabitants who were displaced. These movements are described through interviews and clippings in Roger Poirier's 1986 book *Qui a volé la rue Principale?*

The result of the rebuilding of downtown Hull, beyond the skyscrapers and large boulevards, was a splintered community. Rebuilding tore the social fabric of Hull. The

people of downtown Hull worked hard to stem the developer's ambitions; all they managed to achieve, though, were better deals when it came to expropriations. Under the guise of progress, the federal government dispersed the people of Hull throughout the region.

In the end, over 1000 buildings in downtown Hull were demolished, and 4000 people relocated, most of whom did not find housing on the island of Hull (Andrew, 1994, 472-3). Many different actors redesigned downtown Hull, but clearly the federal government was the principal author of, and actor within, the new downtown Hull.

In 1969, the bulldozers started to destroy what had been known as Hull the working-class town and by 1979 the new downtown Hull, the government town, was finished. There was a brief period when housing prices shot up and many of the people who were still left in Hull after the expropriations sold to speculators. This was a short lived boom, though, as the downtown commerce declined and concerned citizens noticed that the civil servants did not stick around long enough after work to spend their dollars and had not moved to downtown Hull as had been expected. In the mid-seventies, with the election of René Lévesque and the separatist Parti Québécois, Ontarians increasingly chose to invest in Ontario, as they still do, fearing that Québec may go through a harsher economic period than it has recently known. Fearing further economic decline, the Municipal Council of Hull sought a solution to its commercially no longer viable downtown.

### 1.3.3 Relocating the bars

The seventies were the golden age of disco and Hull was literally booming to its beat. The disco scene was concentrated on St. Joseph Boulevard and epitomized by clubs like Disco Viva (one of North America's largest at the time). The scene changed in the eighties, though, as disco rapidly fell out of favor.

As had happened before, the nocturnal scene relocated when the City of Hull modified by-laws making it easier for restaurants and bars to establish themselves downtown (Raport Tassé (Hull RAP0054); Brazeau, 1997, 16). The City hoped to re-launch the commercial aspect of the new downtown. They envisioned a street filled with international restaurants and cafés, much like Old Québec, that would undoubtedly attract the after-work civil servants. What they got, instead, was a scene that capitalized on the permissive atmosphere of Quebec.

Within a few years, dozens of bars had established themselves along the Promenade and the popularity of the site grew with young Ontarians: economic prosperity was back in downtown Hull's formerly deserted main street, the easy access (4 bridges, including the new Pont du Portage) made it the ideal playground for distraction-seeking Ontarians.

The events begun by the 1985 declaration that Hull was the *Capital of Crime*, is the focus of this thesis. The two leading dailies of the area: *Le Droit*, in French, and *The Citizen*, in English, expanded their coverage of the bar Strip (as the promenade du Portage became known) as newsworthy events became more frequent and the site became increasingly popular (and increasingly disreputable).

Drinking in Hull is nothing new. Several "cycles" of activity have happened previously in this century. The typical scenario is that the nightlife is allowed to proliferate freely for a while with the justification that it helps the local economy.

Eventually, residents, clerical groups or the authorities grow tired of the way their city is treated by Ottawa's worst; they feel that Ontario has taken over their territory. A campaign is initiated which eventually mobilizes a large amount of local support and forces the Municipal Council to impose measures on the controversial areas. This happened in the second decade of this century, during Prohibition and again in the forties (Cellard, 1992). In the years 1980 to 1995 we see a full cycle of activity. The beginnings of a scene, a proliferation of activity, complaints by residents, attempts at crackdowns, further deterioration and, finally, drastic reform by the Municipal Council. The last nail was finally put into the coffin in 1997 with a new law that forced Hull bars to close at two, matching Ontario's hour. The story that follows is a detailed account of how both newspapers told the unfolding story.

#### **1.4 The Citizen and Le Droit**

The two newspapers are different in their format and in the type of news that they choose to cover. *Le Droit* is a tabloid that prints a large proportion of local news. *The Citizen* is a broadsheet newspaper with a general approach: as such, it prints a wide array of news, local, national and international. These approaches account for some of the differences in the method of treating stories. What the newspapers have in common, though, is that they are the best sellers in the region: *The Citizen* is Ottawa's number one daily and *Le Droit* is the only French language daily in the region. As such, they both represent important sources of news for people throughout the area.

## ***Le Droit***

*Le Droit* was founded in 1913, out of the Franco-Ontarian community's need to protect French education in Ontario. Its motto is *Certantibus Futura*: The future is for those who fight (Tremblay, 1963, 15). Its mission throughout its history has been to defend the rights of Franco-Ontarians, especially in Ottawa, a center for the Franco-Ontarian community. With the growth of the Quebec side of the Ottawa River came an extended readership and a new regional interest. It is within this perspective that we can understand, as we will see, *Le Droit's* seemingly partisan stance. *Le Droit* started as a community newspaper, aimed at a tightly knit community. Although its readership has diversified, *Le Droit* is still concerned about its community's survival and is in close contact with regional interests.

In 1986 *Le Droit* was on strike and in 1988 changed its format from a broadsheet to a tabloid in order to re-launch itself and regain some of the readership it lost on account of the strike.

*Le Droit's* circulation in 1998 was roughly of 34,000 on weekdays and 41,000 on Saturdays; 75% of these newspapers are sold in Quebec.<sup>2</sup>

## ***The Citizen***

*The Citizen* is part of the Southam chain of newspapers. Its history can be traced to 1845. It grew with Ottawa, especially when that city was named the nation's capital in 1857. The Southam family bought and started to control *The Citizen* in 1897. *The Citizen* is still a Southam newspaper (Southam is now controlled by Conrad Black). The newspaper opts for a larger perspective than *Le Droit*; as such, it is aimed at a wide

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<sup>2</sup> Source: Gilles Lamadeleine of *Le Droit*, as published in the Audit from The Bureau of Circulation, for the period ending March, 1998.

readership, running a much larger proportion of stories of national or international interest. From 1980 to 1988, *The Citizen* was the only English daily in the region. Concurrent with the appearance of *The Sun*, a tabloid with a more sensationalistic approach, *The Citizen* shifted their approach, possibly to compete on a more sensationalistic level. *The Citizen's* perspective on what is news in Hull is not as involved as that of *Le Droit*; they tend to be more "distant." But, as will be pointed out later, they too sometimes choose sides in defending the interests of their community.

*The Citizen's* weekday circulation in 1998 was about 138,000 papers; about 188,000 newspapers are sold on Saturdays and 130,000 on Sundays. About 14% of these are sold in Quebec and the rest are sold in Ontario.<sup>3</sup>

### **1.5 Methodology and description of Chapters**

In this section I will succinctly describe my methodological steps and the chapters that were produced from them. The essence of my method was to read the newspaper articles with a few approaches, so that I might derive various angles on the difference in each newspaper's coverage of the bar Strip. After collecting the articles, I began the readings: (1) a first surface reading where I noted the big issues and the obvious differences; (2) then a more detail-conscious reading with the help of an analysis grid, developed through trial and error; finally, (3) an in-depth reading of articles on a few issues.

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<sup>3</sup> Source: David Eddy of *The Citizen*, as published in the Audit from the Bureau of Circulation for the period ending in March, 1998

### **1.5.1 Article retrieval**

Two different individuals retrieved the articles from both newspapers through a thorough search of the microfilms. Relevant pages (all sections except sports, international news, comics, inserts, classified, travel, etc...) of each newspaper were examined in order to identify the pertinent articles. Those focused on downtown Hull or on the bar Strip itself were printed. Philippe Ross, research assistant to Marc Brosseau, used this method to retrieve articles from *Le Droit*, 1980-1995. I used the same method to retrieve the articles from *The Citizen*, 1980-1987. The articles that appeared in *The Citizen* from 1988 onwards were retrieved automatically through a data bank service called *Infomart Assistant* which serves the whole Southam chain. The key words used in the search were *Hull* and *promenade du Portage* for the first search and *Hull* and *Bars* for the second search. From these searches some 725 articles from *Le Droit* and 443 from *The Citizen* were kept for analysis.

It is possible that the retrievers might have missed some articles. Microfilms strain the eyes and numb the brain - it is easy to lose focus. Small articles that appear as side notes or as part of "in Brief" or "letters" sections could have been easily missed as these were scanned quickly. Considering the actual number of articles retrieved and the goals of this study, though, I do not think that these errors challenge the integrity of the results. The articles that might have been missed are less significant as they took little room on a page's layout or made only an obscure reference to the bar Strip.

Both the researchers were looking for the same sorts of articles and both picked up more than was necessary: printing articles that were of questionable relevance, just to be on the safe side. I later removed these more questionable items: I decided that if la promenade du Portage was relevant to the article only in an incidental way, it was not relevant to the study. An article that mentions altering a bus route that passes on the

promenade can serve as an example of such an article. Reviews of restaurants and night clubs, though, were considered in the tally, as I judged these relevant in the sense that they contribute to the image portrayed by the newspapers about nightlife in Hull, which encompasses something slightly different than the physical site of the street itself.

The electronic retrieval method also has a few shortcomings. It picked up many articles that had little to do with the promenade du Portage, notably in the cultural events section of *The Citizen*. I fear it might also have missed some important articles. Because it was looking specifically for la promenade du Portage or bars, an article that would have spoken of the problem of criminality in downtown Hull, without specifically mentioning la promenade or bars would have been missed, although this article would be relevant to the study. I think this might be part of the reason there are fewer relevant articles in *The Citizen* for 1993, 1994 and 1995. Once again, though, I do not think that this is a serious problem, considering that the goals of this study can easily be met with the number of articles collected.

The retrieval of articles provided the basic material from which an analysis of the situation would emerge. Before these could be processed, though, a review of the relevant academic literature was necessary in order to ground this undertaking within a conceptual framework. Chapter Two, which provides the theoretical background for this work, is essentially a literature review. Although little work has been done that links the media to geography, there is some literature available on studies similar to this one, notably in the fields of communication studies and sociology. These studied representations of various issues or places in order to establish the media's framing of a subject. From these frames the writers speculate on significance and these speculations reveal how we think about ourselves and our spaces.

### **1.5.2 First reading: the stories**

The articles were then read in parallel, year by year. Through this reading, I kept notes about the essential content of each article as well as the obvious differences in the coverage of big events in each newspaper. I organized these notes according to the broad themes and stories that came up each year. This reading was a surface reading and helped me to learn about the basic content of the articles as well as to familiarize myself with the development of the story.

From the notes that I kept, I was able to formulate Chapter Three, a reconstitution of the big stories that happened on the bar Strip from 1980 to 1995, found in the newspapers. In Chapter Three you will find descriptions of what the big stories were in each newspaper for each year as well as a brief introduction to the differences in the coverage of certain events. This chapter is meant to familiarize the reader with the recent history of the bar Strip.

### **1.5.3 Systematic content analysis**

The goal of a systematic content analysis is to portray clearly and quantitatively the content of the whole of the articles. The first step in the analysis is to identify categories that will accurately capture the gist of the articles. Doing this requires much trial and error. After applicable categories are determined, the analysis can proceed: all articles are read again and coded according to the elements present. The results are then organized and tabulated to analyze and to understand them. The last step of the systematic content analysis is to interpret the results.

Originally, I thought classifying each article in a single category would make the work less complicated. However, as numerous problems arose, I realized single

classifications complicated the coding process: I was not obtaining an accurate portrayal of article content. Much more sensible was the idea to place each article in multiple categories. This placement allows for more nuances in the interpretation of the results. Facts about other stories or events are often put into an article just to remind the reader of the preceding history in a particular dossier. With multiple coding, these are given the proper weight.

### **Selection of themes**

After months of trial and error, I came up with a list that covered all of the important subjects (by important, I mean that appeared often). The grids were tested with another reader independently analyzing the same articles that I did. The results were then compared, the problems would be taken into account and the grid modified and tested again. Eventually, a grid that seemed to represent the articles was agreed upon: it was not too detailed so as to be overwhelming or confusing, but large enough to represent the material found in the articles.

There are three categories to the analysis: themes, actors and sites. By choosing these as the basic breakdown, it was felt that we would capture the essence of the articles. The following questions would be answered: What happened? (What sorts of events were covered?) Who was involved? (Who did the newspapers talk about or use as sources?) Where did it take place? (Which sites did the newspapers feature the most often?)

In Appendix 1, I have included the complete list of categories, as well as explanations where deemed necessary. I will describe the individual categories in Chapter Four, in which the results of the analysis are discussed.

## **Coding**

The actual coding of the articles was done over two weeks, a relatively short time considering the number of articles. It was best to do it quickly in order to preserve consistent ideas of what made a category and what did not. I read through each article again and coded it according to the grid that had been devised. I kept a running log on problems that arose and solutions that I came up with in order to ensure consistency in my readings. Once completed, I proceeded to enter all of the results into a spreadsheet. I chose the Excel software package to handle the results as it suited my needs and was available to me. I included an example of a coded article in Appendix 1 that I hope will make it clear to the reader how I proceeded with the coding.

## **Organizing results**

The results were tabulated by year and by category. Totals were added and these were compared to the total number of articles so as to produce easy to understand percentages of occurrence. Categories were then grouped under larger headings and tables were produced which would lend themselves to focused analysis. Comparison tables were also calculated by subtracting a particular category's percentages from the other newspaper's equivalent.

Chapter Four is the result of the systematic content analysis. I present the results of this analysis through a series of tables that represent the totals of appearances of each category for each newspaper and then compare those results. I then discuss the results, explaining why certain factors are more often present in one newspaper or the other. The newspapers differed in the over-all rhythm of their coverage and each favored certain events and issues. Several of the important totals are similar, indicating basic content similitudes. I endeavored to explain many of these differences and

similarities by relying on regional perspectives and pointing out where this analysis fails to convey the real differences in the coverage of a particular issue.

#### **1.5.4 In-depth readings**

Chapters Five and Six are the results of closer readings of stories that were chosen because they were covered extensively by the newspapers and helped to set the tone to the coverage in general. I re-read the articles that were linked to the story in question and compared the articles that appeared in each newspaper on a daily basis. The comparative readings were done with the help of discourse analysis. I read these articles with an eye for the deeper structures of meaning. I looked at differences in sources, in pictures, in the position of information within the article, in the titles, in the general tone of the articles, in the placement of the article within the newspaper, in the structures of certain sentences and in the use of images and metaphors. I was sensitive to the way language was used to convey certain feelings; the way a rhetoric was developed to convince readers of a stand.

In Chapter Five, I look more deeply into two well publicized issues covered by both newspapers. The first of these issues was the unfortunate accidental death of Minnie Sutherland, a nearly-blind Cree woman who had been out drinking on the bar Strip. Her relatives, friends, and some witnesses contended that the Hull policemen on the scene had been racially motivated in not giving the victim the attention she deserved. They felt that if the policemen had done their job better, Minnie might still be alive. This story stayed in the news for two years as various courts and commissions determined, one after the other, that the policemen were not guilty of any wrongdoing.

The second big story I look at in Chapter five is the less-than-accidental death of the great dane Cerborus, shot by police officers as his master was being arrested and

put into a patty-wagon. This story was especially publicized because the shooting had been caught on videotape and broadcast around the world. It helped to set a certain tone that would remain in *Le Droit* for the remainder of the coverage period. In this case as well, the policemen were acquitted repeatedly.

The two newspapers covered these stories differently. *The Citizen* virtually attacked the Hull policemen in both cases and covered the events with every witness account they could find that blamed the police. *Le Droit* was systematic through their use of rhetorical devices, images and choice of accounts of events in protecting the police. These approaches denote different views of the City of Hull, its authorities and institutions.

Chapter Six is similar in approach to Chapter Five in that I analyze the treatment of specific actors and the use of metaphors in order to gain an understanding of the meanings attached to the Strip in the articles. I focused on how the use of metaphors and the development of two characters helped to elevate the story of the bar Strip to the level of myth. The two men I discuss are Claude Bonhomme, who was a constant presence in the news in 1992 by virtue of his clean-up program, *Tolérance Zéro*. The second, Flint Kaya, a persecuted bar owner, was the first bar owner to be taken before the Régie des Alcools du Québec by the City of Hull in an attempt to revoke his liquor licence. Kaya fought hard against the City and his "trial" is interestingly documented in both newspapers.

In Chapter Seven, the conclusion, I look at the major differences in each newspaper's coverage and what this means in a site-focused analysis. I will present my salient findings in a synthetical fashion and draw a conclusion from what we have learned about the way the media portrays place. I will also discuss some of what I have learned and how it can be applied to a new cultural geography.

In the end, I hope to have written a story that is told from several different angles and in several different styles. I hope that this thesis is constructive in developing an understanding of how we come to comprehend our spaces and of how we understand each other within that space.

## CHAPTER 2: GEOGRAPHY, NEWS, MEANING

### 2.1 Meaning: Sense of Place

The humanistic tradition in geography emerged from criticism of the positivism of the sixties. Proponents argued for a geography that would put *people* back into *place*. They had seen too much of a geography concerned only with explaining places through quantifiable variables. Humanists felt that this strategy led to an incomplete understanding of a place. They strived to understand a place through idiographic methods which emphasized the individual character of a place, rather than the nomothetic methods which looked for patterns (Crang, 1998, 81). Edward Relph (1976) focused on the importance of place in shaping humans and postulated that this relationship should be the prime object of research in human geography:

To be human is to live in a world that is filled with significant places: to be human is to have to know your place. The philosopher Martin Heidegger declared that "'place' places man in such a way that it reveals the external bonds of his existence and at the same time the depths of his freedom and reality". It is a profound and complex aspect of man's experience of the world (Relph, 1976, 1).

Humanistic geography moved away from the use of models and statistics and looked for more artistic sources that would speak significantly about the experience and meaning of the place. What the geographers sought through these individualistic sources was a sense (a feeling) of place. Dennis Cosgrove (1994) sees two essential characters to the sense of place: (1) the character intrinsic to a place itself, and (2) the attachments that people themselves have to a place. A place may be distinctive through its characteristics (Chamonix) or through associations (Hiroshima). In the second sense, people develop attachments to places through memory and intentions. Thus home is where one most feels "in place." (Denis Cosgrove in the Dictionary of Human Geography, 1994, 548-9).

Humanistic geography has often used artistic sources to identify this sense of place. One popular chosen medium has been literature because landscape imagery is easily identifiable and authors aim to capture the feelings that a place may create in them. Literature can tell us about a place from an individual author's perspective: this perspective can be used because authors establish the sense of place as part of the setting for their story.

What the literature perspective often lacks is the sense of place of the common person, the person not trained to understand the deeper meanings of landscape or place. In terms of contributing to the meaning of a landscape, literature will have little effect because it is a medium that appeals mainly to an educated elite, not to the common public and as such contributes little to the formation to the public's image of a place, except for a few examples such as Lucie Maud Montgomery's Prince Edward Island. Literature provides us with an alternative insight into the sense of place, the feeling of place and its various personal or cultural intonations. Ultimately, it is important to look to different sources in order to reconstitute the meanings of events and of places. This is the approach that has been championed by a new and reformed cultural geography.

The mass media is an ideal source for a reformed cultural geography: it is influential in our world, widely read and definitely has an effect on the sense of place, both conceptually and actually. Another aspect that makes mass media an especially interesting source in consideration of sense of place is the way media outlets sell themselves as fact, as truth. This means that beyond portraying the reporter's (writer's) sense of a particular place, the newspaper helps to institutionalize a particular reading of a place through mass publication under the guise of fact and objectivity.

Arguments against humanistic geography accuse it of being too loose with language, treating the sense of place as static and being naive in its treatment of critical theory (Daniels, 1985, 150). Jackson (1994) argues that humanistic geography celebrates the individual too much and undermines social context. The result of this attention given to the individual is the overstating of values, meanings, consciousness, creativity and reflection and the understating of context, constraint and social stratification (Jackson, 1994, 22).

Daniels, however, does not consider the situation hopeless and vouches for a reformed humanism, one more concerned with contextual explanation, with the reading of a narrative which "explicates meaning through context and in the process mediates, or should mediate, the views of the 'outsider', the narrator, and those of the 'insider', the participants in the history the narrator constructs" (Daniels, 1985, 153). The media are an ideal source for this proposition: insider/outsider is exposed in the pages to follow, all the elements are present and it is a real (although biased), daily source of the cultural spectacle of which we are a part.

## **2.2 "New" cultural geography**

The "new" cultural geography, as it is often referred to, is based on a meeting (or an argument) of the two broad schools of thought that rebelled against positivism and brought culture back into a geographical realm. Duncan and Ley (1993) argue that the old cultural geography (of the Sauerian tradition) was preoccupied chiefly with cataloguing cultures. This is an intellectually incomplete exercise: it addresses a pre-industrial, stable world and it fails to problematize the different fields of influence: the political, social, economic and cultural; as a whole, it lends itself to thin descriptions of

culture <sup>1</sup> (Duncan & Ley, 1993, 11). The cultural geography of Sauer put emphasis on artifact and material culture and thus left little room for the consideration of a culture's symbolic forms, for its values and ideas (Jackson, 1994, 17). Society is seen as constituted by a plurality of cultures, dominant and marginal; therefore, to come up with meaningful analysis, one must analyze the spatial relationships between different cultural elements of society.

According to Crang (1998) "cultural geography looks at the way different processes come together in particular places and how these places develop meanings for people." (Crang, 1998, 3). These processes can be viewed at global scales, as micro-geographies or even at the personal or intimate scales. What we seek, as cultural geographers, is to try to understand how space informs culture and how culture informs space, at different levels. As such, cultural geography has moved beyond the realm of material objects and manifestations and tried to understand the rituals that are a part of the way members of a culture understand themselves. Place is contested because there are several different cultures that may share a same space; a place may have different meanings for different peoples. Through the analysis of culture, we can hope to understand more about these processes and the conflicts within (Crang, 1998, 4).

A new cultural geography perceives culture "as an active force in social reproduction, the negotiated process through which humans signify their experiences to themselves and others" (Denis Cosgrove in the Dictionary of Human Geography, 1994, 116). Through these processes we conceive and shape where we live. It is part of

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<sup>1</sup> Thin is used here as opposed to thick. The anthropologist Clifford Geertz (1973) used the analogy of a wink to describe the difference. A thin description of a wink would be a muscular twitch; a thick description would be an act of complicity which can be described at length in a given cultural context.

definitely soft and white we are and to have a different experience of place that space has as an experience that is different and probably even more important than the physical space that takes place in that reality. The human geography that is being referred to is not a static, physical space that is seen in the areas of geography, as if that is the only way that it can be seen. All of these issues are complex and there is an important focus on changing the way that we see them from a distance and how we need to understand what is involved in the human geography.

The new cultural geography has developed the way that we think about the study of the world. The new geography was made in connection with the different meanings of human geography and these were made present in the traditional cultural heartlands. The type of culture that we see and where it has moved to a more exciting and dynamic culture of a new type that is also being referred to.

Just as in the case for sense of place we can access the symbols of a culture through the use of many sources: culture, housing, cinema, music or any other manifestation of popular culture. People build their identity from these symbols. An essential character of this way of looking at geographical sources is to understand that people will derive meaning of places from what they hear, see and read - not only from their concrete experience with that place. That is why looking to representations of place has become increasingly important in the new cultural geography.

We are surrounded by representations of ourselves. We draw from these representations to learn whom we are supposed to be. The control of these representations is a difficult subject to approach, but, certainly, some will use representations of the world to sell a particular lifestyle because it serves their interests: ex. a car manufacturer showing a happy family in a mini-van.

Marxist and humanistic approaches have often been pitted one against the other; recent authors, though, contend that they may not be so far apart. The debate centers around the concept of individual agency in a world dominated by societal and economic structures. Some proponents of the so-called postmodern critique capitalize on deconstructionist techniques that aim to question the legitimacy and authority of discourse in ideology (David Ley in the Dictionary of Human Geography, 1994, 466). The new trends in cultural geography, such as postmodernism have blurred the middle-ground between Marxist and humanist geography. As works of such a variety are pushing the limits of geography in many new directions, the author's voice is being recognized as important and legitimate, as long as a perspective is acknowledged.

### **2.3 Representation**

Duncan and Ley (1993) begin their history of representation in geography with the two schools of thought which aimed at mimesis: the Sauer-style "descriptive fieldwork" and the positivist, reductionist ideas of objective science. Through mimesis (the representation or imitation of reality), these geographers tried to represent the world as accurately as possible through objective methods. This approach is fraught with problems: any objective "re-creation" of the world distances the author so far from his subject-matter that the product will be a surface interpretation, unlikely to be useful to someone concerned with the deeper, inner workings of culture.

Duncan and Ley offer two alternatives: a postmodern approach and an interpretive method based on hermeneutics. Postmodernism attacks mimetic theory and distrusts meta-narratives. Postmodern authors do not pretend to be objective, they are relativist, their words will be interpreted only within the context from which the writer

is writing. This can lead to problems: endless questioning and cynicism does not get one far in theory building and practical solutions to "real" problems.

The approach advocated by Duncan and Ley (1993) is what they call the interpretive method of geographical reporting. They borrow from the hermeneutic tradition which capitalized on deciphering a text in order to interpret its meanings. Hermeneutics challenged positivism with the idea that there is neither final truth nor fixed methods for revealing truth. The spirit of hermeneutical inquiry remains strong in modern human geography: "the recognition of the importance of interpretation, open-mindedness, and a critical, reflexive sensibility..." (T.J. Barnes, 1994, in *The Dictionary of Human Geography*, 244-6). A perfect representation is impossible as the role of the interpreter is acknowledged. All texts are mediated by discourse, which is subject to many social and cultural determinants. This approach "recognizes that interpretation is a dialogue between one's data (stemming from other places and other authors) and the researcher" (Duncan & Ley, 1993, 3). "The hermeneutician explicitly recognizes and theorizes the site of his representation (historically and materially)" (Duncan & Ley, 1993, 8). In this way a dialogue is established within the text between the author, his data and elements from other books or academic writings. (Duncan & Ley, 9). The text is an interpretation, a text about texts is an interpretation of interpretations. The reader continues this hermeneutic cycle because he will apply his own interpretation to the interpretation that the author has come up with.

Robinson (1998) also discusses the hermeneutical turn in the social sciences by listing some of the methodological assumptions of the mainstream social sciences that it challenges: (1) that theory and data are separable; (2) the availability of a formal language of analysis purged of subjective references; (3) the researcher's claim to moral neutrality and (4) the availability of an Olympian view from which to judge the

evidence (Robinson, 1998, 15). This would seem to licence completely unchecked academic freedom; but this is not the case as there are standards of quality by which an academic production must be judged: (1) the systematic way in which methods are employed and (2) how an interpretation fits in with the accounts of others (Robinson, 1998, 15).

In a word, the author of a text cannot be completely objective, cannot be free of the cultural biases that have previously influenced his/her world view<sup>2</sup>. Be forewarned, what follows is biased by the way I have read the situation, by my own cultural baggage. It is not objective science.

How a place is represented can and will affect that place, because such representation influences the way people interact with that particular space. In this way,

the continued repetition of particular sorts of behavior comes to be associated with particular places, and newcomers are socialized into the sorts of behaviors found at those places... places provide an anchor of shared experiences between people and continuity over time. This is how community gets to be able to identify itself (Crang, 1998, 103).

An example of a study which inscribes itself in a new cultural geography and which looks to representations as its main source is provided by Caroline Mills (1993) entitled *Myths and meaning of gentrification*. Mills studied the advertising put out by developers of new condominium projects in downtown Vancouver in order to see what they were saying about the inner-city and how successful these images could be in reformulating a new downtown image and in selling consumer lifestyles. She found that the advertisers recreate images in order to sell their product: they sell a lifestyle, gentrification is justified to the potential buyers through the idea that they are on the

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<sup>2</sup> For example, my cultural background would include the fact that I grew up in Quebec and that I am the child of an Anglophone and a Francophone parent.

way up in the world. Mills explores how the texture of the landscape and the social text continuously reconfigure one another.

To summarize, what differentiates the new cultural geography from the old is its concern with discourse and its role in the shaping of spatial identity and in the process of constructing and perpetuating meanings of places. By asking questions about the meaning and shaping of our spaces, we can better understand the processes that make our world, the conflicts that affect our spaces and contest what we take for granted.

## **2.4 Media and place**

Jaquelin Burgess, in her book *Geography, the Media and Popular Culture* (1985), points out that geography has relatively ignored the mass media. Burgess' study is a forerunner in linking the two interests. She explains that the mass media message is difficult to quantify and it is also regarded as common-place by a geography that tends to have elitist views (Burgess and Gold, 1985, 1). The mass media, though, has a huge influence on our society, on what we think of ourselves, on the way we construct our identity and on the way we perceive certain places. According to Burgess and Gold (1985), the media play a large role in disseminating ideology through the appropriation of meaning. Myth is frequently used by the media: events are portrayed as "natural" and seldom explained with any depth. Environmental information is derived by the audience in two ways: through place images and through place stereotypes. In this sense, the mass media mediate social knowledge, they help us to identify ourselves and to identify places (Burgess & Gold, 1985, 3-9).

Jacquelin Burgess examined the media portrayal of riots that occurred in England in the summer of 1981 in order to see just what it was that the media were

saying about these events and how this might possibly lead to inferences about our spaces. What she discovered throughout the coverage is the dissemination of the myth of the inner-city as a justification for the riots. The riots were never explained in their complex circumstances; rather, they were attributed to the package of the inner city, paired with all the other problems of the area: poverty, immigrants, blacks, poor parenting, theft, drugs. The media rely on stereotypes that they have helped to create in order to explain situations. These stereotypes are built on the presumptions of common taken-for-granted worlds which the media, in turn, contribute to produce. In this way, when a story breaks, the reporters can assume that the audience already knows some of the factors that are in the background: setting being the perfect example. The audience will recall some associations that they have for that particular event (perhaps some other event involving the same actors, similar themes, or the same site), likely, some of those will have come from the same source from which they are receiving the current story. In this way, the media stay more or less consistent in their portrayal of a place or an actor; through these devices they reinforce the stereotypes that they have helped to propagate.

Another point that Burgess made is that the media fully supported the police through the use of their pictures and the slant to their information. Burgess hypothesized that the media saw their readership as white, middle-class, suburbanite, and thus they opted for the *status quo* in their reporting. The fact that the media covered the 'riots' so much made them important events in and of themselves and put them in the center of the public debate. Burgess points out an important underlying assumption to the coverage: the idea that there really is only one culture: "the". The underlying discourse was that there is no such thing as alternatives, there are only dissenters to the main model. In essence, Burgess describes how myth is ascribed to a

place by the legitimization of the media portrayal through their use of photos, metaphors, linguistic constructions and causes of events. In the end, she concludes that the media construct a "signification spiral" through which meaning is ascribed to a place (Burgess, 1985, 200).

Another study of interest to geographers who looked to newspapers to examine spatial content was that done by El-Yamani and Dupuis (1997) concerning the coverage of the Côte-des-Neiges neighborhood in Montreal. They postulate that the media present themselves as "the" reality and in so doing aim to represent a global and predominant image. They identify the media as "Faiseurs d'images" (El Yamani & Dupuis, 1997, 29-30) and maintain that they rely on ideological markers to order reality, as well as dramatize elements that do not fit with the existing institutional ideology. The neighborhood they are studying, known as an immigrant neighborhood, is associated with crime in an exaggerated way throughout the coverage of the several newspapers they analyzed.

The big story of the two months they examined was the police shooting of a man as he tried to flee. The authors perused the articles and found certain common features in all the newspapers: the victim was immediately named, his history was revealed, most often he was identified as black, sometimes as Jamaican, but never Canadian or Quebecois (which was his nationality). The police person (the aggressor) was never identified by name nor written about in any detail. Only one newspaper ever mentioned that there might be a problem with the handling of minorities by the CUM police force. In this way, the victim was made to look like the one who had done something wrong, a misfit. The police's role was undermined.

Through the other articles, the authors determine that Côte-des-Neiges was mainly identified as a source of crime and cultural tension. The police were the main source for the news. The other institutions present in the neighborhood (L' Université de Montréal and several hospitals) were never used as sources. The narrowness of the coverage undermined the truly dynamic character of the neighborhood. Blacks were especially focused upon as a group - they were associated with drugs, crime, violence and unemployment. This focusing was done systematically through the coverage of Côte-des-Neiges (El Yamani & Dupuis, 1997, 44). The authors believe that, in the end, the media mirror the reality, but it is a mirror that deforms. The general view is that the media do nothing more than circulate information; whereas, in fact, the media only retain the sensational events associated with a place and ignore the rest. In so doing, they reduce our perception of the world to one of stereotypes. (El Yamani & Dupuis, 1997, 49-50).

Another example is a study by Tim Creswell (1996) about a battle between the forces of order (politicians and police) and a group that did not quite fit in (hippies, squatters and gypsies). Creswell looks at events of the mid-eighties when the hippies who would annually gather at Stonehenge for a festival were portrayed by the media as free-loaders, violent and dirty. The festival was eventually blocked from happening under the pretext of protecting national heritage. The media presented the views of the government and those perceived as "normal" British society: private property, hard work, temperance and purposeful leisure. The hippies were represented as not fitting in this model; their views on Stonehenge, that it should be used and restored to its original setting as a place of religious ceremony rather than made a museum and a tourist attraction, were never addressed by the ruling authorities. Creswell retraces the way in which the media and the government played on each other, unwittingly enforcing an

ideology that they stood for. The end result was stronger private property legislation. "Representations of deviance are effective and credible because they make some kind of ideological sense out of an apparent crisis; they appeal to people's 'common sense'" (Creswell, 1996, 91).

A last example is a study by Gertrude J. Robinson (1998). She undertook the comparison of several media outlets' coverages of Quebec's 1980 referendum. What makes this study especially relevant to my own is its comparative nature that crosses the official languages. Instead of looking for the whole media portrayal, like many of the other studies already mentioned, this study compares the messages of the French and English media to each other. In one chapter, for example, she compares *The Gazette* and *La Presse* coverage of the tabling of the ideological propositions for a renewed nationalism from both sides of the question (The Yes side's White Paper and the No side's Beige Paper). Robinson begins the chapter exploring the documents themselves and their rhetoric of nationalism. From this comparison she constructs a table of canonical formulas which were used by either side against the other's propositions. She then sees what the journalists made of these ideological stances. Through her multi-levelled discourse analysis of these texts she noticed *La Presse* appeared much more careful at trying to keep an objective face (although they really were not) and that *The Gazette* wholeheartedly supported the "No" campaign through its "objective" reporting. The differences are noticed through each newspaper's use of quotations, use of the original text, sources of information and orientation of the article. An example of bias that became clear through a comparison: Robinson noticed that *La Presse* printed much more of the original text as produced by the political parties and much less direct commentary, as opposed to the material printed in *The Gazette*. She concludes that "journalists play an active role in the political process, not only by transmitting the

message but also by selecting, condensing and retelling major news events" (Robinson, 1998, 114). Robinson hypothesized that this selecting, condensing and editing was a result of each newspaper's audience: *The Gazette* had a preponderantly No-voting audience while *La Presse* catered to people on all sides of the debate. Each adopted its reporting approach so as to avoid alienating their own readership.

These four studies exemplify the kind of work I am undertaking. In each case the message was analyzed at several different levels in order to attempt to understand the meanings contained within the media message. El Yamani feels it is most important, in decoding the messages, to seize what is being said and what is implicit in the coverage; my aim is to make links between the textual structures of the newspaper coverage and the social structures of the spatial context (El Yamani & Dupuis, 1997, 31).

## **2.5 Framing the news**

An idea retained from communication studies which can be useful to this study is that of *framing*. Gaye Tuchman proposes, in her book *Making the News* (1978), the idea that the news media can be understood as a frame through which the world is made comprehensible for the audience. This frame proposes a certain truth of events, a certain way of looking at them, a certain window through which to look. The media, like us, has inherent biases. The media's production of the news, the way they gather their stories, and the way the stories are chosen are based on their biases. Tuchman argues that the media necessarily impose a view that is *pro status quo* because they favor institutions as news sources. The news gathering process, she explains, is like a fishing net that aims to catch the big fish. To find these big fish, they go to certain places: "The news imposes an order on the social world because it enables news events to occur at

some locations but not others" (Tuchman, 1978, 23). An event that does not fit into the usual model of newsworthy is cast outside the net, it is noise, it is extra, it is nothing.

The news media are compelled to represent issues in a view that suits their readership and their ownership as well as one that is feasible to their limited resources. Newspapers of different communities will represent issues in different ways, with a different framing. Sometimes this is quite striking. For example, when Jean Charest announced that he would lead his provincial Liberals into the recent Quebec election with a right wing agenda, two big newspapers in the Montreal region put the facts in their headlines: *The Gazette* announced it as "Charest to lower taxes." In *La Presse*, the view was different: "Charest opte pour la doctrine Harris" (October 17, 1998). Each newspaper framed the story following a different agenda: *The Gazette*, because they are committed to a federalist agenda, clearly wanted to see Charest elected; *La Presse* did not necessarily. Both, though, sell themselves as truth. The degree to which people can discern the biases contained in each paper is questionable. Nearly nobody, though, reads both these newspapers, and, as we shall see, the *framing* is not necessarily obvious unless the comparison is made. "The comparisons demonstrate that media rhetorics are not neutral observations of political 'facts,' but rather narrative reconstructions that are written for specific viewer groups whose political leanings are known" (Robinson, 1998, 11). The use of comparison is certainly an important advantage to this thesis.

The news media participate in propagating the ideology of the *status quo* by favoring the mainstream views in their reporting practices. News relies on stereotypes and information from previous reports and stories in order to frame an event. In this way, "news does not mirror society, it helps constitute it as a social phenomenon" (Tuchman, 1978, 184). News is a part of the ideology making process because it

informs our knowledge and knowledge, socially constructed, is the means by which meaning is shaped (Tuchman, 1978, 217).

## **2.6 Discourse, ideology**

Discourse is the social process of making and reproducing sense in historical, political and cultural contexts. Discourse entails a hidden meaning (O'Sullivan et al., 1994, 93). Discourse is the way social meanings are played out, enforced and contested. Through discourse (as social practice), the world is made meaningful and intelligible to oneself and to others (Johnson, et al, 1994, 136). Discourse allows us to perceive place as a site for an ongoing social relationship. This relationship/struggle develops along a certain line which might be termed the discourse: the interaction and significant events which help to shape the place.

Myth plays into this equation as it helps us understand and make sense of our world, normalize situations and share common meanings. Myth can be propagated through influential texts, or through journalists' work as a whole. "Certain texts acquire such a claim to actuality that they become a component of the real" (Duncan & Duncan, 1988, 123). Myth renders subjects unquestionable, it leads them to be *taken-for-granted*. Myths are naturalized by ideology. "If a landscape is unquestioned, then the concrete evidence of how a society is organized can become seen as evidence as to how it should be organized - or must be organized. (Duncan & Duncan, 1988, 123).

Ideology can be seen as the lived relation between people and their world (Jackson, 1994, 42). Ideology is negatively connoted to imply a false consciousness: a living out of others' interests through our accepted set of values; the ruling class' set of values. We have learned these simply because the ruling class control the modes of production (material and mental). "Ideologies operate by systematically promoting

certain meanings in preference to others according to the discernable interests of a dominant social group" (Jackson, 1994, 50). Ideology often goes hidden under the guise of common-sense (Barthes (1957) would call this myth-making), it conceals the interests of the dominant group. Each representation has its own ideological burden. (Jackson, 1994, 51-2). There are dominant and subordinate ideologies (which challenge the dominant ones, i.e. challenge the hegemony). Hegemony is the power of a dominant class to persuade subordinate classes to accept its moral, political, and cultural values as the natural order. (Jackson from Gramsci, 1994, 53). Resistance is often symbolic rather than instrumental as it is potentially illegal or socially unacceptable. The important role of cultural studies is to figure out how the balance of power works: different groups have relative power - they obtain, maintain, and contest it in different ways. Cultural methods are important in maintaining the *status quo* (Jackson, 1994, 55). "Hegemony is negotiated, selectively appropriated by people in everyday life" (Duncan & Ley, 1993, 11). Dominant views are most effective if they become naturalized as part of everyday common sense (Jackson, 1994, 3).

An example of ideology in action through discourse would be the perceptions of a declining neighborhood based on the ignorance and suspicion that flourish in the absence of direct first-hand knowledge. One area is blamed for all the region's problems: race, crime, poverty, unemployment, drugs, prostitution, etc. Problems are taken as a confirmation of the initial interpretation, "a stereotype is created that functions in a self-fulfilling way, reinforcing people's fears about the dangers of neighborhood crime" (Jackson, 1994, 69). The bar Strip has certainly experienced a similar set of circumstances. People are likely to act a certain way when in an unfamiliar neighborhood of which they have heard much. "Cultural practices have ideological

effects to the extent that they contribute to the domination of one social group by another through the selective concealments of interests" (Jackson, 1994, 73.).

All forms of communication, including the mass media, are the ways by which meanings are negotiated and fulfilled. Ideologies emerge from discourse; they are the dominant group's view imposed on another group's way of looking at, or dealing with a situation.

Examples of ideological thinking that might be applied to the situation of the bar Strip would be, for instance, to view Ontarians as the cause of the problem as they are "bad drinkers," as seen by Quebecois. The other side of the river might have an ideology that dictates, among other things, that Ontarians are unfairly harassed by Quebec police. Neither one of these stereotypes is completely false nor are they the cause of the whole problem. However, to view these as concepts that underlie the discourses surrounding the bar Strip can help us to understand the meanings of the actions and perceptions that took place and guided the development of the situation.

## **2.7 Hull as contested ground**

The bar Strip in Hull is a place for accelerated social action: cultures meet and an order is established. The role of the media multiplies the complexity of the actions in this site because it provides the local actors with a structure for understanding how they should act and the politicians and police with a forum to express their opinions.

Keeping culture in mind is essential when considering Hull. Hull is located at a meeting place between two very different provinces; it is a contested ground between two different cultures, two different groups who conceptualize its meaning differently. For the Ontarians, Hull is the place across the river; it is truly another territory, with different laws and a different code of conduct. For the Quebecois, Hull is home and

deserves to be treated respectfully by everyone who visits. Keeping these conceptions in mind is important to understanding the different newspapers' biases in representing.

The two groups get some of their culture-building information from different news sources that represent their respective communities. By comparing newspapers, we are comparing culturally-bound interpretations of a shared site; we can get an insight into how each culture has developed a discourse around a site, around the other culture, and around relations with that other culture.

The simplicity or complexity of the relationships among all the different elements of the bar Strip is not clear. It is no more clear who has more power and which of these powers is the more influential to the inevitable outcome, the explosive social interaction situation of the Strip. One conclusion is definite: the Strip presents an interesting situation as a locale situated between two cultures and as the center of a city's search for peace and quiet. These two cultures negotiate meaning, the line between them never being clearly drawn: social identity is here within the realm of popular culture ("turbulent, multi-layered, heterogeneous and actively negotiated") (Majury, 1990, 11).

According to Majury, a place "is a negotiated reality, a social construction by a purposeful group of actors ...for places develop and reinforce the identity of the social group that claims them." (Majury, 1990. 17). Seen in this light, the situation of the bar Strip in Hull can be understood as a struggle to control a space, to impose an identity, a set of given meanings, an accepted mode of interaction over it.

What is the discourse in each media? How do these differ? Why do they differ? How are the different coverages linked to the readerships of both newspapers? Do they represent what one would expect the readers to think? These were some of the questions that I asked myself as I read through the articles and went through the different steps of this comparative discourse analysis.

Culture, discourse and ideology are important because they provide a point from which to discuss and analyze particular coverages. The main point of this thesis is to analyze how a particular site was portrayed; as such this paper could be read as a postmodern regional monograph: an interpretation of interpretations. The bar Strip in Hull is a fascinating place where actors can be identified and their relationships are sometimes evidently clear. The local newspapers are a great source of information to use in analyzing this culturally dynamic place because the coverage is historical, extensive and presents many different perspectives from which to view the situation. They are a key tool in unraveling the mysteries of a social landscape.

## **CHAPTER 3: RETELLING THE PLAIN STORY**

### **3.1 Introduction**

The aim of this chapter is to provide the basic background for the rest of the thesis as concerns the development of the story of the bar Strip. I will present the story of the bar Strip from 1980 to 1995, as it was presented in each of the newspapers, to contextualize the in-depth readings that will follow in the next chapters. I will also begin to explain some of the differences in each newspaper's coverage of the Strip.

### **3.2 Perspective**

The perspective from which I will tell this story is somewhat artificial in the sense that I am probably the only person to have read the story this way. Most newspaper readers scan the headlines and then choose the issues that interest them most; they then read either part or all of the article. Most newspaper readers read only one newspaper. I am different from most in that I am reading the whole of the articles and also reading two newspapers. I am also different from the typical reader in the fact that I read every article in a linear succession, without any temporal context linking it to the other issues of the day, regardless of the ebb and flows of the story itself. This method of reading is quite unusual.

What this perspective allows me to see, though, is the story clearly demarcated: the development of the issues and events in both newspapers. This is a privileged reading. It is easy for me to see both stories in this way, to set them off from each other, a task that would have been particularly difficult for an average reader who is engaged over a fifteen year span of time. In this way, I can make out plot lines for both stories in a linear fashion.

I will go through the events that marked the coverage of the promenade du Portage by both newspapers. Even though the most important events will be described and the differences between the coverage highlighted, only a surface reflection will be provided at this point. A more in-depth analysis will follow in chapters Four, Five and Six. The purpose of this reconstitution is to show that there are definite turning points to the story of the bar Strip and to show that media coverage peaked and waned to the different rhythms that were paced by the various actors. Each year is organized according to the issues and events that stole the limelight and according to the order in which they appeared. When issues ran over several years, they were generally dealt with in the year in which they first appeared, unless the coverage of an issue left a definite mark on more than one year. For example, crime statistics are dealt with almost every year as these acted as a barometer for the feeling that accompanied the coverage of the Strip. The taxi issue, though, is dealt with only at the beginning and at the end of the upcoming survey, as the issue remained essentially the same throughout the period and did not affect the big story lines.

### **3.3 Periods**

I identified four different periods within the coverage. These were separated by major events that tended to affect Municipal policy and set the tone for the discourse on the bar Strip.

**1980-1984:** The calm years.

Crime escalated during this period but the Strip is never referred to as 'notorious' or 'problematic' as such. There are a few big events such as murders in this period which mark the Strip as bad place. The distinguishing factor, though, is that these

events are never linked as such to the place in which they occurred; they are separate events which occurred in the same area. That area, though, is in no way branded as particularly remarkable or noteworthy. In this way, the crimes are not linked together and no causal inferences are made which might lead back to the Strip.

**1984-1988: Acquiring a reputation.**

This period begins with the declaration by a provincial security/statistics body that finds that Hull has the highest crime rate in the province. The city council is shocked by this revelation and reasons are sought to explain the anomalies in the peaceful "village" of Hull. The Promenade is soon designated as part of the reason. Committees, studies, and actions are all instigated and by 1988 the situation seems to be improving, the recommendations adopted after the Tassé Report (1986) seem to be working. Coverage is marked by individual crimes and by much activity at the level of the Municipal Council.

**1988-1991: Strip as focal point.**

Many events seem to indicate that the optimistic reports of 1988 were premature. Crime rates have risen and coverage of the Strip is quite extensive in both newspapers. The climactic event of this period is the shooting of the dog Cerborus (September 16, 1991), which re-launches the whole debate over police action on the Strip. *Tolérance Zéro*, meaning the police do not tolerate any infractions, is launched as a draconian measure to get rid of the reputation the city has acquired through the Strip. Councillor Claude Bonhomme emerges as the main proponent and warrior in the cleaning up of the Strip.

### **1991-1995: Shutting the Strip down.**

In this period, coverage in *The Citizen* gradually drops while coverage in *Le Droit* is at its peak, often centered on the actions of the Municipal Council. 1992 is an incredible year, filled with knee-jerk reactions after every small infraction of the law. The Municipal Council seems completely bogged down by the issue of the Strip, measures taken get unconditional support from *Le Droit*, Bonhomme is represented as a savior for Hull, Tolérance Zéro escalates and criminal activity is on the decline, although criminal events are increasingly covered. The City calls for restrictions on the operating hours of bars and attacks bars one by one in order to shut them down. The victory is confirmed when the Municipal Council decides to end its activities with the Régie. At the end of this period, the Strip is less and less in the news; reporters might be trying hard to make news out of it, but there is almost no crime.

### **Summaries of the periods**

Following are summaries of the big stories organized under major headings. The reader will notice that some stories come up repeatedly. I decided to keep them organized by the periods I identified above in order to make the context of the whole issue relevant to the coverage that a particular issue got at any one time. This portrayal reflects the information contained in the newspapers, independent of any other sources. Summaries of the major reports published by various committees and studies are included so as to complete the information provided in the newspapers.

### **3.4 1980-1984: The calm years**

#### **3.4.1 1980: Fires and a party**

The major events of 1980 included a rash of fires. The arsonist, who was caught, received similar coverage in both newspapers. Otherwise, there was a big party held in the month of August on the Strip which had the purpose of "giving back downtown Hull to the people," the reasoning being that they had lost it to the federal government while it was being built and expropriated. Now that the work was finally over, the City was trying to launch some sort of reawakening.

#### **3.4.2 1981: Murders and noise**

Three murders (June, July and September) marked 1981 as an active year. There was still no "situation" as such on the Strip, but the murders and noise complaints against a trio of bars on Laval Street constituted the first rumblings of something going wrong on the Strip: these bars were le Rendez-Vous, La Place and Le Select. There were many insinuations that organized crime was involved with the bar Strip. There was a bit more coverage of these crimes in *The Citizen* than in *Le Droit*. The City Council moved to revoke the licence of those bars, but their efforts were futile. It is interesting to note that *The Citizen* covered the events of the Council more than *Le Droit* did, could *Le Droit* have purposely been ignoring these events? It seems unlikely, but perhaps they saw it in their best interests to protect the image of Hull at this point.

#### **3.4.3 1982: Quiet year**

Little happened in 1982. Interesting to note are the renovations and creation of La Place Aubry. The Council was hoping to create a little picturesque corner to help attract a better clientele, tourists and artists, to the area. La Place Aubry never made it

to the pages of *Le Droit* but appeared in *The Citizen* three times. *The Citizen* seemed already curious about la promenade and all that it represented for the population of Ottawa.

#### **3.4.4 1983: The Lido, taxis and vocation**

##### **The Lido**

The big issue of the year was the opening of The Lido: the strip bar on the Strip. The issue received more coverage in *Le Droit*. This could be attributed to the fact that strip bars were a hot issue in 1983 and that *The Citizen* likely paid more attention to the situation of strip bars on the Ontario side. *Le Droit* wrote much about the protests against the bar's opening and of the Municipal Council's actions taken against The Lido: laws limiting how much the strippers would be allowed to take off and such. *Le Droit* also featured several letters on the subject.

##### **Vocation**

The first of a "special series" of articles about downtown Hull appeared at the end of July 1983 in *Le Droit*. This series focuses on the vocation of the downtown after the activity of the federal government. The bar Strip is hardly mentioned as a contentious issue in these articles. In *The Citizen*, though, rowdiness became an issue. *The Citizen* focused two articles in the summer on the Municipal Council's actions to combat rowdiness by adding police officers to a nightly foot patrol.

##### **Taxi**

Taxis made the news for the first time in 1983. The stories appeared in both newspapers and started with the Hull cabs accusing their Ottawa counterparts of

stealing fares. A bust by the Sûreté du Québec (S.Q.) caught ten Ottawa cabs picking up fares illegally in Quebec. The accused that went to court eventually won; the judge ruled that these laws were a federal jurisdiction because they involved inter-provincial transport. This issue was covered more or less similarly in both newspapers. Articles along the same lines continued to appear in both newspapers for years to come. The story remains incredibly static throughout the period, even though activity seems to rise and fall, according, most likely, to the volume of business that the taxi drivers were getting. The perspectives of each newspaper are discernible for this issue. *Le Droit* tended to focus on Hull taxi drivers' complaints that their territory was being invaded; *The Citizen* focused more on how Ottawa taxi drivers were being ticketed.

### **3.5 1984-1988: Acquiring a reputation**

#### **3.5.1 1984: Capital of Crime, initial measures**

##### **Crime Capital**

In February 1984, *The Citizen* broke the story that Hull had been branded the crime metropolis of Quebec as it led in the crime statistics for the province for 1982. Both newspapers ran front-page stories about the news as well as the various actors' reactions in the following days. The outcome was that by March, the Municipal Council worked at solving this newly identified problem.

By April, the blame was laid on the concentration of bars. Two different studies identified the concentration of bars as the source of the crime rate. A general trend in the articles develops as the months pass: the problem seems to be one of image rather than crime. This trend is especially apparent in *Le Droit* where the English media is sometimes cited as part of the reason Hull has a bad name.

Many articles published in the summer of 1984 dealt with the problem in abstract terms. The problem was loosely defined at this point and solutions were starting to emerge. Different opinions were voiced, both as to the source of the problem and as to what the solutions might be; solutions ranged from closing all the bars to actively encouraging them.

## **Measures**

In August, the Municipal Council took its first concrete measure against the proliferation of nocturnal activity by passing a law limiting new bars in the city to St. Joseph Street and to the Strip. At this point they felt that it was best if they tried to contain the problem. In retrospect, this approach led to an over concentration of bars in one area and the eventual disaster that the whole story is about. The two newspapers covered the actual law in different terms: *Le Droit* was much more consistent about coverage at the council level, *The Citizen* was interested in this particular issue in the first few months of its emergence but its coverage thinned as the months went on.

### **3.5.2 1985: more crime, stronger measures**

#### **Crime Capital**

The big news at the start of the year was that Hull was still number one in crime. The initial reactions were almost a mirror of what they had been in 1984, except that *The Citizen* did not cover the significance of the news. Coverage on the part of both newspapers became much more thorough: *Le Droit* focused on actions against the Strip and *The Citizen* on many little events that took place on the notorious nocturnal scene.

Both newspapers reported the blame was being laid on Ontarians coming to party in Hull. This coverage is captured in *Le Droit's* caricature of the 27th of May.



Source: *Le Droit*, 5/27/1985, p.6 (Bado)

## Measures

As residents' complaints proliferated, the Council took actions on several fronts and these were reported more in *Le Droit*: police were to be stricter in enforcing by-laws and illegally parked cars were towed. *The Citizen* reported the anger at the towings and

they covered that particular issue more than did *Le Droit*, which focused on the police's new enforcement attitudes.

### **Closing time 1 a.m.**

The ultimate solution was first proposed in October when Michel Légère, the Mayor of Hull, suggested that the bars should be forced to shut down at 1 a.m. Both newspapers wrote about the meaning, significance and repercussions of shutting the bars at 1 a.m. It is clear from the heavy coverage of both newspapers that there is much opposition to these proposals, and not just from the bar owners. Eventually, the idea was dropped: it was logistically too complicated at the provincial level and the level of support for the idea seemed questionable even though everyone one on the Council voted for it. Instead, the Tassé Committee was put together to seek solutions. The police budget was increased dramatically.

### **3.5.3 1986: The Tassé Report, more crime and drugs**

#### **Tassé Report**

The major news in 1986 was the release of the Tassé Report<sup>1</sup> and its recommendations, which were all accepted by the Municipal Council. In January the Tassé hearings continued, views from different participants were aired in both newspapers, dramatic testimony from the residents got the most coverage.

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<sup>1</sup>*Rapport du groupe de travail sur la situation des débits de boisson à Hull. 31/1/1986. Ville de Hull RAP0054. 39 pages.*

Both newspapers covered the implementations of the various recommendations of the Tassé report throughout the year, step by step:

First: Freeze on bar licences. Both newspapers reported this advance but *The Citizen* offered much more of the bar owners' perspective who called the measure useless and an election ploy.

Second: More police: ten more officers on night patrol. *The Citizen* was noticeably more emphatic in reporting the need for this measure.

Third: Redevelopment: the City will ask the federal government for the use of their underground parking lots. They will also develop Place Aubry for pedestrians with the aim of changing the area's image.

Fourth: Tax: Only covered in *The Citizen*. Hull will ask the provincial government for a portion of the sales taxes on alcohol in order to counter the extra costs of policing and cleaning up the bar Strip.

## **The Report**

This report details the 'problématique' of the situation. The writers state the finances of the situation. They claim that they do not oppose nocturnal activity as such but that they oppose abuses: they recommend against a 1 a.m closing hour. The authors also state a series of specific problems and causes of problems that need to be solved or at least addressed. They see the essential problem as the concentration of bars and they propose that no new licences be issued. They also propose that parking be amplified, transportation and access be provided, better lighting be installed, tougher noise laws be implemented, public consultations take place and finally, that a revitalization plan be put together so that a daytime vocation can be made commercially viable.

## **Drugs**

In other news, drugs on the Strip became an issue in 1986 simultaneously with Ronald Reagan's 1986 declaration of war on drugs. *Le Droit* especially seems to have hopped on the anti-drug band wagon; they went so far as to make big news of a bust at a high school that netted 4 ounces of hashish, likening it to a bust the week before that seized \$100,000 worth of cocaine. It was revealed that police believed the Strip to be the major cocaine outlet for the region. On this issue, *Le Droit* is much more sensational than *The Citizen*. *Le Droit* made a bigger issue of drugs on the Strip, pointing out Ottawans were selling drugs to Ottawans in Quebec. The coverage of drugs on the Strip and drug busts in general would be an ongoing feature in the years that follow. *Le Droit* is much more extensive in its coverage of drug-related stories throughout the period and makes important news of drug busts.

## **Crime statistics**

Crime, on a large scale, was still big news in 1986. Councillor Claude Bonhomme first came on the scene in 1986 when he deposited a report on crime statistics claiming that crime was increasing. No one suggested that it was because there were now more cops on the Strip. Bonhomme's report recommended that the police should forge better links with the community in order to be better equipped to fight crime. Crime increased significantly and everyone complained that it was time to do something about it.

### **3.5.4 1987: crime, violence and transportation**

#### **Crime statistics**

The first news to emerge in 1987 was positive: crime had decreased a good bit in 1986. Hull still kept its unenviable title though. Throughout the year, running counts kept appearing in both newspapers; the progress of 1987 was compared to the previous year. The Mayor held frequent press conferences to report on the state of the various measures: 1987 was looking much better than 1986 and the Mayor predicted that Hull would lose the title for 1986, which it did. *Le Droit* spread that news, when it finally came out, loud and enthusiastically.

#### **Shuttle service**

One of the bar owners' ploys to get more people into the bars (and out of the bars more quickly) was to offer a free bus shuttle service between Place Aubry and the By-Ward Market. The articles on this offer vary quite a bit from optimism to hating the idea, according to who was interviewed. *The Citizen* shifted its tone abruptly when the Ottawa police opposed it strongly. They were worried about what the throngs would do once they got off the bus in Ottawa. Like many bar owner initiatives, though, the bus service was short lived.

An undertone in several articles seems to indicate a drop in business. This fact especially comes out in a series of articles in *The Citizen* by Jack Aubry that shed a bad light on Hull's nightlife, claiming that its quality had severely declined. The bar owners are portrayed as desperate to get people back into their bars. This is just an undercurrent, though, so it is hard to say how or why this came about or how or why business seemed to be booming again a few years later.

## **Violence**

Three violent incidents in 1987 claimed a lot of the media attention: a stabbing outside the Chez Henri; the murder of Bill Cole, which began in a bar and was executed by the bar staff; and, finally, a shooting outside of Chez Henri, which had also started as a fight. This last event was quite spectacular because the police first thought that it was connected to a hostage taking which occurred the same night but was found to be a hoax. One of the men arrested for the shooting was carrying a large amount of drugs.

This last shooting, which happened in October, set off a reaction by Mayor Légère. He spoke of the impending need to improve security as people were afraid to go down to the Strip because of events like this one. He insisted that harsher security measures were needed. He eventually relented and insisted that the event was an isolated case and that the Strip was improving. He said that he had spoken too quickly about the October events. Both newspapers covered his actions. The event was highly publicized which is why the Mayor felt he had to react the way that he did. In playing to the media in this way, he later might have realized that he was undermining the efforts being made by his own side. That is why he softened his stance. This was the last time Légère would react quickly to media reports of an isolated event.

### **3.6 1988-1991: Strip as focal point**

#### **3.6.1 1988: optimism, Énigme 07, second strip bar and murders**

The year 1988 marks a turning point in the saga of the Strip. All indicated that the situation was improving on the bar Strip, everything was under control. By the end of the year, one with its own share of incidents, the tone in at least *The Citizen* hinted that optimism on the part of Hull's Municipal Council might be premature.

## **Crime Statistics**

Hull lost its unenviable title in 1987. Crime in all categories was down and the crime solving rate was up. The police and the councillors rejoiced. The tone of many of the articles from 1988 is optimistic: in 1988 the bar Strip is improving, there is less crime, the measures taken are working, Hull is losing its reputation.

## **Image**

A few articles appeared that seemed to contradict this optimism by describing the scene in general. *The Citizen*, on December 11, described the scene and emphasized drugs: drugs, the reader would believe after this long piece, are the raison d'être of the whole bar Strip. An article like this might go a long way to undoing the image that has been created by the positive press because it is of human interest. People are more likely to read it because they are interested in the whole.

*Le Droit* also had more descriptive coverage in 1988. It ran an extensive series of articles in August which covered the perspective of residents (e.g., noise), the tourism bureau's, clients' and the police perspectives (e.g. disorderliness and cleaning up the mess the next morning). The last article offered the journalist's perspective. He claimed that 1985 was the worst year and that since then conditions had improved noticeably, that things were looking up in 1988. He claimed the Tassé recommendations were working.

## **Énigme 07**

In May, the Solicitor General's study, *Énigme 07*<sup>2</sup>, was released: Ontarians were responsible for the crime on the bar Strip, but Hullois themselves were responsible for

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<sup>2</sup>*Projet énigme 07, présentation et synthèse du projet.* Ville de Hull. Janvier 1988. 42 pages.

25% of the crime in the Outaouais even though they constitute only 20% of its population. Socio-economic factors were given as the explanation. *Le Droit* did not cover the release of this report because it was on strike.

## **The Report**

The Report analyzes crime statistics for the Outaouais region and compares these to crime statistics for the province. As well, it does a cross-tabulation with Statistics Canada census data. Conclusions: Hull has the highest crime rate because it is at the center of the region and acts as a funnel for the criminal element. The Promenade is a big source of crime; it distinguishes itself as the place in the city where the majority of accused are not Hullois. Yet, in the rest of the region, the Hullois have a proportionately larger cut of the crime pie than their proportion of the population: this criminality indicates that they are the main perpetrators of their own crime rate. In terms of social reasons: unemployment and low revenue seem to be associated with the high crime rate. The report does not end with any recommendations, only suggesting that crime statistics should be kept more diligently.

## **Strip bars**

Another strip club, Le Playback, was opened on the promenade du Portage and it drew much media attention through the year. In the beginning, the newspapers reported that there was a new strip club; everyone seems to have learned the news this way. The city immediately put pressure on the management of the club because the previous tenant of the bar had made a deal with the city never to have strip shows in his bar. Eventually, this deal was held up in court and the strip club was forced to change its form of entertainment. The issues here are the validity of an agreement made with a

previous owner, the effect of a strip club on the frequenters of the bar Strip, the effect on Hull's reputation, the right of one bar owner to present this type of entertainment if somebody else has the right to and finally the portrayal of women as sex objects. The story is well covered by both.

### **Murders**

One murder particularly caught the attention of the media. A bar manager was shot in his home in Aylmer. The long trial of an Ottawa man was covered extensively by both newspapers. The man was found guilty. A bouncer was also killed in his home, a story also covered by both newspapers. Most of the details of the Bill Cole murder, at Remy's bar in the previous year, were made public in this year. An arsonist burned down a bar. The undertones in these stories were clear: the bars, their workers and their management are involved with the drug trade, especially cocaine: they are not the clean players that they like to portray themselves as.

### **Contradictions**

Most important about 1988 is the contradictory tones contained throughout the stories. The Municipal Council claimed victory for having lost the title of the highest crime rate in the province. They praise the effects of the measures they took the previous year. *Le Droit* agrees with them in many ways; they think the Strip has improved and this is apparent through their "special" series. Yet the paper continues to focus on individual criminal events a good deal. *The Citizen*, though, does not display this optimism in quite the same way, and reading only *The Citizen* could give one the impression that the Council is decisively mistaken in their optimism.

### **3.6.2 1989: Minnie Sutherland, riots and transportation**

#### **Minnie Sutherland**

Everything positive in 1988 was put into question when Minnie Sutherland was struck by a car (or, possibly, she walked into a moving car) in the first hours of 1989. The incident was obviously Minnie Sutherland's fault as she was drunk and legally blind; or, it might have been her cousin's fault, as she should have been taking care of Sutherland. The newspapers, though, did not mention these facts. Instead they focused incessantly on the alleged wrong doing and racist treatment of the Cree woman as she lay dying of a skull fracture in a snow bank on the promenade du Portage.

Three separate inquiries into the actions of the Hull police and the Ottawa hospital where she was treated followed. Native groups were involved with the issue as they charged the Hull police with racism; insinuating that the woman would have been treated differently had she been white, and that she would still be alive. A tape recording of the incident that captured the little but significant word "squaw" put the Hull police in a rather embarrassing position.

This story would appear in the media for the next two years. *The Citizen* covered this story more than *Le Droit*: perhaps *Le Droit* was not as willing to question the possibility of racism within the Hull police force as they usually ardently supported them. *The Citizen's* tone from the start of the story was much more accusatory towards the police. As the details were made known and the various inquiries published reports, *The Citizen* softened its tone.

In the end, the policemen were acquitted, but not without comments and suggestions that Hull police should learn to deal with minorities better. This was an acceptance of guilt at a minor level, and the Native community was never happy with the decisions. I will examine the Sutherland affair in detail in Chapter Five.

## **"Émeute"**

A large gathering of drunk fighters and spectators made the headlines in the month of April (*Le Droit* called it an "émeute," *The Citizen* called it a "brawl"). The first reports, which said it was for racial reasons, focused on the mechanisms of the fight. *The Citizen* did not go any further with the story, leaving the rest of the reporting to *Le Droit*. The reports to follow looked at different reactions: the police said that maybe the Promenade was not improving. Légère said that the reports in *Le Droit* were vastly exaggerated, *Le Droit* shot back at him and claimed that they had reported eye witness accounts.

*Le Droit* then increased its reports of the whole situation of the Strip and basically accused the Mayor of not doing enough to clean it up. This story, which stayed within *Le Droit*, was much more important in terms of the reactions it spawned than the original event that set it off. We need to keep in mind that the big headlines in *Le Droit* might be related to its recently acquired tabloid format. *Le Droit* was trying to make up for the revenues it had lost due to the strike in 1986; this was probably its most sensationalistic period. This is the only event that pitted the police and the Municipal Council directly against *Le Droit*: they both accused the newspaper of sensationalism. *Le Droit's* answer was to make them look as though they had done nothing to improve the situation of the bar Strip.

## **Transportation**

The last big issue was transportation. A committee, summoned to study the problems of the Strip, implied that transportation was a major cause of the ongoing violence. The City launched an effort to run shuttles back and forth from the By-Ward

Market. This was a long and complicated process as the drivers from the transit commission were not at all interested in the contract. In the end, a private contractor took on the job; this was well publicized as a victory in both newspapers. Unfortunately for the apparent victors, the service flopped as few patrons opted to take the bus.

### **1989 in General**

Both newspapers increased their coverage of the Strip in 1989, a busy year. Crime rates were down in 1988 and Hull was no longer the crime capital, but this fact seemed to matter little to both newspapers as they hardly gave press to those reports. What they preferred to feature, each in its own way, was the ineffectiveness of the Council and the police and their solutions.

*The Citizen* featured extensive coverage of the Minnie Sutherland affair; they focused on the apparent racism of the Hull police force. They amplified this perception with the coverage of three more events in which the behavior of the Hull police was questionable. The undercurrent in these stories is that old urban legend of Quebec police hating Ontarians and Anglophones. This hatred is never explicitly mentioned, but by emphasizing all the bad-cop stuff (all the victims being from Ontario), the message that the Quebec cops were looking to harass Ontarians so-watch-out-if-you-go-to-the-Strip might come across. Perhaps the message is even bigger: Quebeckers do not like Ontarians.

*Le Droit's* angle is entirely different. They are critical of the Council for not taking action, they barely mention racism in the Sutherland affair. In one of the police wrongdoing cases, they portrayed the victim as a less-than-worthy *Citizen*, thus belittling his case and standing with the police. *Le Droit's* concern, on the other hand, seemed to stem from Légère's comments about the coverage of the April uprisings.

This is a radically different stance for *Le Droit* (remember that a year before they were reporting in a positive manner on the work of the Council and the police in cleaning up the bar Strip). This new stance might have to do with the new look of *Le Droit*. The strike in 1986 decreased their distribution. They then went to a tabloid format and apparently sought more explosive coverage in order to sell newspapers. Harmony and problem solving do not sell newspapers - controversy does.

### **3.6.3 1990: Bill 101 and Remy's**

#### **Sign laws**

There were several articles about sign laws and its enforcement on the Strip in *The Citizen*. These never made it to *Le Droit*. Perhaps *The Citizen* was trying to increase the rift created by the Ottawa River; one might argue that *Le Droit* was trying to downplay it by not covering the contentious issue.

#### **Drugs**

Drugs were a major topic in *Le Droit*. Busts were also covered in *The Citizen* but not nearly as much. George Bush continued Ronald Reagan's war on drugs, injecting even more money into the fight. The Canadian stories seemed to follow in the same vein. I am not sure if this was just a case of *Le Droit* seeking sensationalistic stories or if *The Citizen* covered drugs in a similar way in Ottawa. The police seemed to have changed their focus in arrests from the street into homes. *Le Droit* stressed the news emerging from the drug scene, covering the busts and the trials that followed in great detail. They used the term "piquerie" to describe the houses that were getting targeted by police. This term seems to go a bit far sometimes. One of the busts involved 15 grams of cocaine and *Le Droit* made it sound like a major "piquerie" had gone down.

Also discernable in *Le Droit's* coverage is the impression that Eddy Street is replacing the Strip as the center of illicit activity with its prostitution, erotic shops and drug outlets.

### **Remy's**

The beginning of a new wave of Régie hearings in 1990 initiated by the City sought to revoke the liquor licence of a specific bar. This time the target was Remy's bar, where a man had been killed two years before by bar staff. A drug bust in which the owner, Flint Kaya, was implicated for dealing cocaine with an undercover agent eventually enabled the Régie to suspend Remy's license. The judgement was overturned, in 1991, by the Quebec superior court which accepted Kaya's story that he was framed, targeted and harassed by police from all three levels. Both newspapers reported extensively on this story. Everyone seemed to know that Kaya was a major drug pin. All that was missing was concrete proof to put him away. The newspapers definitely did not hide these allegations and probably helped Kaya's case in the long run as he could say that everyone was against him. I look into this case in Chapter Six.

### **1990 in General**

In terms of the coverage, 1990 is a year that stands out because nothing in particular stands out; the biggest stories in 1990 started in 1989. The little coverage that the Municipal Council got from *Le Droit* and the little coverage of the situation as a whole are two of the things that are unusual in this year. In 1990 coverage in *Le Droit* increased, but coverage in *The Citizen* decreased, a sign of things to come in the next few years.

### **3.7 1991-1995: Shutting the Strip down**

#### **3.7.1 1991: The dog, Tolérance Zéro and Claude Bonhomme**

1991 coverage in *Le Droit* jumped exponentially, while it increased only slightly in *The Citizen*. The Dog, a few murders, drugs, the Bonhomme committee and Tolérance Zéro made 1991 an exciting year. It is a turning point as the Strip finally got to have the status of a household name, simply on the account of the coverage it got on many different fronts. *Le Droit* readers probably would have agreed with its editors that things were going desperately wrong.

#### **Crime statistics**

Bad news: Hull's crime rate had jumped 12% in 1990. This was reported only in *The Citizen* and led them to publish a few articles describing the mayhem on the Strip in general terms. One article is especially striking as it described the police chief going to walk the Strip in civilian clothing in order to observe. The scene was bad: when the bars close, everyone becomes crazy. *Le Droit* published many articles about little events in this year, much more than *The Citizen*. *Le Droit* may have wanted to urge the Council into taking drastic measures. Little did they know that these reforms were right around the corner in the form of the new local hero: Councillor Claude Bonhomme.

#### **Cerborus**

On September 16, the event that rocked the world happened: a cameraman filmed three police officers shooting 13 bullets into the great dane Cerborus. This story would haunt Hull's police and its Municipal Council for a long time to come. Reactions were strong and immediate: how could the police possibly act so irresponsibly?

The coverage from the outset is quite different in both newspapers: *The Citizen* favors the dog owner's perspective; whereas *Le Droit* favors the police's version of events. Both these lines would be maintained as the story continued and unfolded.

This is the biggest single story that happened in the 15 years of coverage. Not only for the sheer spectacular effect, but mainly for the reactions it elicited from the various actors, especially the police and the Council. The Council was quick to support the police. The police were quick to call an investigation which was quick to rule that the policemen had reacted properly under the imminent threat from the large animal. *Le Droit* is unashamed in its support of the police.

The story stayed in the media for the next 3 years. Brent Francis was eventually found not guilty of the charge he had been arrested for, obstructing justice. He was fined fifty dollars for not having his dog on a leash. He took the police department to court for the loss of his dog, but his efforts were fruitless as the justice system sided with the police, saying that they had acted correctly considering the circumstances.

### **Tolérance Zéro**

The weekend after the dog incident was the first weekend of Tolérance Zéro, the brain child of Claude Bonhomme. Borrowing the name from Reagan's multi-billion dollar war on drugs, the Council and police launched an all out war against the Strip. Although it was never said, one would have to be naive not to notice the obvious connection between the two events. The Bonhomme Committee had probably planned to launch Tolérance Zéro a few weeks later. The mayhem created by the dog incident, though, made it critical for the police to regain control of the Strip: this was their best weapon. They knew that people would not be nice to them when they got to the Strip because of

the overly publicized event; so, they probably figured, why not show them who is the boss once and for all.

The first few weeks of Tolérance Zéro are presented fairly differently in both newspapers. *The Citizen* seems to allege that the timing is linked to the dog, *Le Droit* does not mention the possibility at all. *The Citizen* focuses on all sorts of crimes; *Le Droit* picks a few, notably drinking and driving. *The Citizen* has reactions from the bar owners who say that the tactic is an election ploy; *Le Droit* never mentions this possibility.

Tolérance Zéro would go on until 1995. It was often reported on and tallies of arrests were often printed after busy weekends for years to come, especially in *Le Droit*.

### **Bonhomme Committee**

Le Comité pour le Renouveau de la promenade du Portage (The Bonhomme Committee) had come into focus in the month of August as a few general articles were published about the problems of the Strip in *Le Droit*. *Le Droit* was already hailing Bonhomme as a potential savior for the contested zone. The dog incident put the spotlight right onto the crusader. He lashed out at the media, saying that they were focusing at the wrong problem (the dog). He said the real scandal was the Strip itself and the way people acted when they were there. Bonhomme said that the problem had been left alone for too long and that now was the time to do something about it. He had a list of strong measures to go along with his position: "partyers, this is your last warning," was what he seemed to say.

*Le Droit* ate it up: finally a strong figure who spoke in no uncertain terms about the necessity for a "ménage" and stood for the powers of morality and decency. They had found their hero. From then on, until today, Bonhomme was hailed as the true hero of

Hull, the one whose every word was sold as truth to the readers of *Le Droit*. From then on, it would be difficult for anyone at all to say anything that did not agree with Bonhomme's position without being branded a traitor by *Le Droit*.

### **Council reactions**

Two issues also emerged in 1991 that provoked strong reactions from various people associated with the Municipal Council: 24-hour beer sales and the casino. Claude Ryan, then a minister in Robert Bourassa's government, suggested that dépanneurs should be allowed to sell beer and wine for 24 hours a day as peoples' lifestyles were changing with the times and many did not get home from work until after eleven o'clock. Bonhomme especially stood out in criticizing this law project saying that it would be harmful to Hull as it would encourage binge drinking and many refugees from the bars would continue drinking in Hull's parks after hours.

Similar opposition was formed around the idea of creating a casino in Hull. The opponents suggested that such an establishment would only bring further trouble and crime to the wanna-be peaceful city. Ducharme was pro-casino, Bonhomme was anti-casino, the Council was basically split by this issue. *Le Droit* devoted much more coverage to these speculative issues. They seem to be much more Quebec-centered simply because the proposals are only speculative at this point.

### **1991 In conclusion**

*Le Droit* was much more persistent in its coverage of Tolérance Zéro, every Monday publishing a tally of the weekend's arrests. By the end of the year, the tone was definitely set: Bonhomme is the answer and Tolérance Zéro is the tool that will drive away the trouble-makers. *The Citizen* focused more on individual events as they

happened, their flow more in tune with the other years. *Le Droit's* coverage boomed because the dog event was broadcast around the world and definitively put an image on the Hull police force which would stick and which *Le Droit* tried to reverse. *The Citizen* capitalized a bit on this image in a summary article in December that commented on all the major cases of alleged police wrong-doing in the last few years.

### **3.7.2 1992: Mayhem and severe measures**

Coverage increased once more in both newspapers. Over 100 articles were published in *Le Droit* about la promenade du Portage in 1992. The Bonhomme report, released at the beginning of the year, helped to set the tone for everything that was to come. *Le Droit* reported on many isolated events in 1992. These, more often than not, were put into the context of the Bonhomme Committee's work, as if to show the need for the measures they were proposing.

#### **Bonhomme Committee**

The Bonhomme Committee's report was released in February<sup>3</sup>, its details emerging slowly. Its recommendations included increasing fines for minor infractions (they were quadrupled); establishing a police station downtown; zoning bars out of downtown; continuing Tolérance Zéro; advertising on the radio to warn potential partyers; inspections of bars for liquor, capacity and age of clients; publishing a monthly crime report; banning parking in the downtown core from 12 to 5; and forcing bars to shut at 1 a.m. These were indeed serious measures and the bar owners spoke out strongly against them. The Bonhomme report was adopted unanimously by the Municipal Council and at the time, editorials appeared in *Le Droit* which had nothing but

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<sup>3</sup>Rapport d'étape: Comité du renouveau de la promenade du Portage. 2/11/1992. 23 pages plus annexes. City of Hull RAP0152.

praise for the initiative: Bonhomme had made true on a promise to be uncompromising in his "ménage."

## **The Report**

The language in Bonhomme's 1992 report is strong: the Strip is in a desperate state, we have got to do something. The Tassé Report had suggested that 1 a.m. should only be used if the situation became desperate; Bonhomme said that the time had come. The situation is reviewed in broad terms. The recommendations are split into short, medium and long term. The short term solutions are repressive: Tolérance Zéro, tougher laws, etc; the medium term solutions include infrastructure ideas such as barriers on the street and cameras; the long term solutions have to do with revitalization: finding a new vocation for the Strip. It is clear right from the start of the Report that Bonhomme wants to shut the Strip down.

## **Drugs**

Drugs were a big issue also. There were many busts within the frame of the Tolérance Zéro approach which *Le Droit* covered extensively. One particular raid in December, which involved 100 officers, was described as a huge success even though it only netted some \$10,000 worth of cocaine. More important was the number of people involved in the raids. *The Citizen* and *Le Droit* both reported on these raids but *Le Droit* shows an uncanny level of enthusiasm for the actions. After each raid, they ran to Bonhomme for comments. He consistently remarked on the effectiveness of the police and the atrocity of the situation on the Strip. Each article can almost be read as an appeal for more support for Bonhomme.

## **Mayhem**

Two highly publicized events put the Council and Bonhomme front and center. The Montcalm Ward Councillor Tony Sousa witnessed a shooting on June 18. The headlines the next day were not about the shooting itself but about how Tony Sousa was praying that the violence end and that God would intervene - he felt hopeless. The police said that this was the end: they would not forgive any longer.

A few days later (and the timing could not have been better for the newspapers), there was a riot. *Le Droit* claimed that over 1000 people were involved. Bonhomme stepped into the fight in order to try to help a fallen policeman. The headlines screamed; now there was definitely no question as to the need for Bonhomme's measures. One has to wonder whether the police's new attitude had something to do with the riot itself or whether their zeal might have been part of the cause of the melee? This question was never a part of the media coverage: both newspapers exploded with sensational headlines. This time, it was war; this time, there would be no stopping Claude Bonhomme. Perhaps Sousa's prayers would soon be answered.

### **1 a.m. closing time**

Claude Bonhomme called for the bars to close at 1 a.m. and for the Council to try everything it could in order to meet those ends. Everyone agreed except the bar owners who were branded as bad guys by the media for not wholly supporting Bonhomme's proposal. In the fall municipal election all candidates had no choice but to support Bonhomme's ideas for fear the newspaper might print articles accusing them of treason. Ducharme had started the campaign saying that he thought the Council might do best to negotiate with the bar owners about a closing hour. Bonhomme did not agree with this policy. Ducharme had to take a harder line in order to stay in the race. He won,

but the fact that he had not supported Bonhomme from the start would later be used against him. *Le Droit* covered the progress of the 1 a.m. proposal as it related to the election closely.

The 1 a.m. proposal had to be altered as it was realized that it would be difficult to get a private member's bill through the National Assembly. It was decided instead that the city would ask the Régie des Alcohol to suspend permits individually and to impose a 1 a.m. restriction on all the bars. They announced that they would begin with four targeted bars: Park Avenue, BroadStreet, Citiclub and Le Bistro. These hearings eventually did take place, but it was a slow, drawn out and expensive process.

### **The Strip in historical focus**

In July, *Le Droit* printed two perspective articles: one by Benoit Guy Allaire, the man who had written the Énigme 07 report back in 1985, and the other by André Cellard, a University of Ottawa historian and criminologist. Both pointed to the fact that Hull's problems were deep rooted and were not entirely the fault of Ontarians. The first said that Hull's misery was socio-economic and that these problems would have to be solved before criminality was decreased. He also said the police were not necessarily the ultimate answer as they entice some people into aggressive behavior. Cellard did a historical recap of Hull and its criminality. This helped to put the situation into perspective. The problem might seem urgent, but it would not go away instantly as it was not created in one day; it dates almost a hundred years.

### **1992 in conclusion**

The last major issue of 1992 was the ongoing debate in Quebec City about allowing dépanneurs to sell beer 24 hours a day. Bonhomme fought hard against this

proposal and even met with Claude Ryan to tell him how bad the law could be for Hull. The project seemed to be dying a long legislative death but *Le Droit* published reports about it anyway as Bonhomme saw it as important.

Many articles in 1992, published in both newspapers, went to support Bonhomme's proposals indirectly (by reporting on crimes committed) or directly, by quoting Bonhomme after one of these crimes had happened.

### **3.7.3 1993: Bonhomme and Régie hearings**

There is a letup from both newspapers in 1993. As a whole, the news was improving and the sporadic incidents fewer and further apart. Both the newspapers had less to talk about as the measures taken the previous year seemed to be working. *Le Droit*, though, still wrote about the troubling street quite a bit.

#### **Régie hearings**

The Régie hearings process initiated the previous year stole the limelight, especially in *Le Droit*. The City changed its tactics, acquiescing to the owners' counter-attacks. The owners got a break from a Quebec Superior Court judge who ruled, in another case altogether, that the Régie was over-stepping its bounds by imposing earlier closing hours. It would be a year of legal arguments, the Council and the bar owners trading volleys every few weeks. *Le Droit* kept careful track of the game and every once in a while published reports about the enormous costs of the legal proceedings. Bonhomme, though, was holding the line - Hull must go all the way.

The Lido and the two other bars housed in the same building, as well as the Shalimar, lost their licences through the hearings, but only temporarily. The Régie did not want to shut them down completely and risk long legal battles. They preferred to try

to settle with the bars out of court and go for temporary licence suspensions. The City of Hull tried to get stronger rulings but eventually would realize that the Régie was limited in its powers (and in its financial resources) and that there was not much more they could do but temporary suspensions. This would eventually lead to the city dropping its legal pursuits. In 1993 though, they held the line and pursued the bars as far as they could.

### **Crime Statistics**

Criminality rates reflected the fact that arrests on the Promenade in 1992 had increased tremendously on account of the Tolérance Zéro policy. Bonhomme's Second Report emphasized how this would probably go on and that there was no room to let up in the policy. It was time to kill the Strip while the city was on top of the situation. Any letup would only serve to invite problems back in. *Le Droit* clearly agreed with him.

### **The Bonhomme Committee's Second Report**

The Report recounted the success of the first group of recommendations and outlined how these could and should be further reinforced<sup>4</sup>. Bonhomme insisted on a 1 a.m. ruling, revocation of some specific permits, installation of cameras and prohibition of parking in the whole sector between twelve and five. Bonhomme justified these draconian measures in saying that this was the time to finally get rid of the problem. He finished the Report by outlining the success of the past recommendations, which he had initiated himself.

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<sup>4</sup>2e Rapport d'étape: Comité du renouveau de la promenade du Portage, "Pouce par Pouce - Pied par Pied." 4/13/1993. Ville de Hull RAP0171. 48 pages.

## **Bonhomme resigns**

Bonhomme's Second Report was not as well received by the Municipal Council as the first one had been. The Council actually voted against a few of its proposals, notably the cameras, improved lighting and work on Vaudreuil Square. The measures that they voted in (continuing Tolérance Zéro, and continuing the fight for a 1 a.m. law) passed only by slim margins.

The next day, in a fit of anger, Bonhomme resigned as President of the Revitalization Committee, claiming that he needed unequivocal support from the Council in order to continue his work. Bonhomme felt that he had been betrayed by the Council, especially by Ducharme who had voted against Tolérance Zéro and 1 a.m. Bonhomme singled out members of the Council and denounced them. *Le Droit* was only too happy to report on these, as the paper renewed their support for Bonhomme. Ducharme, especially, was attacked by *Le Droit*. *Le Droit* reminded the readership about his changing stance in the previous year's election. They accused him of betraying his voters.

Here we can discern an important case of a newspaper playing within a town's politics. No one had objected to any of what Bonhomme was saying publicly because they knew they would commit political suicide by doing so. Readers were caught by surprise when such opposition manifested itself within the Council. It seems that Bonhomme did not have the support of the whole Hull population after all. He resigned, but this only served to increase his presence in the newspapers: Like Obi-One Kenobe or Jesus, metaphorical death only made Bonhomme stronger.

The Mayor, other councillors, even the bar owners came out with statements about how sad they were to see Bonhomme go, how they thought his decision was

hasty and how they had not supported his plans simply because of the costs of the programs. Ducharme was exposed to some nasty editorials.

*The Citizen* also reported on the events but not nearly as dramatically.

Ducharme got away in *The Citizen* sounding like a sensible man, not the hypocrite that *Le Droit* tried to make of him.

## **Émeute**

A few days after Bonhomme's decision *Le Droit* qualified some criminal activity on the Strip as a "riot." *The Citizen* did not mention the event, testifying to the fact that it really was not that big a deal and to the fact that *Le Droit* wanted to say something bad about the Strip in order to show their support for Bonhomme. Perhaps *The Citizen* chose not to print the story simply because of its broader political implications. It was actually a spectacular story of a fight between a bouncer and a client. It involved drugs, a fall from a second story window and a drunk get-away which resulted in three car accidents and some injuries. The first person *Le Droit* went to for comment was no other than Claude Bonhomme. He took the chance to point out how desperate the situation was and how something had to be done, how he had been right all along.

## **Bonhomme and incidents: the tone in 1993**

Two other incidents a few days later caught *Le Droit's* attention: a fight in a bar which resulted in a woman getting her face slashed by a bottle, and a woman getting kicked by rowdy Ontarians who wanted her taxi for themselves. Once again, Claude Bonhomme was asked to comment. The Council changed its mind. They had heard enough, they reconciled with Bonhomme by accepting his resolutions. *Le Droit* had made their point, the people were behind Bonhomme, or maybe they were behind *Le*

*Droit*, or maybe the people were behind Bonhomme because of the newspaper. In any case, the strategy worked, Bonhomme got his cameras and bright lights.

Bonhomme went so far as spending his own money and hiring a research firm to conduct a survey for him. He wanted to know how many people supported him. The answer: 73%. *Le Droit* published the results prominently, never questioning their validity, objectivity or *raison d'être*.

Many different stories were reported during the rest of the year. Some of them made links back to the whole dossier, mentioning the trials and tribulations of the Council and Bonhomme, viewing the Strip as a degraded site.

One notable exception to the Bonhomme wave was an article published in *The Citizen* about Walter Grego, the owner of the Chez Henri and his opinions. He blamed the Municipal Council's inertia through the late eighties (for example, not resolving the transportation issue) for the way the Strip had turned, saying that neglect had encouraged the bad bars to come and settle on the street. He had nothing good to say about Bonhomme, calling his work "a holy crusade backed by the French media" which has done nothing but darken the image of the Strip, slowly killing this once prosperous scene. *Le Droit* published nothing like this, they went to the bar owners for comment less and less as the years went on.

#### **3.7.4 1994: Régie hearings and taxis**

In 1994 over-all coverage, especially in *The Citizen*, declined; the Strip became a non-issue and was for all intents and purposes ignored.

## **Régie Hearings**

*Le Droit* almost solely covered the ongoing Régie hearings. Citiclub (formerly The Chez Henri) closed down; The Broadstreet, Shalimar and Roxanne bars all had to restrict their operations and The Lido was closed down as well (the Federal Development Bank stopped its funding, the closure had nothing to do with the Régie hearings). The City of Hull claimed victory throughout the year. The expenses of the procedure became a separate issue. Nevertheless, the City, under Bonhomme's recommendations, decided to pursue the 1 a.m. issue as far as it could, taking on every bar individually if it had to.

## **Crime statistics**

On the crime front, the news in 1993 was excellent: Crime had risen with the introduction of Tolérance Zéro in 1991, had peaked in '92 and then had dropped 46% in 1993. This decline was a direct result of the action taken following Bonhomme's reports. The trouble-makers stayed away as they did not feel welcome anymore. Bonhomme was overjoyed. His Committee had shifted its focus from ending the violence to seeking a new vocation for downtown; the Committee prioritized residential development for downtown Hull.

## **Licences**

Bonhomme was saddened, though, when Ducharme's executive committee decided not to object to the demand for a liquor licence by Walter Grego: the businessman was looking to re-open the Chez Henri since his building was lying idle with the closure of Citiclub. Ducharme's compliance set off a round of articles which accused him of betraying Hull. Political accusations flew back and forth. Eventually, the whole affair was blamed on an administrative error and it was decided that henceforth

all decisions about liquor licences would have to pass through Council. The situation never appeared in the pages of *The Citizen*.

## **Taxis**

Taxis were once again a major topic in 1994. Hull cabbies complained that the Ottawa taxis were stealing their business and that the Hull police were ignoring them. The police retorted, claiming that the Hull cabs could not meet the demand created by the Strip at 3 a.m. and that police priority was getting the bar Strip cleared. Articles kept appearing, the blame being bounced back and forth like a tennis ball between the cabbies and the police. The underlying fact was that business had dropped on the Strip and that the taxis were not making as much money, Hull cabs were looking to protect their dwindling share of the market. This factor was never explicitly mentioned in the pages of *Le Droit*, the only daily to cover the issue. A system was worked out in the end by which the police would call the Ottawa taxis if they judged that the Hull taxis were not sufficient enough to clear the Strip at 3 a.m. Everyone was happy and the police started ticketing Ottawa cabbies caught picking up illegal fares.

## **1994 In conclusion**

Noticeably fewer criminal events occurred on the Strip in 1994. Drugs and prostitution had apparently moved away, violent conflicts were almost non-existent. The big news of 1994 happened at the Municipal Council level and *The Citizen* basically ignored it. Conversely, *Le Droit* was still there, unrelinquishing in their desire for a resolution.

### **3.7.5 1995: an end**

The articles and the subjects chosen attest to dwindling crime on the bar Strip. One has the impression that by 1995, there were more police than patrons on the Strip. That year, the Council opted to tone down its approach to the whole scene because the investment had reaped its rewards and the expense was no longer justifiable.

Once again, the coverage by *The Citizen* was almost nil. News emerging about the Strip was positive and came from the Municipal Council. To *The Citizen*, this was not newsworthy.

### **Régie Hearings**

Hull councillors called for an end to the Régie hearings as they had reaped few rewards, if only to buy time by closing bars down temporarily. The cost/quality ratio was no longer justifiable taking into account the apparent calm that reigned over the bar Strip. Bonhomme agreed.

### **Vocation**

There was much written in *Le Droit* about what to do with the bar Strip now that it was more or less bereft of bars. *Le Droit* was happy to announce that the National University of Mexico had bought the old Lido and would be moving into it.

### **1995 In General**

The last articles printed in the year were of the year-in-review type. They wrote about how the clean up of the Strip was finished. It was pointed out that the Hull police services were disproportionately expensive in Hull; maybe it was time to scale down on

the night patrols. The important thing, though, was that the scene was gone: no one went there anymore - the City of Hull had reclaimed the promenade du Portage.

### **3.8 Conclusion**

Thus ends the saga. The war is over and Hull won, everybody is safe at home, asleep at 2 a.m. Noticeable in the last 2 years is the absence of articles in *The Citizen*. This absence of articles on the Strip in *The Citizen* can be interpreted to mean that the lack of criminal activity was considered non-news. While *Le Droit* pursued the dossier under the guise of a personality (Bonhomme) and his crusade, *The Citizen* probably let it drop because it saw that the Strip was producing little news that would be of interest to readers in Ottawa.

What is most impressive about the coverage in *Le Droit* is that it went from so few articles in the early years (seemingly to protect Hull) to a large number of involved articles. *Le Droit* took an active role in the situation and tried, perhaps consciously, to push the politicians to further action. The tactic worked.

Two more incidents have caught the media's attention since then. In September 1996, a fight between teenagers that involved a skateboard was broadcast on television and caused a stir. Early in 1997, the closing hours of Hull bars were finally changed to 2 a.m. to coincide with Ontario's new hours. This prompted many obituary type articles in newspapers country wide.

The major differences in the coverage of both newspapers are hopefully becoming apparent at this point. These are principally related to the community perspective and vocation of each newspaper. In the following chapters, these differences will be looked into at greater depth.

I have tried to tell the story in this section while keeping an eye out for major differences in both newspapers. This perspective is basic, even pedestrian. Because I am offering an interpretation of observable facts, seen through the eyes of reporters working for newspapers who appeal to particular segments of a population, my own biases are obviously reflected in my selection and interpretation of the articles. These, though, I think, are unavoidable. The goal of this summary was to make the reader able to situate him/herself in the chapters to come, in which I will write about the events described above in greater detail. Please refer to this chapter to understand the context of what was happening in any year if you need clarification while reading the chapters ahead.

## **CHAPTER 4: THE BIG PICTURE: ACTORS & SITES**

### **4.1 Quantitative content analysis**

In the last chapter I delivered the news as I read it: I showed what would have stuck in the minds of a typical careful reader of the dossier after reading the papers as documentary sources. In this chapter, I apply a formal grid to the articles in order to see, without any doubt, which are the themes, actors and sites that came up the most often in the story of the bar Strip. This is in no way a regular reading. Many of the items that come up often would likely be unnoticed by the reader, as they are simply details, or perhaps a point not central to a particular story. Through this chapter we get to see what the journalists relied on to make the news. This reading may not portray which were the most spectacular issues, the ones that stick out in the mind; rather, it portrays the issues that came up most often.

The purpose of a content analysis is to derive systematically the meaning of a text or an interview. It is the only way to systematically grasp the message contained in the 1168 articles extracted for this study. There are several ways of going about and conceptualizing this task; as such, it is important to remember that the power of quantitative content analysis is limited in its capacity to portray something objectively: the way we read the news is intensely individualistic. What one researcher describes as the content may not be what another selects. Even though both might have been flawlessly systematic, the fundamental way in which they see the corpus would have affected their initial choice of categories.

What follows is a description of the whole of the articles, a description of how many times each important theme, actor and site appeared in the articles of each newspaper. This is an unusual type of reading in the sense that it is systematic and that no reader would ever keep track of every detail that comes up in a story. The results are arranged so as to lend themselves to easily understandable totals and percentages.

This chapter renders the most exhaustive reading of the articles and lets us know, in great detail, the relative importance of the items that most appeared in the newspapers: relative through time, relative to each another, and relatively in each newspaper. We get to know, at the most basic level, what was talked about, who was talked to or about and which sites were talked about (how much and when). As a whole, this reading portrays what the producers of the news thought of as *newsworthy*.

This chapter is organized into two sections. In the first, I will discuss the ideas and purpose of a systematic content analysis and how it relates to my material. In the second part I will present the corpus of the newspapers articles in the form of tables that are descriptive of what can be found in each newspaper, year-by-year, and that compare what is found in each newspaper. I analyzed only the most interesting results, as my original list of categories (Annex One) is too extensive for my purposes. It was purposefully made extensive so that others might use the data to their own ends.

## **4.2 Definition**

Most authors agree to a definition for content analysis along these lines: "Une technique de recherche pour la description objective, systématique et quantitative du contenu manifeste de la communication" (Charron, 1991, 120). Some authors would add an aspect concerning latent content as a desirable objective. This addition, however, challenges the quest for objectivity. The terms and method of the analysis must be precisely defined so as to be replicable: two researchers must get the same results for the same communication within an acceptable parameter.

Harold Lasswell was the first to define the content analysis as a method *per se*. He viewed the mediated message through the following set of questions: "Who says what in which channel to whom with what effect" (Fiske, 1982, 30). He aimed to discover more about the process of propaganda and developed a simple and

straightforward method that consisted of counting the appearance of certain key words through different texts. Through the comparing of the results, he could get an idea of the importance a medium was attributing to different factors of an issue.

Practitioners of Lasswell's approach soon came to find that its effectiveness was limited: no weight was given to the varying importance a word might play in a sentence or in a paragraph. Also, this type of analysis left no room to analyze the meanings not explicitly clear (latent) but definitely contained within a text.

### **4.3 Methods**

One way to divide the types of manifest content analysis is, in the simplest of terms, to describe them as frequency or theme oriented. Frequency-based content analyzes are the type used by Lasswell; these types simply count the appearance of a particular term. Thematic analyses search out bigger units of meaning. Themes are psychological realities (Charron, 1991, 134). They are classified according to importance (length of appearance), strength (choice of words), and orientation (in favor/against). The thematic study yields deeper or more meaningful results than one simply organized according to the frequency of particular words. The difficulties in using the thematic type of study originate from dividing these by strength and orientation. Often, the necessary judgments can be of a more subjective quality.

The method used for this analysis is based on occurrence of themes. It is essentially simple in that it simply notes the appearance of themes, actors and sites as they appeared in the texts. I decided to leave the complicated aspects of importance, strength and orientation to the analyses that will follow in the next chapters because of the sheer number of articles involved. This method was devised to describe the whole of the corpus, in a reasonable amount of detail and with reasonable depth - one that took context into account.

This analysis is divided into three basic parts: theme, actors and site. Each time a unit from any of the three areas appeared, it was noted. To simplify the process, units were counted only once per article, as "1" if present and "0" if absent. This made for simple additions of the final results tabulated by year. This method worked and the proof is the low number of articles that found their way into "other," the catch-all category.

Content analysis is suited to our needs because it can handle a large database and transform it into a reasonable amount of units without compromising all of the meaning contained in the articles. I used the method devised here because I consider it a reasonable way to describe the whole of the corpus that has been dealt with. A complete description of the method used for this analysis is described in Chapter One.

#### **4.4 Challenges**

The fundamental challenge of the content analysis is to faithfully reproduce an item on a smaller scale. This is essentially similar to geography's objective. Geography, for example, deals with describing landscape, content analysis deals with text. Accurate reproductions, which are incidentally also among the goals of newspapers, are difficult to achieve as the role of the interpreter will inevitably affect the outcome of the product. The advantage of content analysis, though, is that it is systematic in its information retrieval and as such it will render a description complete and consistent within itself.

The initial aspect of the research is qualitative: the choice of the source of information. The choice of terms, as well as the judgment of those terms, can also be fraught with subjectivity. I responded to the problem of choosing terms by using various grids over and over, each time adding or removing terms, depending on their consistent absence or presence within the texts. This way the relevant terms appeared most often. Some terms were also added because they are especially relevant to the subject as a

whole. This addition of terms is particularly valid in the case for the French/English tension category, a theme that did not appear often but which is relevant to the broader study of the bar Strip. This tension category becomes interesting by virtue of its noticeable absence. A researcher could easily forget a key term or bestow disproportionate importance on another that may not be worthy of it. The choosing of these terms and the interpretation of them is not a simple task: a researcher might easily skew this step to fit his motives. These steps are unavoidably subjective because, at some point, the researcher will have to make choices about the goal of the study and these goals will affect the selection of the categories. Interpretation is also subjective in that it relies intensely on the perspective of one individual. Individual interpretations, however, can be scrutinized, criticized and debated. What is essential is that the initial results from whence the interpretations were derived are consistent within themselves, and this is feasible.

Landry (1992) maintains that the main problem with content analysis is that researchers do not check for validity. He outlines a method he deems foolproof for getting beyond the methodological traps inherent in content analysis. His method is based largely on proving the validity of the results through a series of pretests. He is correct to point out the validity of a pretest as a finder of potential problems. Every procedure should be tried and retried by different researchers in order to insure that all classification and reading is done in a consistent way. The aim of this pretest is to insure the adopted method is objective. If a pretest fails to meet the mark of 95% accuracy in results, then the analysis should be redesigned as its use might not be objective.

The following analysis went through this sort of process. At least three different people tried out the grid terms before a final grid was agreed upon. Each of the pretests indicated that some categories were unnecessary and others were missing. These

pretests were used until the terms selected represented accurately the content of the articles without being overly cumbersome. In retrospect, I am confident this process was valuable as the product of the final analysis, although not perfect, has few redundant or futile categories and has only one noticeable absence<sup>1</sup>. For my purposes, the essential aspect was to be extremely careful in the choice and number of terms for analysis.

The systematic content analysis should be a way to see the totality of what it is that the newspapers said about the Strip and what were the themes and actors that they associated with it. There are some unresolvable issues of subjectivity that are inherent in the method, but I feel these have been dealt with in the most thorough fashion. In the final analysis, subjectivity is unavoidable; at best we can have a replicable system, one which is consistent and yields useful results.

#### **4.5 Observations**

The results of the analysis are presented in four sections: total articles, themes, actors and sites. The grand totals are dealt with first in the totals section, organized differently from the rest of the sections. This totals section is meant to be read as an introduction to the rest of the descriptions that follow. Each of the other sections is organized according to its sub-groupings (categories) and each sub-grouping is described in a particular pattern: I will first present the totals of each newspaper in tables that indicate the presence of the whole category in each newspaper, divided into its sub-categories and by year. These are arranged in percentages so as to make the tables clearer. The percentages indicate the proportion of articles that contained an

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<sup>1</sup>The category "accident" should have been present from the start; it became absolutely necessary with the well-publicized death of Minnie Sutherland and I included accidents into the "other" category which was, until then, empty.

element from a particular category as compared to the total number of articles that appeared in that newspaper in that year. The tables also contain an entry indicating the total appearances for the whole period as well as a column showing how many articles were retrieved for a particular year, to make the percentages easier to understand. I arrived at these tables by subtracting one table from the other (*The Citizen* is subtracted from *Le Droit*). The results clearly indicate the differences (in percentages) in the presence or absence of a particular sub-category for every year and for the totals of each sub-category. In these comparison tables, a positive value indicates by how many more percentage points a sub-category appeared in the coverage of *Le Droit*, and a negative value indicates by how many more percentage points a sub-category appeared in *The Citizen*.

The tables were simplified by removing some of the sub-categories judged too small or infrequent to be interesting or useful. An example is the fact that I took out most of the bars that I had listed in my original grid because most of these appeared only a few times and cluttered more than clarified the results.

I also removed a few of the categories as a whole because I thought these to be of questionable relevance to this thesis. Many of these tables were placed into Appendix Two because of the need to conserve space in this already long document.

#### **4.5.1 Total number of articles**

This category is a simple tabulation of the grand totals for each year. The table is split into different categories of articles so as to assess the importance placed on the Strip by the editorial staff and journalists of a newspaper. For further descriptions of the meaning of each sub-category, go to Appendix One.

## ***Le Droit's* grand totals**

Table 1: Total number of articles, *Le Droit*, 1980-1995.

	Front page	picture	editorial	regular	Totals
<b>1980</b>	3	2	1	3	9
<b>1981</b>	5	0	0	4	9
<b>1982</b>	0	1	0	7	8
<b>1983</b>	1	4	1	15	21
<b>1984</b>	2	4	4	13	23
<b>1985</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>46</b>
<b>1986</b>	2	11	4	27	44
<b>1987</b>	4	1	0	16	<b>21</b>
<b>1988</b>	4	<b>24</b>	5	25	<b>58</b>
<b>1989</b>	3	9	9	17	38
<b>1990</b>	1	5	2	23	31
<b>1991</b>	5	18	23	29	<b>75</b>
<b>1992</b>	<b>10</b>	33	14	50	<b>107</b>
<b>1993</b>	5	30	19	<b>68</b>	<b>122</b>
<b>1994</b>	5	18	<b>3</b>	44	70
<b>1995</b>	1	5	1	36	43
<b>totals</b>	55	173	96	401	725

*Le Droit's* coverage was minimal in the first few years. Coverage picked up noticeably in the mid-eighties when Hull was declared Quebec's crime capital. In 1985, we see the numbers of all categories double in *Le Droit*: the site had just become important as a newsmaker. Coverage in 1987 decreased and that can be attributed to the prevalent feeling that things were getting "better" on the Strip. It was also a fairly uneventful year. Coverage jumps back up in 1988, the same year that a tabloid format was first tried by *Le Droit*. In this year, *Le Droit* also features a more sensationalistic approach as they tried to recapture some of the readership they had lost to the strike of 1986. This hypothesis is validated by the increase in the use of pictures featuring the bar Strip in that year.

Coverage then seems to slow down but literally explodes in 1991, 1992 and 1993. This all started with the dog incident which seems to have fueled coverage of the

Strip in that it helped to justify Claude Bonhomme and his plan. The number of editorials printed in 1991 is proportionately high (one out of three articles). This reveals that *Le Droit* was involved with the issues; *Le Droit's* interests in the Strip shows that they had, to use the language of humanistic geography, an insider's perspective on the situation.

Though different, 1992 and 1993 are important in *Le Droit*. Although there are more actual articles in 1993, 1992 is especially noteworthy because of the unprecedented number of articles featured on the front page. The Strip was important news in 1992. In 1993, it became regular news; there was more action at the Municipal Council level in that year. In 1992 *Tolérance Zéro* and action on the Strip lent itself well to pictures and dramatic front page stories. The actions of the Municipal Council were interesting to the readers of *Le Droit* (interesting enough to make the newspaper), but not quite as interesting as the clean up of the trenches that was *Tolérance Zéro*.

The real decline in news comes in 1994. This decline is confirmed by the absence in editorials, which seems to indicate that the administration of the newspaper had its mind on other issues. The news coming out of the Municipal Council was still being reported; this trend continues into 1995.

## The Citizen's grand totals

Table 2: total number of articles, *The Citizen*, 1980-1995

	front page	picture	editorial	regular	totals
<b>1980</b>	2	3	1	13	19
<b>1981</b>	5	8	0	19	32
<b>1982</b>	0	3	0	15	18
<b>1983</b>	2	4	1	12	19
<b>1984</b>	3	5	0	23	31
<b>1985</b>	0	9	4	34	47
<b>1986</b>	2	5	1	24	32
<b>1987</b>	0	1	0	33	34
<b>1988</b>	0	N/A <sup>2</sup>	0	31	31
<b>1989</b>	5	N/A	1	42	48
<b>1990</b>	4	N/A	0	15	19
<b>1991</b>	2	N/A	0	30	32
<b>1992</b>	2	N/A	2	33	37
<b>1993</b>	0	N/A	0	30	30
<b>1994</b>	0	N/A	0	11	11
<b>1995</b>	0	N/A	0	3	3
<b>Totals</b>	27	38	10	368	443

*The Citizen's* coverage is fairly consistent. The Strip made the front page five times in 1981; there were three murders that year. One can see from the number of editorials and the total number of "regular" articles that the news did not actually make a splash; *The Citizen* seemed to feature stories for flash effect as it rarely followed up on them. The relatively few editorials indicate *The Citizen* kept away from the issues. Although it reported on the news on the Strip, it was not committed to the stories. It kept the perspective of an outsider, one not concerned with the outcome of a situation.

When Hull was branded crime capital in 1985, articles, editorials and pictures jumped in *The Citizen*, the second highest total for the period considered. The writers at *The Citizen* seemed quite willing to cover the increase in crime. The Strip was also the

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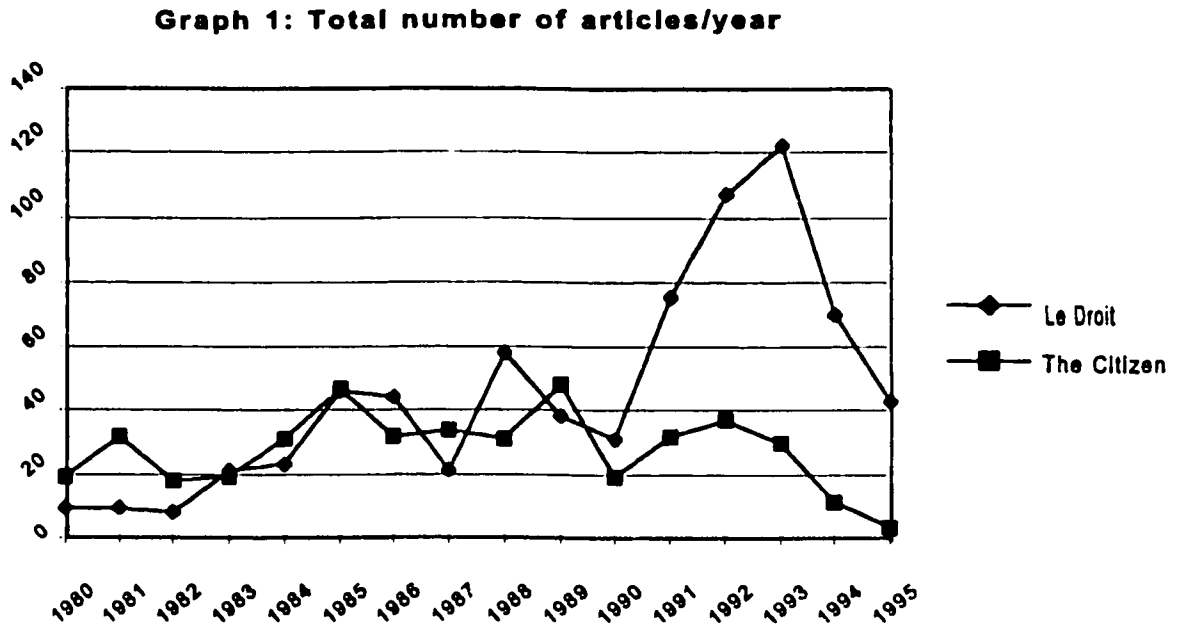
<sup>2</sup>These articles might have contained pictures, unfortunately, because of the method of retrieval (electronic), it is impossible to know. To find this out would have required going back to the original articles.

source of the most pictures and editorials for any year in 1985. Both of these numbers are surprising as the Council was not too involved just yet. *The Citizen's* reporters seemed to be on to something quickly and the editorial staff followed their lead in bringing up the problems in Hull. Yet when the news shifted to solutions and measures at the Council, the editors were not as interested.

The next important year in *The Citizen* is 1989 (and 1990 to a lesser degree), the year Minnie Sutherland died. The trials and hearings which followed were well covered in *The Citizen* with several front page stories and an especially large number of "regular" stories.

After that event, the coverage in *The Citizen* seems to dwindle, rising again briefly in 1991 and 1992 for the death of the dog and for Tolérance Zéro. Neither incident made waves to the same degree as the Minnie Sutherland story. In 1994 and 1995, coverage nearly stopped, a reflection of *The Citizen's* regional focus. All of the news that was occurring at that point, because the police measures had worked so well, was happening at the level of the Municipal Council. *The Citizen* was not interested. This is revealed through the extremely low number of articles, especially in 1995, when *The Citizen* thought that the Strip was non-news.

## Comparison of totals



The time lines of the coverages vary between the two newspapers. Until the late eighties, *The Citizen* was more apt to cover the bar Strip; it capitalized heavily on single event coverage. Once the Municipal Council became heavily involved, particularly after 1989, a shift in the typical portrayal of each newspaper was evident. *Le Droit* got more involved with the site by covering it extensively (up to 122 articles in 1993, which translates into one every third day).

We can see each newspaper's favorite themes by looking at the peaks in the coverage. *The Citizen* peaks in 1989 with the Minnie Sutherland story and *Le Droit* in 1992 and 1993 with *Tolérance Zéro* and Claude Bonhomme's "cleaning up." *The Citizen* wrote about racial injustice and police brutality; *Le Droit* wrote about cleaning up the Strip.

Another item worth comparing which shows up only through tables 1 and 2, is the number of pictures, editorials and front page articles each newspaper used. These are hardly comparable as *Le Droit* focused on the news of the Strip while *The Citizen* tended to be consistent in its coverage but did not make the Strip headline news. This fact was especially true in 1988, when *Le Droit* became a tabloid. For example, through the years, the bar Strip made the front page of *Le Droit* 55 times (10 in 1992); it made the front page of *The Citizen* 27 times. In total, 96 editorial pieces were printed in *Le Droit* which dealt with the Strip (23 in 1991); *The Citizen* had a total of 10 editorials. This statistic shows the level of involvement of each newspaper. Editorials focus on stories that are important to the people, the ones that people are talking about, or should be talking about, according to the editors. The editors of *The Citizen* apparently never felt that the bar Strip was controversial or interesting as a broad news story. The editors of *Le Droit*, in contrast, seemed to think of the Strip as the moment's most important issue.

From 1993 onwards nearly all the news emerged from the Municipal Council and this was in the form of the further efforts to shut the Strip down. At this point the focus was on the hearings taking place at the Régie des Alcools du Québec. Talks about solutions did not make the front page, they did not even make *The Citizen*, but they did make *Le Droit* as ongoing news of interest. The story became less about violence and crime and more about internal conflicts; it became a story within Hull, especially within the Hull Council. An Ottawa readership would not be interested in this topic.

#### **4.6 Themes: what is newsworthy**

In the sections that follow I will describe the big themes that were covered by both newspapers. I proceeded with the divisions that seemed most likely to make the tables reasonable, understandable sizes. I will comment on in the boldfaced comments in the discussion that follows each table. These numbers are indicative of what each

newspaper considered newsworthy. The themes most covered are those the editors and journalists thought most fit to go into the newspaper, the information they identified as the most interesting to readers, what readers would most like to read about.

#### 4.6.1 Crime

##### Crime in *Le Droit*

Table 3: Total crime coverage, *Le Droit*, 1980-1995

	articles	general	tapage	violent	drugs	sex	D.W.I.	Other	total
1980	9	22% <sup>3</sup>	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	22%
1981	9	0%	33%	56%	11%	0%	0%	22%	89%
1982	8	0%	0%	50%	13%	0%	0%	13%	75%
1983	21	10%	10%	14%	10%	62%	0%	19%	71%
1984	23	30%	9%	13%	0%	9%	0%	22%	52%
1985	46	20%	41%	9%	9%	2%	4%	22%	61%
1986	44	27%	27%	16%	14%	5%	9%	14%	64%
1987	21	33%	33%	62%	29%	0%	10%	33%	95%
1988	58	16%	38%	24%	16%	29%	7%	10%	84%
1989	38	11%	47%	26%	16%	18%	3%	13%	79%
1990	31	6%	16%	13%	23%	26%	3%	3%	61%
1991	75	9%	45%	45%	17%	11%	3%	13%	83%
1992	107	15%	44%	20%	14%	5%	4%	13%	67%
1993	122	9%	33%	23%	12%	6%	3%	9%	61%
1994	70	14%	36%	26%	13%	6%	3%	1%	60%
1995	43	7%	37%	19%	5%	2%	5%	19%	67%
total	725	14%	35%	24%	13%	10%	4%	13%	69%

*Le Droit* covered crime extensively. The final total is 69%, meaning that at least one type of crime was present in no less than 69% of the articles that appeared in *Le Droit* that dealt with the bar Strip (nearly 7 out of 10 of the total articles). In many of these articles, crime was not the central story, yet it was, nonetheless, mentioned as a factor, thus linking crime closer to the dynamic of the bar Strip.

<sup>3</sup> The percentages here are the proportion of articles that contained an element of a particular category as compared to the total number of articles published by that newspaper in that year. Here the 22% represents the two articles that mentioned "Crime in General" as a proportion of the nine articles published in *Le Droit* in 1980 that dealt with the bar Strip.

This astonishing figure conjures up the impression that crime was the overwhelming theme delivered to the readers of this newspaper when they read about la promenade. Crime is quite definitely the category of theme that predominated in the coverage of the bar Strip. This may seem unusual but it is not as crime often dominates the pages devoted to regional news of any newspaper.

This 69% figure breaks down into several categories: the two biggest sub-categories overall are violent crime and "tapage nocturne." Tapage nocturne appears in one third and violent crime in one quarter of the articles (keep in mind that they could appear in the same article). This is an interesting statistic as violent crime accounts for much less than one quarter of the criminal activity on the bar Strip and misdemeanors account for much more than one third of the crime<sup>4</sup>.

The sub-category crime in general was strong in the years 1984 through 1987. These were the years when Hull was the Crime Capital of Quebec, and this was a major concern to the City as well as to reporters covering the city. Hull lost the unenviable title for the year 1986 which fact was reported extensively upon in 1987. This statistic might seem misleading, as the subject of the articles was actually the decrease in crime. However, they were still talking about crime as such and associating it with the bar Strip, therefore the association still stands.

The "tapage" category fluctuated. It was particularly strong in 1991 and 1992, in correlation with the strong presence of police and the consistent coverage of the Tolérance Zéro campaign in *Le Droit*. This follows as the police action was aimed at stopping the rowdiness on the Strip. For the newspaper to write about stopping rowdiness, they had to write about rowdiness itself.

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<sup>4</sup> As a comparison, in 1992, only 57 of the 6633 crimes reported by the police (*Service de police de Hull, Rapport Annuel, 1992. Ville de Hull RAP0172*) would have been considered violent in my table, less than 1% of the total. This is an example of the media's distortion.

The violent crime category seems to be ruled by particular events. One murder will usually generate at least three articles, and maybe many more if the case goes to trial. This is what happened in 1981: three murders. One of those murders, which wound up in the courts in 1982, kept violent crime in the news. Violence made a comeback in 1987 by virtue of several incidents that marked that year: a shooting, a few violent fights. This was a time when the bar Strip seemed to be at its worse. The Mayor as well as police spokespersons made comments on the incidents which were widely publicized in *Le Droit* and launched the debate about the bar Strip into the spotlight.

Drugs also saw its apogee in 1987, a year after Reagan declared his war on drugs. Drugs were a hot topic for the media all over North America. Crack, the new affordable form of cocaine, was on the scene. *Le Droit* featured drugs often and associated drugs with the bar Strip, seemingly to make drugs look like a problem outsiders were bringing into town. The drug coverage in *Le Droit* was surprisingly consistent.

Sex was big in 1983 because of the dominance of the Lido in *Le Droit's* coverage. The Lido opening was big news, and sex over-shadowed all other issues (compare how low the other crime categories are for 1983). In 1988 *Le Playback* opened, a second strip bar on the Strip, but was subsequently shut down which was also well covered.

Drinking and driving was prominent in the coverage of the late eighties as it was all over the continent. Notice how it was a non-issue before 1984 and then suddenly there was a big rise in activity and finally it dropped to a stable plateau of about 4%. This issue goes from non-news to big news back to a smooth constant.

The other crimes appeared more or less independently of the bar Strip. They were present and were reported upon but not in the same sense as the other crimes.

The ones talked about above were seen as part of the symptoms of the bar Strip: a sick place. This is how we can tell: tapage, violence, drugs and sex. Robberies were not put in the perspective of a problematique, left more or less outside of the frame that *Le Droit* put around the Strip.

It is impressive how much crime dominates the news that came from the Strip, especially in a few specific years, 1981 (89%), 1987 (95%), 1988 (84%) and 1991 (83%). Readers of *Le Droit* were likely repulsed by all these events, not only because they were crimes (which were already all over the newspaper) but because they were crimes happening in their own backyard, especially tapage and violence.

### **Crime in *The Citizen***

Table 4: Crime in *The Citizen*, 1980-1995.

	articles	General	tapage	Violent	drugs	sex	D.W.I.	Other	total
<b>1980</b>	19	5%	11%	5%	0%	0%	0%	5%	21%
<b>1981</b>	32	0%	28%	47%	6%	0%	3%	28%	69%
<b>1982</b>	18	0%	6%	56%	11%	0%	0%	11%	61%
<b>1983</b>	19	11%	16%	0%	5%	<b>37%</b>	0%	11%	63%
<b>1984</b>	31	6%	23%	26%	3%	16%	0%	19%	68%
<b>1985</b>	47	<b>23%</b>	<b>57%</b>	17%	4%	6%	0%	4%	79%
<b>1986</b>	32	<b>41%</b>	<b>44%</b>	6%	13%	6%	9%	16%	84%
<b>1987</b>	34	<b>32%</b>	<b>41%</b>	<b>38%</b>	<b>21%</b>	3%	<b>24%</b>	15%	<b>94%</b>
<b>1988</b>	31	10%	6%	42%	10%	<b>29%</b>	3%	13%	77%
<b>1989</b>	48	0%	17%	21%	4%	8%	8%	2%	<b>44%</b>
<b>1990</b>	19	0%	21%	5%	11%	5%	0%	5%	<b>32%</b>
<b>1991</b>	32	16%	<b>56%</b>	63%	<b>28%</b>	13%	9%	28%	84%
<b>1992</b>	37	14%	<b>70%</b>	49%	8%	3%	<b>14%</b>	5%	84%
<b>1993</b>	30	<b>27%</b>	<b>47%</b>	33%	3%	7%	0%	3%	57%
<b>1994</b>	11	18%	<b>55%</b>	64%	0%	18%	9%	18%	82%
<b>1995</b>	3	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
<b>totals</b>	443	14%	35%	31%	9%	9%	6%	12%	<b>68%</b>

*The Citizen* was also all about crime. Their total: an astonishing 68% of articles printed about the bar Strip from 1980 and 1995 touched on crime. We can see that for people on the Ottawa side of the River, the bar Strip was also associated with crime.

Of these years, 1987 stands out as the "most criminal" year, with 94 % of the articles that year being associated with crime, mainly with violent crime (38%), tapage nocturne (41%) and crime in general (32%). The big stories of that year were a few violent crime stories and the reactions that followed on the part of some Hull officials. In short, crime dominated the year's coverage.

The "least criminal" years are 1989 (44%) and 1990 (32%); this is explained through the fact that the Minnie Sutherland story dominated the coverage of *The Citizen* in those two years, and that story contained nothing to do with crime as such.

The general crime category was most visible in the years 1985 through 1987, at the same time that Hull was dealing with the title of Quebec's crime capital. This fact was reported extensively in *The Citizen*. Taped nocturne was strong in the same years, perhaps as an explanation of the high crime rate. It then dips through the Minnie Sutherland years and finally returns in full strength through the Bonhomme years, to accompany the coverage of *Tolérance Zéro*.

Discussion of drugs is present in *The Citizen* in varying degrees. They are especially present in the highly criminalized year of 1987, so as seemingly to go along with the rest of the crime coverage. Several large drug busts in 1991 on the bar Strip made the pages of *The Citizen* regularly.

In the sex category, two big years match up to the two big stories: the openings of the Lido and the Playback, the two strip bars that had existed on the Strip for a few years.

Discussion of drinking and driving is non-existent in *The Citizen* until 1986 when it suddenly appeared. It was big news in 1987, as was all other crime in that year. Then it seemed to rise and fall, according to different stories and different drug busts. Only in 1987 was it big news. It was fairly big news in 1992 (14%) and in this case it went along with the rest of the crackdown on the bar Strip. Many roadblocks were set up on the

bridges in this year in an attempt to crack down on drinking and driving. It was also Ottawa's way of "helping out" with the problems that Hull was having.

### **Comparison of crime coverage in both newspapers**

It is quite remarkable just how close the actual totals are. *The Citizen* and *Le Droit* have a marginal difference in their total coverage of crime: 68% and 69% respectively. This shows us one thing. The coverage was similar inasmuch as they both covered the crime aspect of the Strip quite extensively. I will try to show how they did it with slight differences. The table representing the differences in crime coverage is available in Appendix Two.

The topic of violent crime was consistently more present in *The Citizen*. *The Citizen* covered the big stories to the same degree or in greater detail than *Le Droit* while *Le Droit* tended to focus more on little crimes (tapage 1990-1994).

The topic of drugs was more present in *Le Droit*. Perhaps they deliberately tried to attach this concept to the Strip more than *The Citizen* did. *The Citizen* might have been writing more about drugs in some part of Ottawa. Maybe this is a deliberate attempt at framing on the part of *Le Droit*, or it might simply be that it had a different rapport with the police's information service and had better access to the news about drug busts. *Le Droit* covered drug busts on the bar Strip extensively in the years 1987 to 1990. This coverage has the effect of inserting the bar Strip into the broader North American crime context, the coverage of which was dominated by drug stories in the late eighties.

Most remarkable in these tables and charts, though, for the whole of the category of crime, is the sheer amount of coverage that crime received in both newspapers. It is certain that anyone who consistently read either newspaper thought of downtown Hull and its bar Strip as a highly criminalized place.

#### **4.6.2 Cultural tension issues**

This is an interesting category because many people would contend that these tensions are central to the dynamic of the bar Strip. There is definitely a conflict between the residing Hullois and the visiting Ontarians: stereotypically, one feels like breaking free from the constraints of home (Ontario) and the other feels invaded upon. These tensions are easily transferred into the broader linguistic/historical/cultural Canadian issue. This is the core problem in Canada's history and it gets used as an excuse for many dialogues gone wrong. To look at the problems on the bar Strip as a conflict between French and English is an over-simplification, but it is one that many people (especially patrons and residents) are willing to make.

This category is divided into two sub-categories: French/English tension (F/E) and racial tension. Both of these have a relatively low appearance rate, and that, in itself is telling of the newspapers attitudes towards the Strip.

#### **Cultural tensions in *Le Droit***

Neither French/English tension nor racial tension are important issues in *Le Droit*. Racism appears more in 1990 through the Minnie Sutherland story, even though the paper hardly even mentioned racism at all: this is well documented in Chapter Five.

I would have anticipated that there was a good deal of talk about the tension between Francophones and Anglophones on the Strip in *Le Droit* as it often seem to be suggesting, through the voice of others, that the Ontarians are to blame for the trouble. *Le Droit* seems to stay away from the French/English quagmire and keeps this issue to the more politically acceptable terms of Quebec/Ontario tension. Unfortunately I did not keep track of this discussion on a Quebec/Ontario level.

Table 5: Cultural tension in *Le Droit*, 1980-1995

	articles	F/E	Racism
1980	9	0%	0%
1981	9	0%	0%
1982	8	0%	0%
1983	21	10%	0%
1984	23	0%	0%
1985	46	4%	0%
1986	44	7%	0%
1987	21	10%	0%
1988	58	9%	3%
1989	38	0%	5%
1990	31	3%	16%
1991	75	1%	1%
1992	107	4%	1%
1993	122	7%	1%
1994	70	1%	1%
1995	43	0%	2%
<b>totals</b>	<b>725</b>	<b>4%</b>	<b>2%</b>

Table 6: Cultural tension in *The Citizen*, 1980-1995.

	articles	F/E	Racism
1980	19	5%	0%
1981	32	3%	3%
1982	18	0%	0%
1983	19	0%	0%
1984	31	0%	0%
1985	47	0%	0%
1986	32	3%	0%
1987	34	6%	0%
1988	31	6%	0%
1989	48	2%	19%
1990	19	16%	37%
1991	32	0%	3%
1992	37	3%	5%
1993	30	3%	0%
1994	11	0%	18%
1995	3	0%	0%
<b>totals</b>	<b>443</b>	<b>3%</b>	<b>5%</b>

*Le Droit* seems to avoid conflict between Anglophones and Francophones: perhaps it is in their best interest as representatives of the Franco-Ontarian population not to mention it. During the two years it is mentioned most often, it seems to be in passing and quite consistent with the 4% representative of the sub-category as a whole for *Le Droit*. The 2% for racial tension is more representative. What it did not want to write about even more than linguistic tension was racial tension.

### Cultural tension in *The Citizen*

*The Citizen* also seems to want to stay away from the Pandora's box of linguistic tension with a low coverage rate of 3%. In 1990 it did cover raids on shops with English signs on the Strip. The 16% could be misleading, as it represents only three articles. Writers are less reluctant to cover the racial tension issue which appears in the two

years of the Minnie Sutherland story: 1989 (16%) and 1990 (37%), when *The Citizen* identified and kept its focus on racism as a major factor.

### **Comparison of coverage of cultural tension**

Racism appears in both newspapers, but in different ways; the issue is developed in Chapter Five. It is especially high in *The Citizen* starting in 1989, this is attributable to one story: Minnie Sutherland. Generally the totals for this category are similar in both newspapers. The important, and more interesting, fact is that the appearance numbers are low,

With this category we touch upon one of the problems of the systematic content analysis. In the explicit content of the newspapers, the cultural tension issues are absent; in order to understand how these figure in the coverage of the newspaper, we need to look more deeply into the implicit content of the articles (as I will discuss in Chapter Six).

### **4.6.3 Problems and solutions**

This category is comprised of subjects that dealt with the symptoms of the problems or with their potential solutions. These recurring themes depended largely on the involvement and coverage of the Municipal Council in the issues.

#### **Problems and solutions in *Le Droit***

The category of financial argument comes up at two different periods in *Le Droit*, 1985 and 1992-1993. The argument can be attributed quite simply to the fact that proponents of the idea of closing the bars at 1 a.m. in the Hull Municipal Council were discussing the issue openly and even making suggestions to the Quebec National Assembly. This activity scared the bar owners, as they feared a severe loss of

business. Both times, the bar owners organized against such measures and called press conferences to discuss the problem in an economic view.

The image category is interesting to keep in mind when considering *Le Droit's* coverage (or blame) of the bars as the problem, which is generally low, generating a total of 24 mentions in the 15 year period. The bars were seldom blamed outright. But that image of the place was always kept in mind, which means that blame was being attributed, but not clearly. This leads me to postulate that the blame inadvertently fell on the Strip itself; the Strip was presented as the generator of its own problems. That the obvious factor to blame, the bars, is nearly absent shows that *Le Droit* did not try to blame anyone in particular, rather it let readers make up their own minds as to who to blame, relegating it to the "everybody-knows" category.

The discussions featuring solutions in *Le Droit* were quite popular in the mid-eighties and the early nineties, which seems to match the discussions that were going on at the Municipal Council. The mid-eighties were the period of Crime Capital and several solutions were proposed to deal with the problem at that time. The solutions being thrown around were of the repressive kind: close bars earlier, do not give out any more alcohol permits, tow offending cars away. The same cycle of solutions came up again in the early nineties, when *Le Droit's* focus was quite fixated on the bar Strip.

The idea of vocational solutions is much more predominant in the early nineties. At this point in time the feeling is one of exasperation on the part of the Council and the movement that Bonhomme is leading envisions a brand new Strip, bereft of bars. This vision is followed naturally by the question of what will replace the bars.

It is interesting to note that mention of conflict consistently outweighs mention of cooperation: conflict is newsworthy and cooperation is not. Conflict is a big issue in *Le Droit* from 1991 to 1994. These percentages represent mainly complaints against the police (the Brent Francis case), and disagreements within Council, which happened frequently with Claude Bonhomme.

## **Problems and solutions in *The Citizen***

The financial argument stories emerged out of articles in *The Citizen* in 1985 (30%), 1986 (28%) and again in 1992 (30%). These dates coincide with the appearance of the idea to shut the bars down at 1 a.m., which the owners contended would put them out of business, put people out of work and ruin one of downtown Hull's chief sources of income.

*The Citizen* reports a good deal on the debate of the solutions as measures, featuring the discussions over the 1 a.m. proposal of 1985 (57%), the Tassé Report in 1986 (53%), and the Bonhomme Reports and Tolérance Zéro: 1992 (62%), 1993 (57%).

What it almost avoided are the deeper discussions about how to change the vocation of the bar Strip. Only 3% of articles (13 articles) cover the discussion for the whole period. These discussions took place mainly at the Hull Municipal Council and *The Citizen* was not apt to cover such news. The Hull Municipal Council has never been a big source for their regional news.

The conflict category is high in 1983, partly because of the way they framed the Lido story. *The Citizen* presented this story as a conflict between the owner of the strip bar and the Municipal Council and traced the development of the story through the legal system. In nearly all articles both papers set one side against the other, thus highlighting the conflict in the situation.

The last sub-category, cooperation was found to be present in seven articles in *The Citizen* for the whole period. This low number indicates that *The Citizen* is not interested in writing about what can be done (as in solutions: vocation (3%)) to change the Strip in a positive manner. *The Citizen* is much more focused on the conflicts (28%) than on the cooperative efforts to bring real change that may be emerging between actors.

## **Comparison of the coverage of problems and solutions**

As a whole, *Le Droit* covered these issues more than *The Citizen*. This is because of the nature of the issues themselves, in light of each newspaper's regional focus. Writing about problems and solutions means to go beyond the regular run-of-the-mill reporting on events as they happen. This category implies more background and a greater degree of analysis of the situation. *The Citizen* did not invest as much in these articles simply because they are not as interested in seeing a resolution to the problems as *Le Droit* is. *Le Droit's* readers are interested in the news of Hull's Municipal Council, the same way *The Citizen's* readers would be interested in the news of the Ottawa Municipal Council: solutions are more appealing to those living with the problem.

*Le Droit* focused much more on vocational changes and cooperation. These two categories did not fit in *The Citizen's* frame of pointing out the problems on the Strip; the redressing of the situation was not something that interested them at all. For the readers of *Le Droit*, though, after being bombarded with so many stories of troubles in the early nineties, the discussions on vocational changes and positive steps were a necessary antidote to the badness that had been emitted. These articles and this part of the discourse can be seen as a victory symbol for the side of the clean-up.

### **4.6.4 Miscellaneous themes**

This category contains all those themes that did not fit in well with the other themes. The only aspect I have chosen to retain in this discussion is the category of "soft news," as most of the information collected did not yield any interesting information as concerns this thesis.

Soft news and nightlife are both more present in *The Citizen*. This tells us a few things. *The Citizen* was not shy about people having a good time on the Strip. This shows that they were more in tune with the idea of going out and which bars were in and so forth. For the readers of *Le Droit*, what the place represented (crime and

Ontarian invasion) was more important than what it actually was for most people who went there (drinking, dancing, fun times). In this way, the idea of having a good time on the Strip would seem incongruous to a reader of *Le Droit*.

#### **4.7 Actors: who makes the news**

Actors are the people who are in the news. A finer analysis would have considered if the actor involved was being talked about or was being quoted (talked to). This is an important distinction but, unfortunately, one that would have made this analysis much more complicated.

I consolidated the major actor categories into one set of tables. I did this because many of the actors came up only sporadically; the finer divisions I had made proved to give too much detail. The categories of "police" and "municipal" include articles that mentioned any of those actors.

I selected the categories that are the most important in terms of actual involvement with the Strip. One would figure that patrons would fit into this scheme, but they were almost completely left out of the newspapers. Patrons were rarely mentioned or used as a source. The category "bar" represents bar owners, and the category "business" represents business owners other than bar owners or taxi drivers. I also included "Bonhomme" and "Mayor" in this analysis because the differences in the coverages of both are noteworthy.

## Actors in *Le Droit*

Table 7: Actors in *Le Droit*

	articles	municipal	Mayor	Bonhomme	police	bar	residents	business
<b>1980</b>	9	33%	11%	0%	67%	11%	0%	22%
<b>1981</b>	9	44%	22%	0%	78%	56%	<b>33%</b>	22%
<b>1982</b>	8	38%	13%	0%	63%	13%	0%	13%
<b>1983</b>	21	<b>76%</b>	14%	0%	43%	33%	<b>29%</b>	19%
<b>1984</b>	23	<b>78%</b>	<b>48%</b>	4%	43%	17%	<b>17%</b>	22%
<b>1985</b>	46	<b>74%</b>	<b>46%</b>	2%	52%	<b>52%</b>	<b>30%</b>	22%
<b>1986</b>	44	61%	34%	5%	57%	20%	18%	7%
<b>1987</b>	21	43%	19%	0%	<b>81%</b>	19%	5%	0%
<b>1988</b>	58	41%	12%	3%	67%	24%	19%	9%
<b>1989</b>	38	42%	18%	3%	71%	37%	8%	13%
<b>1990</b>	31	23%	0%	0%	<b>81%</b>	29%	3%	6%
<b>1991</b>	75	48%	11%	19%	73%	27%	19%	21%
<b>1992</b>	107	<b>62%</b>	<b>24%</b>	<b>40%</b>	73%	<b>33%</b>	21%	7%
<b>1993</b>	122	<b>57%</b>	18%	26%	53%	<b>34%</b>	16%	16%
<b>1994</b>	70	<b>73%</b>	23%	27%	51%	<b>41%</b>	13%	13%
<b>1995</b>	43	47%	14%	7%	65%	19%	19%	<b>33%</b>
<b>Total</b>	725	<b>56%</b>	21%	16%	<b>63%</b>	31%	17%	14%

The municipal actors represent a voice of authority. They are ultimately responsible for action on the Strip and are expected to legislate rules to re-establish peace and order on the troubled street. They are also, for a large part, elected, and thus directly responsible to the population. Their image in the media is therefore important to them and to their role as politicians. Getting a message across in the way they want is part of their role.

*Le Droit* often went to the Municipal Council for news. This policy is consistent with their regional focus; they want to show the readership what is being done about the bar Strip, decisions made at the level of the Municipal Council. They covered the frequent squabbling of the Municipal Council in the two big periods of their coverage, 1983 to 1985 and 1992 to 1994. In both of these, the Council debated options about restrictive measures, received the deposition of reports and enacted laws aimed at silencing the Strip. *Le Droit* covered this process closely.

The Mayor's appearances in the news fluctuates. Michel Légère was most looked to in the years 1984 and 1985, when Hull was designated the crime capital. The newspaper went to him for answers, and he was happy to respond. The other Mayor for a good part of the period, Réjean Ducharme, did not make the pages of *Le Droit* as often as Légère. He was overshadowed by Claude Bonhomme.

Bonhomme made the pages of *Le Droit* 43 times in 1992, probably as often as Brian Mulroney and more than any other individual in either newspaper for one year. "Bonhomme-mania" peaks in 1992 and slowly subsides.

The police are the most relied upon source by both newspapers. This reliance is linked to the idea that crime is by far the most present theme used in association to the Strip. The police are written about almost every time a crime comes up, and the theme of crime appears in 68% of the total stories. The police often let the reporters know about a particular crime and its details. The police have a privileged relationship with the media. This relationship will be further developed in the chapters to come. What we can see in this section is the pervasiveness of the police as actors in the story of the bar Strip.

In years where crime stood out as a major story, 1987 for instance, or years where no big stories emerged, as in 1990 for instance, mention of the police appears often. The fact that the police are in 63% of *Le Droit's* articles shows that the journalists at *Le Droit* went to them consistently; it also indicates that they went to them especially when there were other stories. The police, then, for *Le Droit*, acted as a consistently available news source; they always had a story, on days when no big news was breaking.

The bar owners and their staff were definitely active players in the story of the Strip. They had a stake in business for profits and also in keeping the image of the bar Strip clean enough so as not to scare customers away. The owners were generally written about sporadically, when they spoke about threats to their livelihood. Especially

in the later years, the threats to their jobs, as presented by the Municipal Council, were overshadowed by the urgency of shutting the Strip down.

Bar owners were well covered in *Le Droit* in 1985, the first time that the Municipal Council threatened to close the bars at 1 a.m. Their perspective was acknowledged and their talk of economic repercussions was a real factor in the coverage of *Le Droit*. Bar owners were covered again in the second big effort to shut the bars down in the early nineties, but this time it was purely on the level of their being prosecuted. *Le Droit* covered the bar owners as they went in front of the Régie to plead their cases, but did not give them much space in the articles as compared to that allocated to Claude Bonhomme.

The resident category came up quite a bit in the early eighties. This was when the Strip was starting to make the news. The first way it made the news in *Le Droit* was through the complaints of residents. Although they did not get much coverage, they did get some space in *Le Droit* and that helped to initiate action at the Municipal Council.

### Actors in *The Citizen*

Table 8: Actors in *The Citizen*

	articles	Municipal	Mayor	Bonhomme	police	Bar	residents	Business
<b>1980</b>	19	74%	16%	0%	53%	11%	21%	37%
<b>1981</b>	32	31%	3%	0%	69%	63%	22%	9 %
<b>1982</b>	18	17%	0%	0%	33%	6%	6%	17%
<b>1983</b>	19	74%	32%	0%	42%	37%	<b>42%</b>	5 %
<b>1984</b>	31	32%	19%	0%	65%	35%	13%	19%
<b>1985</b>	47	64%	<b>36%</b>	0%	<b>83%</b>	<b>47%</b>	21%	17%
<b>1986</b>	32	63%	<b>47%</b>	9%	<b>72%</b>	31%	22%	13%
<b>1987</b>	34	29%	18%	0%	<b>76%</b>	29%	9%	3%
<b>1988</b>	31	48%	29%	0%	58%	<b>45%</b>	3 %	6%
<b>1989</b>	48	29%	10%	0%	69%	15%	8%	6%
<b>1990</b>	19	42%	16%	0%	63%	16%	5%	11%
<b>1991</b>	32	41%	16%	13%	<b>78%</b>	31%	3 %	19%
<b>1992</b>	37	<b>76%</b>	27%	<b>41%</b>	<b>76%</b>	<b>54%</b>	14%	14%
<b>1993</b>	30	<b>70%</b>	13%	<b>33%</b>	53%	30%	20%	17%
<b>1994</b>	11	45%	9%	0%	82%	18%	9 %	18%
<b>1995</b>	3	43%	0%	0%	33%	33%	0 %	<b>33%</b>
<b>Total</b>	443	<b>49%</b>	21%	7%	<b>67%</b>	34%	14%	13%

*The Citizen* utilized municipal actors quite often in their coverage. Mayor Légère made the pages of *The Citizen* often through the period when Hull was being dubbed the crime capital. As a whole, though, his relative importance faded as time went on.

*The Citizen* featured the Hull Municipal Council and their discussions when the heat was turned on: through the Lido incident in 1983, through the crime capital story of 1985-86, and finally in 1992 when they were enacting laws suggested by Claude Bonhomme. *The Citizen* often covered Claude Bonhomme and his plan to clean up the bar Strip. Bonhomme coverage peaks in 1992 in *The Citizen* and then slowly subsides.

*The Citizen* often went to the police as a source of information about the events on the bar Strip: the police appeared in 67% of their articles, two out of three of the total articles. *The Citizen* featured the police especially in the years 1985 to 1987, when the news was Hull's crime capital title. *The Citizen* tried to cover the measures as they were being enacted, not at the theoretical level of the Municipal Council. In 1991 and 1992, the police dominated as a source again, and here that domination is related to the two big stories, the shooting of the dog and the Tolérance Zéro program. *The Citizen* wrote a good deal about the actual police actions: *The Citizen* went straight to the sources when the news about Hull was hot.

The bar owners appeared in *The Citizen* also in two big periods, each time their businesses were threatened by what they saw as an over-zealous Council. They were especially represented in 1992 when they grouped together to oppose Tolérance Zéro and suggested better ways to improve the image and the situation of the bar Strip.

*The Citizen* covered the first complaints by residents of Hull quite thoroughly, by quoting them in 42% of the articles in 1983. Then their relative importance seemed to decline as they were no longer in high demand since the news was being generated through the police and the Municipal Council.

## Comparison of coverage of actors in both newspapers

Table 9: comparison of the coverage of actors

	<b>Municipal</b>	<b>Mayor</b>	<b>Bonhomme</b>	<b>police</b>	<b>Bar</b>	<b>residents</b>	<b>business</b>
<b>1980</b>	-40% <sup>5</sup>	-5%	0%	14%	1%	-21%	-15%
<b>1981</b>	13%	19%	0%	9%	-7%	11%	13%
<b>1982</b>	21%	13%	0%	29%	7%	-6%	-4%
<b>1983</b>	3%	-17%	0%	1%	-4%	<b>-14%</b>	14%
<b>1984</b>	46%	28%	4%	<b>-21%</b>	-18%	4%	2%
<b>1985</b>	10%	9%	2%	<b>-31%</b>	5%	9%	5%
<b>1986</b>	-1%	-13%	-5%	<b>-15%</b>	-11%	-4%	-6%
<b>1987</b>	13%	1%	0%	4%	-10%	-4%	-3%
<b>1988</b>	-7%	-17%	3%	9%	-21%	16%	2%
<b>1989</b>	13%	8%	3%	2%	22%	0%	7%
<b>1990</b>	-20%	<b>-16%</b>	0%	17%	13%	-2%	-4%
<b>1991</b>	7%	<b>-5%</b>	6%	<b>-5%</b>	<b>-5%</b>	16%	12%
<b>1992</b>	<b>-14%</b>	<b>-3%</b>	0%	<b>-3%</b>	<b>-21%</b>	8%	-7%
<b>1993</b>	<b>-13%</b>	5%	-7%	0%	4%	-4%	0%
<b>1994</b>	27%	14%	27%	-30%	23%	4%	-5%
<b>1995</b>	13%	14%	7%	32%	-15%	19%	-1%
<b>Total</b>	<b>7%</b>	0%	<b>9%</b>	<b>-4%</b>	<b>-2%</b>	3%	2%

Overall, *Le Droit* went to the municipal actors more than *The Citizen*, in total 7% more, which is significant. This fact represents their interest in covering the process of shutting the bar Strip down. The Quebec readership was more concerned with the new laws that would affect their space than the readers from Ontario were.

The Mayor was equally present in both newspapers. *The Citizen* went to the Mayor more often than any other municipal actor. Jack Aubry, a reporter for *The Citizen*, told me that Michel Légère tried hard to have good relations with *The Citizen*<sup>5</sup>. Perhaps because of this ease of contact, *The Citizen* went often to the Mayor of Hull and related his side of the story.

<sup>5</sup> The Percentage here is based on the subtraction of one columns' percentages from the others. They do not represent any actual number, just a comparison of fractions.

<sup>6</sup> Personal communication with Jack Aubry, of *The Citizen*, Ottawa, 9/15/1998.

The differences in the coverage of Bonhomme are misleadingly alike when the columns are compared year to year: the rhythm is roughly the same. The total is much more indicative of the reality: Bonhomme was much more present in the pages of *Le Droit* (118 times compared to 32 in *The Citizen*).

The rhythms of the use of police as a source of news are quite different in both newspapers. In this we can read an essentially different attitude about the coverage of Hull. In the slow years, 1990 for example, *Le Droit* went to the police a good deal for news about the Strip, *The Citizen* seemed to go elsewhere altogether. In busy years, through the crime capital affair, for example, *Le Droit* covered the events while giving priority to the perspective of the Municipal Council. Conversely, *The Citizen* went directly to the police to cover the implementation of the new laws. The attitude shown by *Le Droit* is that it wanted to see change; it had already shown how bad the Strip was, and now it wanted to see how the councillors would redress the situation. *The Citizen* simply continued its coverage of the evil of the situation; for the readers of *The Citizen*, this was a much less involved framing, one that was much more simple and one, especially, that showed little hope for change.

Business owners appeared in the later years of the coverage of both newspapers at similar rates. They were most involved with the story of the bar Strip when the talk was of finding a new vocation, of rebuilding the Strip. As a whole though, as the numbers show, the community's business leaders were relatively minor players in the story of the bar Strip as told by the newspapers.

The bar owners were more represented in *The Citizen*. *The Citizen* was more consistent in representing their side of the story, often including them in articles that dealt with the "solutions" that the Municipal Council was imposing. The tone of the two newspapers does not show through these statistics, but each is enormously different. *Le Droit* literally ridiculed every one the bar owner's attempts to make amends after

1990. *The Citizen* reported on them with a distant tone, just as they did the Municipal Council. The point that the bar owners were trying to make about the economics of the situation was legitimized only in *The Citizen*. Especially in the later years, *Le Droit* did not care that layoffs would happen if the bars shut down.

#### **4.8 Sites**

The sites part of the analysis did not give results as plentiful as those obtained in the other two parts of the analysis. All articles were originally selected because of a common site: Hull or the bar Strip. Because of this, the other sites that appeared in these articles only did so as a side note; they were never central to the story and as such are not interesting.

##### **4.8.1 Sites in Hull**

The three different designations for the same area (Hull, the bar Strip or Downtown Hull) are used interchangeably, sometimes in the same article. How the usage of these changed over the years in both newspapers is revealing. The accompanying tables are included in Appendix 2 (Tables A-9, A-10 and A-11).

*The Citizen* used the term "Hull" 10% more than *Le Droit*. They confused the whole with the part: Hull applied to the bar Strip, it applied to the town where the government people had to go work, it applied to the suburbia beyond the downtown core. All of it was the same and was not differentiated.

*Le Droit*, especially as the years went on, differentiated the bar Strip from the rest of Hull, set it apart on its own as it was increasingly the cause of trouble. To associate the Strip with the crimes would contain the bad reputation and prevent it from

being associated to the whole of Hull. In this way, everything that was bad in Hull could be pinned on one site, one that was decreasingly a part of Hull.

#### **4.8.2 Bars as sites**

Each newspaper seems to have favorite bars. *The Citizen* was more apt to write about the Chez Henri, The Bistro, J.R. Dallas and Remy's, whereas *Le Droit* preferred The Lido, Broadstreet, Shalimar, Park Avenue and the Citi Club.

A significant difference in this category is the use of the notifier, "a bar," as in "the fight started at a bar on the Strip." *The Citizen* used this device much more than did *Le Droit*. In general, *Le Droit* was more willing to name wrongdoers, occasionally going so far as printing addresses of people charged with criminal offenses. *The Citizen* was more timid about naming wrongdoers by name. *Le Droit* became more accusatory by adopting this tone.

Both newspapers went to Le Café Quatre Jeudis for comment occasionally. This bar was presented in both newspapers as standing out from the crowd and its owner was portrayed as a voice of reason within a crowd of troublemakers (the bar owners). He was portrayed as someone who had invested in the community, and the bar was portrayed as one that appealed to locals rather than the regular Ontario crowd.

The two biggest newsmakers showed up in both newspapers quite often: The Lido because of the controversy surrounding strip bars and the Chez Henri because of its historical merit. *The Citizen* was more consistent in its coverage of the Chez Henri, which can be attributed to the fact that its readership was likely familiar with the site as it had been around for generations.

The Lido received more attention in *Le Droit* because of regional focus. Everybody was upset about strip bars in 1983. The tendency was to look at the strip bars that were popping up in their own back yards, and that is why The Lido was such

big news to *Le Droit*. It was the first, the only (there was another briefly in 1988) and the last strip bar in Hull.

#### **4.9 Conclusions**

The most important aspect of the coverage that I realized through this analysis is the sheer dominance of a few categories that consistently show up in many articles. In each of the three big domains (themes, actors and sites), there is one particular category that shows up in at least 60% of the articles. These are crime, police and the promenade du Portage. These can be transferred directly into a simple sentence that may capture how many of the readers of newspapers on both sides of the Ottawa thought about the Strip:

ON THE STRIP, THERE IS CRIME AND, THEREFORE, POLICE.

This sentence is a little rough, but so is the newspaper coverage of the site. These three little words capture the essence of much of the coverage of the newspapers. These are the elements that were repeated over and over again and as such, they can be read as the most influential elements of the coverage on the bar Strip on the part of the two papers.

The biggest difference between the two newspapers, in terms of what they actually focused on, is based on their regional focus. *Le Droit* looked much more closely into the process to solve the actual problems. *The Citizen* reported on events as they happened, limiting their input and readings of the significance of particular events. In short, *The Citizen* is less involved with the bar Strip. This difference is especially captured in the tone of the articles, but this tone is not captured in this reading of the articles.

#### **4.9.1 Method and perspectives**

A few of the methodological problems that occurred while undergoing the development of this chapter are discussed in the beginning; these were dealt with as they arose. As a whole, I feel that the results above are sound and accurately represent the net content of the articles.

However, I fear that too much importance is attributed to readings like the one I have done above, as these tend to speak in "hard" numbers which are easy to understand and easy to discern. Unfortunately, they are also easy to confuse and misinterpret. I think that the results above could easily be over-stated, and the results that follow in the next two chapters might be relatively ignored as they are not as grounded in a numerical base.

Although I did gain a certain understanding from looking at the articles in this exhaustive way, I think that what is truly important in the articles, their suggestive value, the way they portray situations and the way they leave out specific information, is not captured by this reading. The systematic content analysis is good for understanding the manifest content of the articles, but it speaks little for their latent content. This process was useful in that the descriptions above are rich and help to complement the rest of the thesis, they help to give it a certain amount of backbone, so to speak. Much more important, though, is the study of the way the words are used, their inflections, rhetorics and tone beyond the strings of journalistic sentences.

In the next chapter I will begin to explore how the themes, actors and sites of these stories are strung together. I will analyze the articles for their meaning beyond the explicit content that was exposed through this analysis.

## **CHAPTER 5: THE DOG, THE "SQUAW," ALLEGATIONS, AND DENIAL**

### **5.1 Introduction**

If the last chapter was about what, who and where, this one is about how these three components of every story are strung with one another. I want to show how two important stories were framed differently by both newspapers by focusing on the tone and flow of their information as well as the use of rhetorical devices. I will use another kind of analysis based on the discourse upon which the media constructions of these events are based. By discourses I mean the frameworks around which concepts, ideas, ideologies about social practices are built (Derek Gregory, in the Dictionary of Human Geography, 1994, 136). The basic method for this chapter was to read the individual articles from each newspaper in a parallel fashion, so as to attain the most obvious base for comparison. The framing of a particular story becomes obvious when it is read beside an article from another newspaper that is based on exactly the same event. I learned to look for the discourses contained in these stories through the inspiration provided by other studies that have dealt with the media and the way they construct events in particular ways (Robinson, 1998; El Yamani & Dupuis, 1997; Burgess, 1985).

El Yamani & Dupuis say that a newspaper should be read with an eye for its underlying ideologies while keeping in mind its journalistic constraints. The idea is to seize what is being said as well as what is implicit in the *mise en scène*. Ideally, the reader will be able to make the links between the textual structures of the article and the cognitive and social structures of their context (El Yamani & Dupuis, 1997, 31). What I looked for were differences in the tone and wording of the articles. Some of the devices through which these differences could be observed are the omission of certain details, the choice of sources of information, the focus on particular points of a story within an article, the displaying of information within the articles, in the titles and use of pictures in the articles. Sometimes authors' perspectives could be discerned through

rhetorical devices such as the twisting of phrases, the choice of adverbs to qualify actions and the choice of words to introduce a particular actor or statement such as "everybody knows," "the facts," or "claims."

The first of these stories is based on the events of January first 1989, the morning Minnie Sutherland was struck by a car. The second event is based on the death of the great dane Cerborus, shot by police officers who were unable to control it, September 1991.

These are the two biggest individual stories that appeared throughout the period I am covering; both made the front pages of the newspapers several times, their developments being closely followed by the Ottawa newspapers. The fact that these stories generated so many articles is the main reason why they were chosen for this analysis: many individual pieces appeared on the same day to cover the same basic event. These articles lend themselves quite well to comparison. In this Chapter I will show how the newspapers, through their different cultural perspectives and interests, used different frames to present the same stories. These articles are indicative of the broader discourse in each newspaper's community as regards the Strip; they represent how the Strip is presented in each community and at the same time they help to reconstitute and reinforce these visions.

## **5.2 Minnie Sutherland: accident or racism?**

In the first few hours of 1989, Minnie Sutherland hit the pavement and cracked her skull after having made contact with a car. She was to die ten days later at the Ottawa General Hospital.

La promenade du Portage as such is not important to this event; it could have happened anywhere. The fact that it did happen on the Strip might have helped to make it a bigger story in that Hull police behavior was questioned. The story is all about

the Hull policemen who (mis)handled Minnie Sutherland. The way the policemen and the allegations against them are presented on each side of the cultural divide is what makes this story so interesting for our purposes. But, the fact that the event did happen on the promenade adds to its development in that the place is already charged with apparent cultural strife. This story may not have been covered as extensively if it had happened somewhere else. More importantly though, it helped to establish the tone in the relationship between the police, the media, and the party-goers.

### **5.2.1 Racism**

*The Citizen* yelled racism right from the start. It went to the victim's family and friends and to Native Alliances as sources of information. It pointed out discrepancies in the cops' version of events. Essentially, it made a big issue of the story, featuring it on their front page six times. *Le Droit* tried its best to down-play the racism issue, which was quite central to *The Citizen's* coverage. *Le Droit* tried to show the inconsistencies in the eye-witness reports. It also put their stories much later in the paper than *The Citizen* did, which would seem contradictory as it was Hull officials who were on trial and this was much a local story. In most articles, *Le Droit* did not even mention the racism issue.

Even as the various trials and proceedings went on, driven by legitimate Native groups, *Le Droit* kept its line of defending the policemen. The third inquiry into the Native woman's death was held by the Quebec Police Commission as mandated by the Bar Association as well as several Native groups. The Commission tried to determine, once and for all, whether the policemen had mishandled the affair. Racism was an important factor in this inquiry as it could have influenced the policemen in their hasty appraisal of the situation. If they had identified Sutherland as a simple drunk because she was Native, they might not have investigated thoroughly.

*Le Droit* systematically ignored the racism issue by focusing solely on the police perspective. One exception is an article of June 6, 1990<sup>1</sup>, in which *Le Droit* focused on racism as that was the subject of the policeman's testimony. In the article only the words of the policeman were used, it did not mention anything about the bigger issue or quote anybody else; *Le Droit* emphasized the policeman's denial that he was racist. He told the court that he did not mean anything bad when he used the word "squaw." The last paragraph of this article has a particular explanatory quality: "Selon moi [policier] le travail ne change pas, que ce soit des Indiens ou des individus de race noire."<sup>2</sup> The policeman probably did not realize his statement could be interpreted as racist. He probably did not see the irony of comparing an Indian to a black person: the comparison says little about the policeman not being racially motivated in his work; it tells us that he considers all minority groups to be on an equal footing.

*Le Droit* began its coverage by publicizing that the police were seeking witnesses<sup>3</sup>. The article of the next day pointed out how they had found the witnesses and that the witnesses' accounts agreed with the policemen's<sup>4</sup>. The article mentioned that an inquiry was taking place to find out if the officers were negligent, but it did not go so far as to mention how or why they might have been negligent. The only source for this article was the police spokesperson, Yves Martel. The first time we ever heard about conflict within accounts was in an article on January 28. On this day, the Minnie story made the first page of *Le Droit* for the first time. In the second article, based around an interview with Georges Erasmus, then the President of The Assembly of First Nations, we heard that native leaders met with eye witnesses and told them that the

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<sup>1</sup> *Le Droit*, 6/6/1990, p.7, "Le policier Vincent nie être raciste", Régis Bouchard

<sup>2</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>3</sup> *Le Droit*, 1/13/1989, p.25, "Deux témoins recherchés," François Gagnon.

<sup>4</sup> *Le Droit*, 3/14/1989, p.10, "Mort suspecte d'une Amérindienne, On n'aurait pas décelé de blessure," François Gagnon.

police version was not the real one<sup>5</sup>. Until then, *Le Droit* had only gone to the police for their information and the reader had been led to believe that there were no inconsistencies in the different accounts of what had actually happened. This theme of the inconsistencies in the different accounts dominated the coverage in *Le Droit*, it belittled the racism issue by classifying it as a detail.

An article on February 23 continued along this line with the title: "Enquête sur la mort de Minnie Sutherland; c'est la controverse"<sup>6</sup>. The controversy spoken of here was not the one *The Citizen* had been writing about (alleged police misconduct and racism) but the fact that witnesses had a different version of the events from that of the police. *Le Droit* did not mention racism or misconduct. This change of emphasis, away from racism, might have caused doubt in the minds of readers and a subsequent belittling of the accusations of racism. Most of the article was devoted to whether Minnie was hit by the car or whether she walked into it (This fact is completely irrelevant to the story and an eye witness could easily have been confused about the point).

This unsettling trend continues with the article the next day<sup>7</sup>, which reported on the testimony of the next witness. This witness' testimony contravened what the police said as well as what the other witnesses said. This contradictory testimony undermined the whole exercise of holding these hearings. Once again, racism is not mentioned.

*Le Droit* preferred to focus on the inconsistencies brought out by the witness and pin these against the other witness' testimony, not the inconsistencies in the policeman's testimony. One would guess that it did this in order to discredit the witnesses themselves, to cast a shadow on their motives and protect the police.

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<sup>5</sup>*Le Droit*, 1/28/1989, p.3, "L'Assemblée des premières nations s'interroge; Des témoignages différent de la version policière," François Gagnon.

<sup>6</sup>*Le Droit*, 2/23/1989, p.3, "Enquête sur la mort de Minnie Sutherland; c'est la controverse" François Gagnon.

<sup>7</sup>*Le Droit*, 2/24/1989, p.4, "Selon le témoin Filion: Minnie Sutherland traitée comme un animal," François Gagnon.

From the start, *The Citizen* put the perspective of Minnie's family front and centre which effectively put a human face on a victim of Hull police brutality. Here are some of the titles it used: "Police deny wrongdoing in fatal mishap"<sup>8</sup>; "Police probe of fatality being disputed"<sup>9</sup>; "Inquest witnesses deny police story"<sup>10</sup>, and "Police refused to call ambulance for 'squaw,' witness tells probe"<sup>11</sup>. These were constructed with the effect of shedding a bad light on the police. Imagine "Police say they did everything correctly" instead of "Police deny wrongdoing in fatal Mishap," or "Witnesses version conflicts with official police account" rather than "Inquest witnesses deny police story." These fictitious substitutions might sound far-fetched, but they show that whoever wrote the headlines had options. By associating the negative part of the title with the police, *The Citizen* was effectively blaming the police and finding them guilty of improper behavior. The content of the articles is as indicated by the titles: they focused on the friends and family's reaction. These people are natives or work with the native community, and for them racism is a daily reality; it has to be central to this issue. Racism, then, was central to the coverage of *The Citizen*. The police were repeatedly identified as the wrongdoers and the ones to be blamed for the death: A quote from Minnie's cousin "We may be Indians but we're not stupid..."<sup>12</sup> epitomizes the coverage. This theme runs through the articles.

When reporting on the second inquest, *The Citizen's* tone was different from that of *Le Droit*. *Le Droit* focused on how the witnesses did not agree with each another and with the police version of events, casting doubt on the witnesses' credibility. It also hardly mentioned the possibility of racism, pushing the idea that Minnie being Indian

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<sup>8</sup> *The Citizen*, 1/25/1989, p.C1, Philip Authier.

<sup>9</sup> *The Citizen*, 1/26/1989, p.D1, Philip Authier.

<sup>10</sup> *The Citizen*, 2/23/1989, p.A1, Mike Blanchfield.

<sup>11</sup> *The Citizen*, 2/24/1989, p.A1, Mike Blanchfield.

<sup>12</sup> *The Citizen*, 1/26/1989, p.D1, "Police probe of fatality being disputed," Philip Authier.

was just an incidental fact that had nothing to do with the whole story. *The Citizen* pinned all evidence against the police, focusing on the inconsistencies in their story, refusing to question the validity of the witnesses' story, taking it for granted that a witness was telling the truth and that the police was not. Here is how one of the witnesses put it: "I can't believe a policeman would tell such a story. Those are not the facts"<sup>13</sup>. This quotation captures the feeling that *The Citizen* tried to attach to the work of the Hull policemen.

The basic difference between the coverage of each newspaper is that *The Citizen* seems to be blaming the police. *Le Droit* was showing the other side, which was trying to clear the police. *The Citizen* emphasized the concept racism, trying to prove that the conclusion of the three inquests was incomplete: the police were racially motivated. *Le Droit* printed few other articles following the death, ignoring the results of the successive inquiries that cleared the police. They preferred to focus on many other small events that marked the year on the Strip. One of these is especially interesting as it relates to racism. Racism was used as a factor to blame for a "Quasi-Émeute" that took place on the Strip<sup>14</sup>. This case, a story never covered by *The Citizen* (riot?), is about a fight that broke out between a black person and a white person and escalated as others jumped into the fray. According to an anonymous witness:

A un moment donné, ils étaient une soixantaine à se battre et à se pousser. Ces problèmes sont fréquents sur la promenade du Portage. Les portiers des bars sont exaspérés par toutes ces tensions raciales.<sup>15</sup>

This is uncharacteristic journalism on the part of *Le Droit* (and the Mayor and police for this article later accused it of sensationalism). Régis Bouchard told me, in an

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<sup>13</sup> *The Citizen*, 2/23/1989, p.A1, "Inquest witnesses deny police story," Mike Blanchfield.

<sup>14</sup> *Le Droit*, 4/18/1989, p.1,3, "La promenade du Portage transformée en champ de bataille,"

Charles Thériault.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibidem*

interview, that the word of bar patrons was rarely used because it was assumed that most of these accounts would be exaggerated<sup>16</sup>. The fact that the witness is not identified, "anonymous" rather than "did-not-want-to-be-named", puts into question the actual existence of this witness. The most important anomaly is the way that racism was used here. Racism was offered for consideration as part of the problem of the bar Strip. This seems to be an almost deliberate attempt to compensate for the belittling of the racism factor in the Sutherland story. Just as with the treatment of the witnesses, *Le Droit* wants to blame the bar clients for all the problems on the Strip, including racism. This is in direct contradiction to *The Citizen*, which is looking to attribute the trouble on the Strip to the Hull police.

These are essentially different views of the two communities. The police are an important symbol in our society: for most people, they are the most obvious element of the judiciary branch of government. The police personify law and order; an individual will see them as important people, a necessary evil or a downright nuisance, depending on how that individual feels about law and order in general. Newspapers, as upholders of the *status quo* and because they rely heavily on institutional perspectives, normally favor their local police force (Tuchman, 1978). They also have a vested interest in saying good things about the police because the police are a major source of news for them (journalists talk to police departments' public relations people on a daily basis).

Crime reporters develop links with a city's police department. They gather news about crime directly from the police, not through criminals or victims. This conversation with police ensures journalists a steady flow of newsworthy information. The contact at the police station is usually a public information officer who controls the flow of

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<sup>16</sup>Personal communication with Régis Bouchard, September 16, 1998, Hull.

information to the media and at the same time promotes a positive image of the organization (Surette, 1998, 63).

Criminal justice agencies and the media are willing to invest substantial resources in maintaining their relationship because there are benefits for both. The police benefit by having crime news reflect their perspectives, presenting themselves as experts on crime and reaffirming police ownership of the crime problem... Crime reporters benefit by having a steady, reliable, credible and flexible source of news that is unlikely to later need retraction or to raise charges of bias. The end result is a reliance on the police for information about crime and crime news that largely reflects official police viewpoints... The main exception is news of police crimes and corruption, although even in police malfeasance stories the media actively seek official police input (Surette, 1998, 64).

In covering these stories, *Le Droit* seemed to follow the industry norm: protect your cops to keep the stories coming. *The Citizen* seemed to reject it wholeheartedly by focusing these stories on the police themselves. In doing this, *The Citizen* discredited Quebec institutions, and, by extension, discredited Quebec itself. It would be incredible to argue that in the days of the mayhem on the Strip in the late eighties that the Police did not occasionally abuse their power, especially considering the attention that was bestowed on the troubled street by the media: individual police officers may have seen it as their duty to clean up the Strip of all its bad elements. It was probably an insult to them that *The Citizen* was criticizing them. *The Citizen* was definitely legitimate in covering the police abuses, after all, that is what journalists are supposed to do: uncover stories that will shock people with the truth. Nobody was shocked because this coverage reinforces the myth of the bad Quebec cop out to "bust" Ontarians. It would be interesting to look into *The Citizen's* treatment of Ottawa police.

One thing is definite: if the police read *Le Droit* and the clients read *The Citizen*, we can see how the representations might have served to heighten the tension between them. *Le Droit* (Francophone reader: Police) consistently blamed "Les Fêtards d'outre-rive" for the trouble and *The Citizen* (Anglophone reader: client) consistently blamed the police. Therefore both sides of this fight were legitimated in resisting the

other by their local media source. A tourist brochure in 1988 destined for university and college students in Ottawa described what students out for a good time in Hull might expect:

Liking to call itself 'the little Chicago of Canada' for decades, the many bars of Hull have provided stewed Ottawans with a dynamic night alternative, as well as a chance for many Ottawa students to come in into contact with the dynamic Quebec law enforcement and justice system. If on an all night bender, the weekend sees most traffic to Hull at 1:00 a.m. when Ottawa's bars close (quoted in Cellard, 1992, 540).

The Police represent the goodness in Quebec to *Le Droit*, and as such cannot be shown in a bad light, especially in their manner of dealing with a criminal element from the other side on the meeting ground of the Strip. *Le Droit* wants to blame racism, along with all the other trouble on the Strip on Anglo-Ontarians, the same way that residents of Hull have been doing it. The message is clear: if there is racism, it is in cases of White Ontarian vs. Black Ontarian. They are racist when they are drunk, which has nothing to do with us or with our forces of law and order (the only decent thing on the forsaken Strip).

*The Citizen* is sending out a different message: French Canadians are racist. This racism is institutionalized through their police force and justified through their justice system that has acquitted the policemen of any wrongdoing. The Strip is a theater for this racism as the tensions there, heightened by alcohol, make people react with the instincts that are closest to them: racism and violence. This is especially true of the police when they are dealing with Ontarians.

### **5.3 Cerborus: Holy Dog!**

The epitome of violent acts that occurred on the bar Strip was the shooting of the dog Cerborus by the police on the night of September 16, 1991. What made this event especially spectacular is that it was caught on videotape by a television journalist and

broadcast around the world. This event was, at the time, seen as the biggest thing to happen to Hull since the federal government decided to demolish Hull's downtown.

Here again, the story is treated differently by both newspapers. Journalists at *Le Droit* were not as systematic in protecting the police as they had been in the Minnie Sutherland case. The airing of the episode on television made some facts about the matter quite clear and thus prevented the journalists from backing the police as strongly as they had in the Sutherland case.

The coverage in *The Citizen* was blatantly against the police. It asked: how can this be? How can Hull cops have so much power? How can they be allowed to abuse their power and get away with it?

Interesting aspects were brought up in *Le Droit*, which served to divert the attention from the dog and put the debate into a broader perspective. Several people, Murray Maltais (the editorialist<sup>17</sup>), Logement Occupe (a resident's group<sup>18</sup>), and a concerned reader<sup>19</sup> brought up the idea that this was indicative of the level of violence in our society and on the Strip especially. The Mayor reacted by having a press conference to congratulate other policemen on work they did. It was obvious what he was saying: the police are doing a great job, the life of a dog is not important<sup>20</sup>. *Le Droit* seemed to follow his lead, coming to the conclusion that the events of the night were indicative of the mayhem that went on on the Strip and that therefore the officers were not to blame, they should even be encouraged. The fault is to be put on the Strip or the Municipal Council: the broader situation has driven the police to violence.

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<sup>17</sup> *Le Droit*, 9/19/1991, p.20, "Incident déplorable," Murray Maltais.

<sup>18</sup> *Le Droit*, 9/21/1991, p.11, "Chien abattu: Logemen' Occupe blâme les autorités politiques," Paul Gaboury.

<sup>19</sup> *Le Droit*, 9/25/1991, p.40, "Un sentiment de frustration," Delphine Racine (Courier des lecteurs).

<sup>20</sup> *Le Droit*, 9/24/1991, p.5, "Chien abattu sur la promenade du Portage: Légère dénonce l'attitude des médias," Paul Gaboury.

*Le Droit* turned the dog incident into a rallying cry for necessary action. In *The Citizen*, the story was less dynamic, but more accusatory: this is so horrible, look what is happening down there, those people have gone mad, the Strip is a true war zone.

Jack Aubry, a reporter for *The Citizen*, told me that anything to do with pets really sold newspapers<sup>21</sup>. Perhaps that is why *The Citizen* did not try to make larger inferences as to the situation in general and looked mainly at the actual event. Maybe the pet factor is also the reason that the story managed to make it around the world. *The Citizen* put much more emphasis on this story than they would have a regular murder for three reasons: the police were the killers, dogs sell newspapers and the incident was shown on television.

### **5.3.1 One event, two stories**

There are many similarities between this story and the Sutherland story in the way each newspaper covered them: *Le Droit* protected the police, *The Citizen* tried to blame them. The essential difference is in the basic issue: racism for the Sutherland story, abuse of power for the dog story. This story was seen as indicative of a broader problem of violence on the Strip or within our society. The way each newspaper dealt with the violence issue, though, is strikingly different.

The same pattern can be discerned as with the Sutherland story: *The Citizen* is quick to blame the cops, inadvertently, through their use of quotations and sources. Here is the first article that appeared:

Brent Francis can't recall much of what happened Monday when Hull police fired 14 shots into his great dane in the middle of a downtown street. He remembers five shots. Then he was confined, screaming, to a police van. His efforts to get out to protect his dog sent the van rocking back and forth on its wheels. Witnesses said about 80 people panicked and

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<sup>21</sup> Personal communication with Jack Aubry, September 15, 1998. Ottawa.

began running and screaming when two officers opened fire on the animal in front of a bar on Promenade du Portage at about 1 a.m.<sup>22</sup>

The first description came from Brent Francis. He is shown as innocent, as not knowing what is going on at all, bewildered. In the first sentence, the policemen are guilty of doing something bad: shots in the middle of a downtown street. That the police felt threatened is never mentioned, their behavior is not justified. This sets the tone for the way the whole story was handled.

The dog tried to run, but only made it a few feet before falling in a heap in front of Citi Club, formerly Chez Henri. It continued to make feeble attempts to get up.<sup>23</sup>

Here the dog is shown as the innocent victim. Like a fallen hero, he tries to get up, only to be shot again by the police who do not show mercy.

Members of the crowd begged police to finish the animal off. Another police officer arrived and killed him with a single shotgun blast to the head. "It was ugly," said Hull bartender Paul Symes, who witnessed the event when he went out to buy gum and a newspaper. "It's hard to put into words how ugly this was. "The remarkable thing is that no one was injured. These policemen were shooting at a moving animal at night on a crowded street."<sup>24</sup>

Here again, brutality is reinforced, the police are shooting on a busy street, they put *other* innocent people at risk. The first quotation is from a witness, definitely not police, who describes the police's actions as ugly. The word is used twice.

Hull police Sgt. Yves Martel said the dog became difficult to control when Francis was arrested after an argument with police. Two officers had asked Francis to leash his dog, which Martel said was scaring pedestrians. Francis complied. But minutes later, he later dropped the leash as police walked by again, Martel said. Francis admits he swore at the policeman who asked him to leash his dog, but he did comply with the order.<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>22</sup>*The Citizen*, 9/17/1991, p.B1, "Great Dane owner still in a daze after police gun down dog in front of Hull crowd," Francine Dube.

<sup>23</sup>*Ibidem*

<sup>24</sup>*Ibidem*

<sup>25</sup>*Ibidem*

Here we get the police's version through their official spokesperson, but it does not carry much credibility as it is contrasted side by side with the owners version of events. The repetition of the word "comply" as describing the actions of Francis undermines the fact that he argued and swore at the police, facts that could easily have been used to allege that Francis deserved what was coming to him.

He says he has no idea why police arrived with a van to arrest him. "They were trying to put him in the paddy wagon with me," said Francis, a 26-year-old Ottawa car jockey. "My dog wouldn't get in, he was growling. He was protecting me." Martel said the dog gripped the arm of one of the officers in his jaws, but no officer had to be treated for bites. "The dog started to be dangerous," said Martel. "He tried to bite an officer, he tried to attack. The officer . . . couldn't control the dog. "It's hard to kill a dog of that size with a handgun," Martel said, explaining why so many shots were fired. "If you want to kill with a handgun you have to hit vital parts of the body and the dog was in movement." He said the two officers reported that they fired in the direction of a brick wall and pedestrians were not at risk. He said an internal investigation is being conducted into the behavior of the three officers who fired shots, as is the case whenever a shot is fired by a police officer in public.<sup>26</sup>

The police perspective is presented here and shows highly selective editing on the part of the journalist. At first, the police officers are shown as incompetent because they could not control the dog. Then they are shown as exaggerators because no police officer was taken to the hospital for dog bites. Finally, much information about the actual shooting is provided and this helps to portray the police as gun-happy. The police version is given in a matter-of-fact style, which makes them sound like cold-hearted hunters. The last interesting thing about this part is that every sentence is punctuated with "he said" or "Martel said" which makes the police spokesman sound no more legitimate than any other witness. *Le Droit*, in contrast, printed the police's official version as fact, not using quotation marks or identifying the speaker, blending it smoothly into the text. *The Citizen* puts into question this "official" version by attaching a human voice to it and therefore making it sound fallible.

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<sup>26</sup> *Ibidem*

Francis said his dog was gentle, and accustomed to crowds. Minutes before his arrest, pedestrians had stopped to pet the animal, Francis said.<sup>27</sup>

This passage reinforces the idea of the dog as an innocent victim, especially as a victim that you can like: who does not like a Marmaduke?

After the dog was killed, said Symes, the crowd returned to berate the police officers. He said that by the time the incident ended, there were about 15 officers on the scene. "It was shocking. Anyone who had the courage to object they pulled out of the crowd and put into a police van," said Symes. Neill Roberts, 28, said he was arrested, and charged with disturbing the peace after people beside him yelled obscenities at the policemen. Martel said only two people were arrested, and only one woman was charged, after she hit a police officer. Francis was not charged with anything.<sup>28</sup>

Here the police are presented as brutal; they will arrest anyone who questions their judgment. They are quick to arrest and to bring the strong hand of authority onto anyone who gives them trouble. The fact that Francis was not charged with anything puts the police into a bad light because it completely de-legitimizes the reason the dog might have been shot in the first place. If they did not lay any charges, why did they put Francis into the police van? The legitimate sounding actors in the preceding passage are the bystanders who verbally objected. They are shown as reasonable because they are taking the same stance as this newspaper (questioning the police action) and what do the cops do to the voice of reason: arrest it.

"It was unnecessary to shoot that dog. It hadn't attacked anybody," said Tim Kohout, 28, of Orleans. "I know police are going to say he posed a threat, but I could have dealt with that dog . . . I've never seen anything more cold-blooded." Dawn Francis looks after five pre-schoolers in a day care upstairs from her son's apartment. She said her son's great dane was always gentle with them. Francis said he bought the dog about a year ago. Cerborus was registered and a champion, said Francis. He was also a companion. "It's a living animal that someone cares for and raises and they have the power to shoot it? "I don't want them to get away with it."<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>27</sup> *Ibidem*

<sup>28</sup> *Ibidem*

<sup>29</sup> *Ibidem*

*The Citizen* pursues this line of argument throughout their coverage of the story: they consistently blame the police and represent them as trigger-happy savages, they portray the dog as the innocent by-stander and Brent Francis as a victim of police brutality.

*Le Droit* handled this story completely differently. On the day the story broke they printed two articles, side to side, these articles are included in Annex Three. One was from the police's perspective (came first, had a bigger headline, and was a few paragraphs longer) under the headline "Les Policiers ont dû tirer 14 balles; La mort d'un chien suscite une enquête<sup>30</sup>." The other is from Brent Francis' perspective under the smaller headline: "Ils n'avaient pas *Le Droit* de tuer mon chien<sup>31</sup>." By splitting the story into two articles, the journalist avoided positioning himself or his newspaper as to favouring one side or the other, or so it would seem.

The first article presents the police side of events: Régis Bouchard used the police spokesman Yves Martel as the perspective from which to tell the cops' side. The police side comes out as much more legitimate than it did in *The Citizen*. "Les faits" is used in conjunction with the police version. The inquiry into the event launched by the police themselves is explained away as routine because there always has to be one whenever an officer pulls out his gun in public. This explanation undermines the importance of the event, especially as this fairly unimportant fact takes up the first two paragraphs. The policeman's words are put in quotation marks in the third paragraph. He is saying that the policemen "Ont agi en fonction de la menace immédiate et avec les moyens qu'ils avaient à ce moment<sup>32</sup>." The fourth paragraph is used to justify why the journalist does not use quotation marks for the rest of the telling of the story (which

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<sup>30</sup> *Le Droit*, 9/18/1991, p.10, Régis Bouchard.

<sup>31</sup> *Le Droit*, 9/18/1991, p.11, Régis Bouchard.

<sup>32</sup> *Le Droit*, 9/18/1991, p.10, Régis Bouchard.

has not been told yet): "Voici les *faits* [my emphasis] tel que relatés par la police de Hull<sup>33</sup>." The story as experienced by witnesses or by Brent Francis is never published in *Le Droit*, the only version the reader gets is the police version. This article presents only the police version of events, therefore, this is the legitimate version of what happened, there is no room left to question the actions of the police.

The title also puts into question the importance of the dog in the event. It legitimizes the police position: "Les policiers ont dû tirer"<sup>34</sup>: they *had* to shoot, they did not have a choice. This statement contrasts nicely with the article on the opposite page which quotes Francis saying, "Ils n'avaient pas *Le Droit* de tuer mon chien"<sup>35</sup>." These two headlines, set against one another, serve to legitimize the police position: the police had to shoot the dog (because they were threatened) versus they did not have the right to shoot my dog (If the police are threatened, they have the right to shoot anything).

The police side leaves some questions unanswered for the discerning reader. The dog, here, only attempted to bite the agent. The fact that the agent was having difficulty controlling the animal and felt threatened was enough to justify shooting it. In terms of the shots fired, these are pointed out from the start as somewhat excessive, but the sergeant explains that it was because the target was moving. The bystanders, according to this story, moved in to see what was happening and thereby put themselves at risk (therefore they are to blame for the harm that might have come to them if a bullet had gone astray). It sounds here as though the journalist is searching hard for ways to make the police actions sound legitimate.

In the article on facing page, the journalist is quick to switch the perspective from that of Francis to the SPCA, who have apparently allied themselves to Francis. The

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<sup>33</sup> *Ibidem*

<sup>34</sup> *Ibidem*

<sup>35</sup> *Le Droit*, 9/18/1989, p.11, Régis Bouchard

focus of the article is the lack of a link between the Hull police and the service. The officers do not have the training to deal with dogs. This is all contradicted by the last line of the previous article in which the police sergeant says that a closer link with the animal people would have made no difference as the danger was immediate.

The blame is ultimately laid on the City by the person speaking on behalf of the SPCA, as she puts it: "...le blâme ne doit pas être jeté uniquement sur les policiers, mais également sur la Ville, à qui nous avons fait des offres de services à plusieurs reprises..."<sup>36</sup> The title of the article hints about the rights of policemen to shoot living creatures; the idea of "rights," though, is never brought up in the article itself. Although the format chosen by *Le Droit* to introduce the story might seem objective, upon closer inspection it becomes clear that the articles favor the police's side of events.

The next day, the story made the front page of *Le Droit*. What made the front page was not so much the story itself as the story about the story. The event made worldwide news because it was caught on videotape. The story the next day was about how the police are bogged down by complaints. The newspaper here was saying that world is crazy because they are overly concerned about the death of a dog; the idea of police brutality, an innocent animal and fourteen bullets have been put aside. On the cover of the newspaper was a frustrated Yves Martel on the telephone; he was saying that people are even using the emergency lines to complain. The implication was that the world was over-reacting. The headline was "La Mort d'un chien désorganise la sûreté de Hull: Le téléphone ne déroutit pas"<sup>37</sup>.

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<sup>36</sup> *Ibidem*

<sup>37</sup> *Le Droit*, 9/19/1991, p.1, Régis Bouchard.

The articles in *Le Droit* in the next few days were especially interesting. Murray Maltais wrote in an editorial that the force used by the police was excessive and that their actions were deplorable. Maltais pointed out that all the blame could not be attributed to one side but that the police should be able to justify their actions as they are accountable to the public. He repeated that their actions were deplorable. He said that

L'incident ternit malheureusement l'excellente réputation de la police de Hull qui, il importe de le reconnaître, accomplit chaque nuit et spécialement les fins de semaine un travail remarquable dans un quartier qui, la nuit venue, devient socialement insalubre<sup>38</sup>.

He wrote that the police were out of line but in the end made it sound like an isolated event. Isolated events can be forgiven if we consider the excellent work they are doing on the sinful Strip. He, just like Bouchard, suggests that the solution might lie in better ties for the City of Hull with the SPCA. He was unwilling to suggest that the officers should be penalized.

*Le Droit* also tried to distance the police from their action of shooting the dog. Consider this sentence, the first in an article: "Les policiers impliqués dans l'incident qui s'est soldé par la mise à mort d'un chien sur la promenade du Portage à Hull font actuellement l'objet d'aucune mesure disciplinaire<sup>39</sup>." The journalist, by twisting this sentence around and bringing the subject so far away from the action, is disassociating the police from the shooting (l'incident qui s'est soldé par la mise à mort d'un chien) and inadvertently trying to protect them. My point becomes more obvious when compared to the construction used by *The Citizen* to describe the same thing: "Officers who shot dog may face charges<sup>40</sup>." *The Citizen* chose a much more direct and accusatory rhetoric.

The real change in the coverage of *Le Droit* occurs a few days later with an article that puts a whole new twist on the story, the idea that we can blame La

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<sup>38</sup> *Le Droit*, 9/19/1991, p.20, "Incident déplorable," Murray Maltais.

<sup>39</sup> *Le Droit*, 9/19/1991, p.4, "Aucune réprimande pour les policiers," Régis Bouchard.

<sup>40</sup> *The Citizen*, 9/19/1991, p.C2, Francine Dube.

Promenade itself rather than the cops: the problem is the atmosphere of violence<sup>41</sup>. A housing activists says that blame ought to be laid on the municipal authorities for not having acted fast enough to clean up the Strip, for having been too tolerant for too long.

Here is how the activist explains the anarchical atmosphere of the Strip:

L'envahissement de l'île de Hull par du monde de l'extérieur en quête de sensations est une conséquence inévitable de la prolifération de débits de boisson. Tant et aussi longtemps que cette situation ne changera pas, la tolérance policière sera mise à l'épreuve et les problèmes vont demeurer<sup>42</sup>.

This seems perfect for everybody: do not blame the cops, blame the ruling climate of the place, and then work on cleaning that up. Which is exactly how it happened - the next weekend was the introduction of Tolérance Zéro.

The articles that appeared in the next few days further pushed the legitimacy of the police by de-legitimizing the "dog people." *Le Droit's* coverage of a protest in front of the Hull police station<sup>43</sup> barely mentioned the meaning of the protest but rather focused on the internal splits within the protesters: some, apparently, were not happy to have Brent Francis show up for the protest as he had not been a part of the people who had asked for the permit to protest. This is a frivolity but *Le Droit* used it to destroy the credibility of the protesters by portraying them as disunited.

The last article in *Le Droit* that concerns the dog focused on the Mayor, Michel Légère. Légère held a press conference in order to talk about the bravery of three police officers injured arresting a man. He did this to try to put the dog story in a certain context by saying that a police officer getting hurt should be bigger news than a dog dying. The title of the article is "Chien abattu sur la promenade du Portage: Légère

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<sup>41</sup>*Le Droit*, 9/21/1991, p.11, "Chien Abattu; Logemen' Occupe blame les autorités politiques," Paul Gaboury.

<sup>42</sup>*Ibidem*.

<sup>43</sup>*Le Droit*, 9/23/1991, p.1,4, "Des manifestants pour les droits des animaux frappent un os," Joël-Denis Bellavance.

dénonce l'attitude des médias"<sup>44</sup>. Légère talks of how human life is more important than dog life and he wished that the media would focus on the good work of his cops. This article undermined the media as a whole, but not really *Le Droit*, as they had hardly talked about the dog itself and barely questioned the behavior of the cops.

The article of the same day in *The Citizen*<sup>45</sup> was quite different. The first two thirds of the story about the Mayor's press conference were dedicated to retelling the original story of the shooting and focused on the fact that the Hull police force was not going to discipline its men. The article served to contradict everything the Mayor was trying to get across and in the end served to make him look foolish. The Mayor's blame on the media for elevating the incident did not come up until the end of the article. This destroyed the Mayor's purpose in holding the conference; he was trying to change the focus of the media attention and to show them that they had been taking this story too seriously.

To recapitulate, the differences in the perspectives of the newspapers as concerns the dog story are important in the way that they deal with violence on the Strip. *The Citizen* blamed the police for the violence on the bar Strip. *Le Droit* sought broader explanations for the violence. They tried to protect the police and explained their actions as symptomatic of the site itself. The site, its bars, and the lack of action on the part of the Municipal Council are ultimately blamed for the unfortunate incident.

By the end of September, the noise created by this event had subsided and by October, *Le Droit* was definitely twisting it around to show how the problem was the Strip and that the Strip needed a clean up, it needed Claude Bonhomme. An editorial on September 30<sup>46</sup> theorized that people are moved by their emotions too much: they

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<sup>44</sup> *Le Droit*, 9/24/1991, p.5, Paul Gaboury.

<sup>45</sup> *The Citizen*, 9/24/1991, p.B1, "Hull clears officers who shot dog," Francine Dube.

<sup>46</sup> *Le Droit*, 9/30/1991, p.18, "On se trompe de scandale," editorial by Murray Maltais.

are looking at the effect (the dog) and not the cause (rowdiness and criminality). The real scandal is people's behavior on the Strip, the real scandal is that Hull's moral reputation has been soiled, the real scandal is that residents cannot sleep, the real scandal is that the situation does not change. Maltais has set the stage for Claude Bonhomme to come in with the answers to the real scandal. As we will see in the coming Chapter, Bonhomme responded to the challenge.

#### **5.4 Conclusion**

The two newspapers represented the Minnie Sutherland and the dog situations quite differently: *The Citizen* blamed the Hull police and *Le Droit* seemed to be trying to protect them. These are different stances and they reflect the stereotypes that appeal to the community that each newspaper is trying to sell to.

Their reconstructions of the events are most easily differentiated by looking for what was left out. *Le Droit* barely mentioned racism throughout their coverage of the Sutherland story; in the Dog story they changed the focus of the incident from questionable police behavior to a bigger reflection on the Strip situation as a whole.

*The Citizen* was more thorough in its coverage of the Sutherland case, and quick to blame the police, as they were in the dog story. *The Citizen* also privileged witness's accounts of stories; it did its best to help prove police guilt. *The Citizen* left out all credible sounding police accounts. The police versions of the story come later in the articles, after other witnesses had criticized the police for almost the full length of the articles. Printing the police versions of events and explanations at this point makes the police look uncertain, they seem to be lying to protect their own.

*Le Droit* systematically discredited the people accusing the police of wrongdoing by showing them to be disunited in their testimony (in the Minnie Sutherland case) or in their protest (in the dog case). By doing this, they amplify and legitimize the police

version of events as the right one because the police are the ones who sound united, strong, and true.

*The Citizen* repeated the main lines of each story in almost each and every article. This might be a journalistic convention in that the context is re-established just to help the reader remember, but *Le Droit* did not do it. If it is not a journalistic convention, then it would seem that *The Citizen* was doing it to add effect, to emphasize the events as it saw them: making them sound important and pointing to bad police behavior. In this way, *The Citizen* gets to repeat the structure within which they have framed the news. *Le Droit* gains a certain amount of flexibility in retelling and re-developing the story by not repeating it in every article. This way, they can adjust their frame freely, completely re-building the story and re-inventing its significance as need arises. This is what happened in the coverage of the dog story. The fact that the actual event of the story had not been hammered into the readers' heads made it easier for *Le Droit* to change the focus from the policemen as the aggressors to the Strip as desperately needing reform.

The following table details the broad lines of the stories and their depiction in both newspapers:

Table 10: the main points of the two stories.

<b>Coverage of:</b>	<b><i>Le Droit</i></b>	<b><i>The Citizen</i></b>
Dominant sources	Police	Witnesses/victim/police
Main issue: Minnie Sutherland	Conflict between witnesses	Racism
Main issue: Dog	Climate of violence on the Strip	Police violence
Police	Heroes who might make mistakes	Racist and violent
Witnesses	No credibility	Courage to question police
Minnie Sutherland	Drunk Native	Innocent Native
Cerborus	Unfortunate victim of larger problem	Unfortunate victim of police brutality
Brent Francis (Dog Owner)	At fault	Victim of over-zealous police
Dog story conclusion	Police action justified by courts	Police in the wrong, fight goes on in courts

Several conclusions can be inferred from the in-depth readings of these two stories. The spatial representations both reflect and reinforce the stereotypes of how each community thinks of the other. Although not referred to explicitly, the subtext that makes these representations understandable could be read as follows: both newspapers represent the bar Strip as a place of conflict, as a place full of problems. *The Citizen* makes the situation seem irredeemable by inadvertently blaming what is wrong on a public institution: the police. *The Citizen* makes the Strip sound as if nothing has changed; Hull is the same run down town that your grandparents visited, open for a good time as long as you watch out for the police. They are the only ones standing in the way of this Ontarian free-for-all. The words I have chosen to represent *The Citizen's*

coverage might make the Strip sound like a lost situation, but to the Ontarian, these words sound like business as usual in that they see the bar Strip as symptomatic of an essentially economic relationship between Ontario and Quebec. In this relationship, Quebec profits from Ontario's need to have a good time by opening itself up with more liberal laws. Sometimes this relationship, as seen by Ontario, deeply insults the Québécois.

*Le Droit* adds through their coverage a sense of urgency through the idea that this place is hurting "us." There is the sense that the bar Strip is something that needs to be "solved." The death of Minnie Sutherland and of the dog are both blamed on the chaos that rules on the bar Strip and, ultimately, on the visiting irresponsible Ontarians. *Le Droit* makes the Strip's rebels look as bad as possible. It does this by making it sound as if the police are being pushed to their wit's end: this justifies their unfortunate mistakes. If the police cannot handle the situation anymore then there is something desperately wrong, something needs to be done quickly. Most of the information that *Le Droit* published was retrieved from police sources. The sense of urgency in the conclusion of the stories makes it sound as though the police are the ones who are trying to put pressure on the Municipal Council to once and for all do something about the Strip.

Hull and the Outaouais region might suffer from an inferiority complex because of the power relationship between Ontario and Quebec. Even though it is a part of Quebec (with its own customs), the Outaouais has many more links with Ottawa than with any part of Quebec and as such is dependent on Ottawa for its economic well being. This relationship has existed since Queen Victoria decided Ottawa should be Canada's capital. This relationship also creates a tension that is perceived differently on either side. These tensions are re-established by the medias' coverage of places where

the cultures meet. These tensions are reinforced by the way in which each province's ambassador's (the police and the partyers) is covered by each community's newspaper.

These residual tensions are over-emphasized by the media. People cross from Quebec to Ontario and from Ontario to Quebec by the thousands every single day. The Outaouais region is extremely rich (culturally) precisely because people from different cultures interact and know each other and thereby discover that they can get along. Stories of cooperation do not sell newspapers though. What the police are doing in a place without rules is much more interesting, even though it reinforces the worst stereotypes that the cultural groups have of one another.

## **CHAPTER 6: THE GOOD, THE BAD AND THE (UGLY) BAR STRIP**

It is neither kind nor fair, but, generally speaking, Hull is not considered a desirable neighborhood. For people living on the Ontario side, it is either an all-night party, a scruffy small town, or an unwelcome daily commute. It is known for its brutal police force, regular street brawls and corner stores that sell booze until all hours.<sup>1</sup>

### **6.1 Introduction**

In the last chapter we saw how the newspapers portrayed two specific events, how they both chose a certain perspective and kept their coverage within an original focus. In this Chapter I will show how the newspapers contributed to the myth of the bar Strip. I will look closely into the portrayals of two specific individuals at the height of the coverage as well as into some of the images used to describe the bar Strip. I will specifically look into how the newspapers developed the myth of the bar Strip and how good and evil were personified in two actors. This chapter is not so much about comparing the coverage of the two newspapers as it is about showing how the myth of the bar Strip was developed through certain personalities, especially in *Le Droit*. The actors represent the protagonist and the antagonist: a righteous municipal politician and the owner of a seedy bar.

These stories happened in the early nineties, at the height of the frenzy on the bar Strip. As the years had passed, more and more stories were being printed in both newspapers and the Strip was ever popular with Ottawa's drinking crowd. The complaints that had been addressed to the politicians since the mid-eighties were still not being addressed; the solutions to the "problem" of the Strip still had not been found.

In this atmosphere, the "problem" was developed by the newspapers through the use of strong images that helped to enliven the discourse, that helped to rekindle the myth of the bar Strip. An urban legend needs powerful images. The newspapers helped to publicize the politicians and police who compared the Strip to a chaotic zoo, its

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<sup>1</sup>*The Citizen*, 12/5/1992, p.F2, "Mayoral hopefuls united in defending Hull police," Susan Riley.

patrons to uncivilized animals. *Le Droit* often quoted Claude Bonhomme in his use of war images to describe the work he was doing on the Strip. It adopted the images themselves to describe the police's weekly attempts at controlling the masses.

Metaphors are used by newspapers to help the reader understand a situation by comparing it to something it is not. In this way, the Strip was explained to be "as a zoo." When these metaphors are used extensively and repeated, they take on a different status and become embedded in the minds of readers as truth. In the same way that comparing a city to a living organism has been used extensively so that now it can be seen as truth, the city *is* an organism (Langer, 1984). The bar Strip's own metaphors took on a bigger meaning. Through this process the bar Strip was no longer perceived to be as a zoo; it actually was a zoo.

What happened here is that the newspapers, in trying to make the troubles and the solutions of the bar Strip more tangible, attached these to specific personalities. The solutions were personified in Claude Bonhomme, a Municipal Councillor from a suburban riding. He would lead the fight to bring the Strip back under control, to give it back to the people, to "clean" it. Bonhomme became an authority on every subject related to the bar Strip, his opinion became a part of every article that appeared in *Le Droit* and had something to do with the bar Strip. In the quantitative analysis of Chapter Four, I showed that Bonhomme was present in no less than 43 of the articles that were printed in *Le Droit* in 1992 that had something to do with the bar Strip.

The evil twin I have chosen represents a blatant case of over-representation, over-zealousness by the media to attach some crimes to an individual, to make him guilty of all the world's evils. Flint Kaya, a bar owner, was found guilty by the media before he ever went to trial. Eventually a higher court ruled in his favor, finding that his trial had not been conducted fairly. Blame fits into the whole image of the bar Strip: a troubled place, run by hoodlums, guilty of every known seedy crime. The myth of the

Strip needed these sorts of characters in order to be made real. The evil became “more” real if it could be associated with specific people rather than just the place itself.

Roland Barthes (1957) looked at certain features of everyday life experience and explained how meaning is attributed to these. As a meaning is accepted and used more often, it is taken as matter-of-fact, common sense, few will question it. This is how stereotypes are naturalized; a sign becomes attached to meaning, it becomes attached to other signs, gathers even more meaning and finally becomes attached to a myth. A contingent association eventually becomes a natural one.

Burgess (1985) used the concept of myth to demonstrate that as an event is taken out of the reality and elevated, the actual truth becomes unimportant; the truth is superseded by drama. Myths, based on distant events, are exaggerated for dramatic effect. Burgess saw this as happening to the inner-city: "The myth removes the places and the people who live in them to a grey, shabby, derelict, poverty-ridden fairy-tale land which can be conveniently ignored because it has no reality" (Burgess, 1985, 223). This process elevates what might be questionable into a taken-for-granted reality; it naturalizes the images of the myth, it makes the knowledge of that myth something “everybody knows.”

In the case of the myth of the Strip, we see the newspapers accept and reconfirm an order that has been established. There is a fight on the Strip: it is natural, it is the Strip... The police are brutal to the patrons: how do you expect them to behave? It is the Strip and they must address its problems. In this way the contingent gets to be transformed into necessity, the unusual becomes reality, the expected. The media might help to speed up this process by publicizing the myth through the use of themes and images that they associate with a place: this is what happened in the case of the bar Strip.

## **6.2 Images and metaphors: chaotic zoo and sanitary soldiers**

The coverage of this period (1991-1993) is characterized by strong words and images used to describe the situation on the bar Strip. As if trying to justify the Council's new approach of "Tolérance Zéro," the newspapers turn up the heat that surrounds the mystique of the Strip by making it sound like a true inferno.

Myths are nourished by this type of language, they are accelerated by it. For instance, "Faune Nocturne" is used frequently by all sorts of people to talk about all sorts of night life. It seems relatively harmless in and of itself, but when it is continually attached to a place, it will set a seed in the perceiver's mind that will attach the particular place with "faune," the animal kingdom.

To think of places with the help of metaphors, comparing them to something they are not, for instance, to think of politics as a baseball game normalizes and simplifies complex systems. It renders them explainable to us. If these are over-used, though, they adopt a status beyond analogy, they develop an air of reality from which explanations and justifications can be sought.

One of the most frequently used metaphors was Claude Bonhomme's "nettoyage." This alleges much more than brooms and mops, it is used to infer that all is dirty on the Strip: fights, alcohol, rowdiness, vandalism, violence, drugs, prostitution, sex shops, etc... It also means that the job of pushing all that is nasty aside is not complicated, it is simply a matter of, like garbage, displacing it. All the dust will be swept away into the Ottawa River. Claude Bonhomme is the one holding the disinfectant - he is not afraid to use strong words to describe the scene, unlike most of the people representing the City of Hull.

Consequently, the media, especially *Le Droit*, turn to him often. If the images below have a broad range of sources, Claude Bonhomme is the one who established the tone by sending out vivid images to the media. He opened the door to justified

verbal attacks on the situation. Once these were established, the journalists used these images freely themselves. The images were gaining acceptance within the collective impression of the Strip, the myth was getting to be pushed into the realm of reality.

There are two big groups for the analogies. There are those that describe the behavior of patrons or atmosphere of the place; most of these have to do with animals or with chaos. The other set are those that describe the actions of the Council and the police as those that will clean it up, most of these are war analogies.

### **6.2.1 The metaphorical Strip: chaos, jungle, animals**

- "Faune Nocturne" <sup>2</sup>;
- "Un zoo la nuit...à Hull" <sup>3</sup>;

Comparing the clientele of the bar Strip to animals is used in *Le Droit*. It shows them to be savage and out of control, with no respect for common human civilization. They are like animals let out of the cage, they are not to be trusted and must be treated harshly, in order to be tamed and put back into their cage (Ontario).

- un "remède de cheval" <sup>4</sup>;
- "prendre le taureau par les cornes pour mettre fin à ce cirque infernal"- Claude Bonhomme
- "La promenade du Portage vue par Gilles Rocheleau [former Mayor]: Comme une <<Trail>> à chevreuil..." <sup>5</sup>

Former Mayor Rocheleau means that the problem will not be changed easily: like deer, the party-goers will have a difficult time changing their habits, their "trails."

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<sup>2</sup>*Le Droit*, 6/10/1992, p.7, "Des Caméras vidéo, promenade du Portage. Hull pourrait filmer sa faune nocturne", Paul Gaboury.

<sup>3</sup>*Le Droit*, 6/11/1992, p.2, "Un zoo la nuit...à Hull", Jules Richer.

<sup>4</sup>*Le Droit*, 6/19/1992, p.3, "Les élus de Hull mijotent un "remède de cheval"", Paul Gaboury.

<sup>5</sup>*Le Droit*, 8/24/1991, p.10, "La promenade du Portage vue par Gilles Rocheleau: Comme une <<Trail>> à chevreuil...", Michel Beuparlant.

The essence of the definition of the word "animal" in the Webster's dictionary has to do with being different from "human," acting out physical impulse, without rationality. This is what is meant when the people who go down to the bar Strip are compared to animals. They are less than human, the bar Strip is their pen, and we, the game wardens, have no control over them.

One of the traditional ways of controlling animal populations is to hunt. And this is exactly what Claude Bonhomme and the police decide to do as a solution to the problem; it is time to go to war, they say. This justifies the police using any means at their disposal to control the situation.

- "Des Bergers allemands ont surveillé les fêtards." <sup>6</sup>

And to go to war, you need the right tools. Why not use dogs to scare off the animals? This last image conjures up the idea of dogs barking wildly at a huge seething throng, scaring off the animals from the houses of the suffering, victimized residents.

### **6.2.2 A call to action: war analogies**

- "Nous sommes près d'un état d'urgence"-Police Chief <sup>7</sup>

The strong titles used in *Le Droit* point to the urgency of the situation; they work to put pressure on City Hall to get something done. A headline sets the tone, it probably goes further in getting slanted information to a reader than does the actual content of an article, as most readers read only the headlines of most articles.

- "Hull est devenu le Cuba de Baptista" <sup>8</sup>;

- "a battleground between police and drunken partyers" <sup>9</sup>;

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<sup>6</sup>*Le Droit*, 8/22/1992, p. 4, "Des Bergers allemands ont surveillé les fêtards", François Gagnon.

<sup>7</sup>*Le Droit*, 6/20/1992, p.5, "Le chef de police Audy a perdu espoir pour la promenade du Portage: "Nous sommes près d'un état d'urgence", Denis Gratton.

<sup>8</sup>*Le Droit*, 7/9/1992, p.19, "Hull est devenu le Cuba de Baptista", Benoit Guy Allaire.

<sup>9</sup>*The Citizen*, 6/27/1992, p.F3, "Closing the bar Strip," Sean Upton.

- "C'est un policier qui aurait mis le feu aux poudres."<sup>10</sup>

Again, these images emphasize complete madness. *The Citizen* makes it sound like the situation is completely out of control. They make it sound as if the police have little hope against the incredibly huge drunken melee. This calls for strong measures and justifies all actions that the police are likely to use. "Vente d'alcool 24 heures par jour: levée de boucliers chez les élus de Hull"<sup>11</sup>;

- "They (councillors) say, 'Claude, go to war and here is your slingshot,' he complained. "I want to go to war, but I need the right tools."-Claude Bonhomme<sup>12</sup>,
- "Until they get hold of some dynamite and blow up the Promenade du Portage, the problem won't be solved" -Jocelyne Martel, Kent street resident.<sup>13</sup>

These strong analogies point to the urgency of the situation by using familiar animal analogies and strong war analogies. Statements like these make the bar Strip sound like a horrid place, which works for the journalists. The repeated use of violence to fight violence in the imagery confirms the conflictory nature of the site.

War is serious business and these speakers emphasize the need to combat the rowdiness, to expel the undesirable element, to regain the territory: this calls for serious battle. If officials are using this type of language, then this must be true; there really is a need to clean up the place... War demands unconditional support from the population.

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<sup>10</sup> *Le Droit*, 6/22/1992, p.3. "La pression monte," Renée Laurin.

<sup>11</sup> *Le Droit*, 11/26/1991, p.4, "Vente d'alcool 24 heures par jour: levée de boucliers chez les élus de Hull," Paul Gaboury.

<sup>12</sup> *The Citizen*, 5/6/1993, p.B1, "Hull's bar Strip reformer resigns; Bonhomme upset as advice rejected," Sean Upton.

<sup>13</sup> *The Citizen*, 4/15/1993, p.B6, "Hull to extend parking ban in bar Strip," no by-line.

The repetitive nature of these analogies makes the associations matter-of-fact. Through these words, images and portrayals of the bar Strip, the politicians get the mandate they are looking for.

For a story to be fully developed, though, it needs more than words and actions: it needs characters. Let us examine how the newspapers were able to fulfill the myth of the bar Strip with the development of a protagonist and an antagonist.

### **6.3 Fouad "Flint" Kaya, or The Devil Himself: drugs, murder, kidnapping**

I was in a store recently and the news came over the radio. The announcer said that the *Hell's Angels'* leader (Mom Vachon) who was being tried for conspiring to murder a prison guard had been acquitted. People around me were shocked, their jaws dropped, strangers looked at each other in disbelief. There was a sense that the justice system had failed; it seemed ludicrous, after such exposure, that he was going to be let off.

It is not really surprising that people reacted this way. The media got the public excited about the trial by writing about it so much. They also continually attribute many crimes to the bike gangs of Quebec, especially through the recently extensive coverage of the 'bike wars' by the mainstream media, a coverage that used to be reserved to special crime-focused tabloids such as *Allo Police*. The media, through association, had essentially convicted him, the justice system did not agree. It is a testament to our justice system that someone is not guilty by association or by opinion poll.

If an urban legend is to be developed fully, it needs some heroes and villains. From reading this paper, it is likely that you have already identified the likeliest candidate for hero. The villain is more difficult to define. The villain was at the same time the street itself, the bar owners, the Ottawa youngsters and the brutal cops. All of these actors, though, cannot be used to personify evil; they are essentially innocent and

basically well intentioned. A few shady characters who were sometimes associated with the bar Strip could be used to personify evil: the drug dealers, the pimps and the mafia characters; there is nothing good to be said about them at all. They stay out of the spotlight, for obvious reasons, and this makes them especially odious and somewhat anonymous.

Flint Kaya, a bar owner on the Strip, always contended that the police were out to frame him, but when he told this story to the media, it did not sound credible. He had been treated by the media as a criminal, a pariah. He was the type of person the Hull Council was trying to blame for all that was going wrong on the Strip. The police linked him to cocaine, to murder and to the underworld, he was the perfect villain for the story of the Strip. He was also in the spotlight. He went to trial a few times and these were well covered by the newspapers.

The coverage was not different in either newspaper, they both framed Kaya as a criminal. What I want to show in this section is not how the newspapers differed in their coverage, but how they framed this man as the ultimate criminal, the ultimate bad element. Kaya stands in clear opposition to Bonhomme, the good man, the protagonist in the saga of the Strip. Flint Kaya was much more tangible and therefore easier to blame than an unclear entity such as a street or a crowd of nameless partyers. Kaya came to personify the problems of downtown Hull.

### **6.3.1 Murder: guilty from the start**

The first story is the gruesome murder of Bill Cole. Bill Cole had worked with some of the other shady characters at Flint Kaya's Remy's Bar. After quarreling with Kaya, Bill Cole had kidnaped Kaya's girlfriend. They talked things over and he let her go. He then served some time in jail and when he got out, one of the first places he went was to Remy's. He was beaten, fed cyanide, carried out the back door, and

stuffed into the trunk of a car. What life remained in him was executed in Gatineau Park and dumped over a cliff.

The media made direct links between Kaya and the murder even though he was in Mexico at the time. Kaya wound up serving time as an accessory to the murder for withholding information, and that is all. The Crown could not prove anything more. In the coverage of the murder and the ensuing trial, we see the media shrouding Kaya in a blanket of mystery. Even though Kaya is relatively far from the actual murder event, the media are quick to point their finger at him, as he is the one who is already known as evil.

The first article about this is in *Le Droit*, "Kaya et Beaudoin accusés de meurtre."<sup>14</sup> Kaya is the first mentioned in the title, and there is a picture of him. The first sentence ends "...Kaya...a finalement comparu hier<sup>15</sup>." The word "finalement" makes him guilty even before the article has started: the criminal finally brought to justice. Six other people were accused of the same murder, but the focus is on Kaya. The article mentions the heavy security measures in the courtroom, insinuating some links between these characters and a bigger underworld story.

*Le Droit* broke this story, but *The Citizen* was more persistent in its coverage of the trial and the testimony as it came out in 1988. *The Citizen* repeated the gory details of the murder in its daily reports on the trial, as if to remind readers of how these folks were truly hardened criminals and the law should be hard on them. Only the events of the actual night were retraced - nothing was said about the events preceding the murder. In the witnesses' testimony Kaya was let off the hook, the witnesses said that Kaya wanted Cole dead, nothing more<sup>16</sup>. The final article of the series appeared

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<sup>14</sup> *Le Droit*, 10/2/1987, p.15, Régis Bouchard

<sup>15</sup> *Ibidem*

<sup>16</sup> *The Citizen*, 11/30/1988, p.B1, "Victim fed cyanide, trial told," Philip Authier

December 8<sup>17</sup>. It also repeated the gory details of the murder and backed it up with the judge describing it as gruesome. The article lists the judgements handed down, the last being Kaya's, who is sentenced two years because he told others to lie to police. Essentially, the prosecution has not proved much about Kaya. Still, this murder is linked to him and to his bar. He is guilty by association. This murder would be used as a big part of the evidence against Kaya when, two years later, Hull's Municipal Council tried to take his liquor licence away.

### **6.3.2 Remy's licence hearing: Kaya on trial**

In the nineties, pressure was building on the Hull Council to do something about the bar Strip. One of their strategies was to ask the Régie des Alcools du Québec (the provincial board responsible for the distribution and supervision of alcohol sales permits) to revoke the licences of certain drinking establishments identified as troublesome. One of the first bars to undergo this test was Remy's, Kaya's bar. In the coverage of these proceedings, Kaya is at his most guilty. He is given the least chance to prove his innocence. Both newspapers covered the hearings and the testimony without questioning anything that was coming out - nearly all of the witnesses were police officers. This story starts in *Le Droit*, "La Révocation du permis du bar Remy's: L'audience remise au 13 août" <sup>18</sup>. The title makes the story sound like a fait-accompli: the emphasis is on "Révocation" in the sentence, not on "audience," even though "audience" is what the story is about. As we read through the article, we notice phrasings and grammatical uses that make Kaya look like a criminal. The first piece of evidence is the Bill Cole murder. It seems that the victim and the owner of the bar had been previously really close but that "pour des raisons qu'il n'a pas été en mesure

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<sup>17</sup> *The Citizen*, 12/8/1988, p. B1, "2 get life terms for torture death," Philip Authier

<sup>18</sup> *Le Droit*, 6/8/1990, Régis Bouchard

d'expliquer...l'association entre Kaya et Cole, avait été rompue<sup>19</sup>." Both characters are enveloped in mystery; are there details too sordid for the newspaper to publish?

Then the kidnapping story is described (Bill Cole had kidnaped Kaya's girlfriend). Kaya's girlfriend is described as his "concubine": this makes it look like a less-than-proper relationship and increases the criminal mystique of the man. The officer who is testifying goes on to describe Kaya as a good client in a joking manner. This makes it sound like a familiar thing, a reference to common sense, as in 'everybody knows' that he is a criminal. The last point from the testimony is the police officer saying that he was afraid of sending undercover agents there "par crainte de leur vie... des imposants portiers gardaient l'entrée<sup>20</sup>." Even the police are afraid of Kaya. If the cops are threatened, then imagine what he can do to the rest of society.

The hearings took a recess at that point because a translator was not found for Flint Kaya. The next article, 2 months later, is, ironically, about how an undercover agent bought drugs in the bar (this seems to contradict what the other policeman said about fear)<sup>21</sup>. This article is included in Annex Three.

This article is all about the illicit actions that took place in the bar itself, when the police were trying to capture drug dealers by going undercover (not trying to frame the bar itself). "L'agent...n'a toutefois pas pu relier Flint Kaya...directement aux activités de traficage que la police croyait avoir lieu dans l'établissement<sup>22</sup>." The reader might as well assume that Kaya has something to do with the deal, because the police seem to think so and are trying to catch him at it. All this is said even though Kaya was never caught through all the police efforts to do just that. The subtitles in this article jump out

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<sup>19</sup> *Ibidem*

<sup>20</sup> *Ibidem*

<sup>21</sup> *Le Droit*, 8/14/1990, p.8, "Requête pour la révocation du permis du bar Remy's: un agent double aurait acheté de la drogue au bar," Michel Beauparlant.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibidem*

at the reader, they sensationalize the theme of the licence hearing: "Drogue", "Transaction", "Arrestations", and "Meurtre."

The double agent dealt with men who are "deux hommes décrits comme étant "des hommes de main" de Kaya<sup>23</sup>". Described by who? The article never gives its source for this information. The effect, other than framing Kaya and criminalizing him, is to further shroud him in mystery, make it sound like the source could not be given, an 'everybody knows' flair, but journalists cannot say officially.

It is obvious that Kaya was good at protecting himself against the cops. He was not as good at protecting himself against was the media. The newspapers repeated the rumors and half-verified leads; they tried to re-create the man they placed at the centre of it. The police could not frame Kaya but the media certainly did.

In the article we also read all about the big drug operation, the tallies of arrests. From the details we learn that Kaya's two brothers, as well as two employees of Remy's who were arrested, are all waiting to stand trial. All are presented as guilty. Being arrested seems guilty enough for the newspapers.

The next line introduces the real bombshell: "Il n'y a pas que la transaction de l'agent Girling [the double agent] qui porte ombrage sur le Remy's<sup>24</sup>" (as if that is all they had talked about). This line is a little editorial help from the journalist to ensure that the reader thinks that the man is guilty.

The subtitle is *Meurtre*. This is well after Kaya did time for telling people to lie about the murder, which is as far as the law could take his association with the death of Bill Cole. How far is the journalist willing to take it? The details are repeated. They retell Kaya's association with the crime, but the focus is on him, even though it was proved in the court of law that he was at best a minor player in the crime.

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<sup>23</sup> *ibidem*

<sup>24</sup> *ibidem*

Next day: "La Régie des alcools insiste sur l'identité du véritable tenancier"<sup>25</sup>.

The pretense for the article is that the Régie wants to know who the real owner is because the bar is under Kaya's "concubine's" name. This whole article seems fabricated as an excuse to bring out the policeman's words about who is the real owner of the bar, a minor point to the story. The police person says that Kaya had the right to fire employees, which proves that he was the owner. He relates the events of a night in which he was called to the bar because "'Kaya est parti fou et qu'il frappait tout le monde 'dans son bar' avec un couteau"<sup>26</sup>."

When the police asked to judge the bar as causing problems on the Strip (which is the reason for these articles), they do not blame it directly saying that the problem is with the invasion at 1 a.m. The last sentence of the article presents the contradiction: "L'un deux a même dit que le bar était bien tenu"<sup>27</sup>." But this contradiction is the last sentence of the article.

*The Citizen* only started mentioning Kaya five months later, when the Régie finally brought down its decision to suspend the licence<sup>28</sup>. The first sentence of the article sets the tone: "The washrooms at Remy's Dance Bar were a haven for drug addicts who injected heroin or inhaled cocaine"<sup>29</sup>." The tone stays the same, although *The Citizen* did not focus on one single event, like the double-agent, as much as did *Le Droit*, the English paper quickly ran through everything that went wrong with the bar. In general, *The Citizen* was more complete than *Le Droit*. For example, it explored the

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<sup>25</sup> *Le Droit*, 8/15/1990, p.10, no by-line

<sup>26</sup> *Ibidem*

<sup>27</sup> *Ibidem*

<sup>28</sup> *The Citizen*, 1/16/1991, p. F3, "Hull bar's liquor licence suspended for two years," George Kalogerakis.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibidem*

owner issue and published statements from more than one person, as well as justifying why it would be in Kaya's interest to lie about who owns the bar.

One big difference in *The Citizen* is that it leaves space for Kaya's comments.

The statements are negated immediately after, but they are present nonetheless:

He said Hull police have a vendetta against him because of his criminal record. Area police forces are competing to be the first to arrest him, he said. 'These people were out to hang us,' Kaya said. 'Not once were they able to prove I sold drugs to anybody. I have spoken against using cocaine in public high schools for the last three years, my parole officer can verify that'<sup>30</sup>

*The Citizen* even leaves space for Kaya to back himself up. The next sentence, though, tends to cast a shadow on what has just been said: the police accuse him of being "the head of a vast drug-trafficking organization..."<sup>31</sup> With this, everything Kaya said is made to look false or at least highly questionable.

The article in *Le Droit* of the previous day<sup>32</sup> reports on the findings of the Régie but concentrate on the murder and neglects some of the facts that were brought out by *The Citizen*. It does give Kaya two paragraphs, but these sound rather silly after we have just learned that he is in charge of a major drug network (which *The Citizen* kept for last). The word "preuve" is used twice to describe the police's testimony in this article. This, as we shall learn in the months to follow, is hardly the proper legal term for the testimony. *The Citizen* at least printed Kaya's side of the story. It helps us to understand what is to come. Readers of *Le Droit* will be shocked to find out.

On April 25, in *The Citizen* first, we learn that a Quebec Superior Court judge has overruled the decision of the Régie as concerns Remy's bar<sup>33</sup>. Kaya won his appeal on

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<sup>30</sup> *Ibidem*

<sup>31</sup> *Ibidem*

<sup>32</sup> *Le Droit*, 1/15/1991, p.16, "Le Remy's perd son permis d'alcool," Régis Bouchard

<sup>33</sup> *The Citizen*, 4/25/1991, p.H2, "Bar gets licence back; judge rules Hull's business's rights violated," Jochen Kessel.

the grounds that the liquor board failed to grant him his constitutional rights. The judge criticizes the board for the way the hearings were held and criticizes the police for using evidence that had been kept out of prior legal proceedings. "[The judge] said the impression left by the liquor board failed to consider the evidence of some of Kaya's 31 witnesses...[who] said Remy's had one of the cleanest records of the bars along promenade du Portage<sup>34</sup>." The article mentions the major lines of the inquiry and how Kaya plans to sue the police for lost revenue. This is consistent with *The Citizen's* negative portrayal of the Hull police, which was discussed in the last Chapter.

*Le Droit* starts with a description of how the police were *forced* by the courts to remove the seal they had placed on the bar's refrigerators<sup>35</sup>. It uses technical language to explain the process of the revocation, and finishes by saying that the judge "ordonne *même* à la régie que soit tenue une nouvelle audience..."<sup>36</sup>

The article describes how the judge found that the Régie forgot that it had to follow the rules of law when they did not provide Kaya with an interpreter. This is the gist of the article. A voice is never given to Kaya's side at all, even though he is the one who brought this matter to the courts. *Le Droit* spoils the victory for Kaya. They make it sound like a loss for the City of Hull, rather than a victory for individual rights. *Le Droit* remains rigid in its explanation of what it wants to portray as a failure in the justice system.

Kaya eventually sued the police forces for systematic harassment. Both newspapers covered the start of this process, but did not reveal its conclusion. Remy's does not exist anymore, it must have been shut down unceremoniously at some point.

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<sup>34</sup> *Ibidem*

<sup>35</sup> *Le Droit*, 4/27/1991, p.8, "Levée des scellés par la SQ au bar hullois Remy's," Régis Bouchard .

<sup>36</sup> *Ibidem*

Even though a superior court eventually found that the Régie had overstepped its mandate, the police were the ones who were quoted all the time. Both newspapers quoted the police throughout this whole story by both newspapers. As witnesses, their accounts were the ones that were privileged. The police are the branch of the judicial system to which the most credit is given. Kaya was never given a chance by the media. Even though, in the final account, a superior court ruled in favor of Flint Kaya, the readers are left with the impressions formed by the strong testimony from the police. Kaya will never be able to escape the portrayal that he received as a guilty man.

#### **6.4 Claude Bonhomme and Tolérance Zéro**

If a myth is going to have a setting and a bad guy, it needs, in the end, a knight in shining armor to come bursting through to redeem the whole situation. The media representations of Claude Bonhomme fit right into this thematic narrative. Like a tough cop on a police show, he was not afraid to tell it like it was, to use tough words and to go against the authority of the Mayor. All those who supported the changing of the bar Strip found a hero in Claude Bonhomme. Through Bonhomme, the myth of the Strip gets to have a Hollywood movie ending.

In the early nineties the Hull Municipal Council made the bar Strip a priority for discussion, these proceedings were covered extensively by *Le Droit*. In *Le Droit*, the Council and its committees were the main source of news about the Strip; Claude Bonhomme, particularly, was cited as a source and backed by editorialists.

Tolérance Zéro was heralded from its start as the probable solution to the problems of the bar Strip. The idea was simple: do not tolerate any infractions, however minor, and the troublemakers will get the message about how they should behave in Hull. Tolérance Zéro was never liked by anybody who had a stake in making money on the bar Strip, and many Hullois, including some councillors, thought it was too drastic

and contributed to Hull's already tarnished image. The name Zero Tolerance was borrowed from Ronald Reagan's war on drugs, in which offenders were to be given zero tolerance in terms of jail and fines for any offence, no matter how small. The name was associated with crime fighting by the American media; it represented the idea of "taking back" the street from the drug pushers.

*The Citizen* often brought up the fear of police brutality throughout the Tolérance Zéro coverage. It also used the bar owners as a source and quoted them saying that the police's behavior was scaring customers away. *Le Droit* consistently portrayed the police as having a huge assignment, which helped to justify their behavior. I have already discussed the behavior of police in Chapter Five so I will not go into it here. Suffice it to say that, here again, *The Citizen's* portrayal questions police behavior and *Le Droit's* portrayal glorifies it, or at least, supports the police.

Tolérance Zéro was launched the weekend after the killing of Cerborus, the dog. *Le Droit* never mentioned that the two events might be related; *The Citizen* tried to highlight it, even though everybody denied it. As a whole, Tolérance Zéro would be a major part of *Le Droit's* coverage for the next three years. It was heralded as the program that would clean it all up, the program that would wash the Strip of all its undesirable elements. *The Citizen* looked at Tolérance Zéro from different perspectives. One big difference is it did not cover the decisions or arguments that occurred within Council nearly as much, basically ignoring them. When considering the program as a whole, *The Citizen* did not go only to the Mayor, the police chief and Bonhomme for comment (as *Le Droit* often did), they also went to the bar owners and to councillors who did not necessarily agree with the draconian measures. *Le Droit* was mainly one-sided about the actions taken to clean up the Strip under the umbrella of Tolérance Zéro, *The Citizen* was not afraid to point out that not everybody agreed or that it might have some negative effects: i.e. police brutality.



This classic picture<sup>37</sup> shows Claude Bonhomme in his Sherlock Holmes look standing by a tow truck: the solution is clearly stated: whisk away the trouble makers, make trouble for them and they will not come back.

The message is clear in the accompanying article as well<sup>38</sup>: bars bring trouble makers, we will work on closing the bars, arresting the troublemakers, and changing the image of the Strip so as to attract investment. The article goes through some of the proposals as well as describing some of the problems, Claude Bonhomme is the only person quoted - he is the spokesman for the clean up. *Le Droit* prefers to focus on the voice of Claude Bonhomme only as he represents a unified front for the city, he represents rigid action.

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<sup>37</sup> *Le Droit*, 9/30/1991, p.6 "Un plan pour nettoyer la promenade du Portage," Michel Hébert.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibidem*

The next weekend Tolérance Zéro was on the Front Page of *Le Droit*, and this time it was war: "Première grande offensive de Tolérance Zéro"<sup>39</sup>. "Grande Offensive" makes it sound like the police have fought and won the first battle. The article describes in detail the operation, giving it a highly efficient war-like ring:

La Police de Hull a lancé ... son offensive afin de reprendre le dessus sur les problèmes... promenade du Portage... L'Opération Tolérance Zéro s'est concrétisée dans l'arrestation de 26 personnes, de jeunes adultes ontariens en majorité, par l'application rigide des lois municipales et provinciales et le remorquage systématique de toutes les voitures stationnées illégalement dans le secteur<sup>40</sup>

The language is efficient, many verbs are used (lancer, reprendre, concrétiser, arrêter, appliquer, remorquer, stationner) and few adjectives. Claude Bonhomme is on the scene to watch the operation go down, like a good field general making sure his troops follow out the orders. This is the way he sees the actions:

"On ne reprendra pas le contrôle du jour au lendemain. Il faudra un an au moins, peut-être deux avant qu'une nouvelle philosophie puisse imprégner le comportement des habitués de la promenade du Portage..."<sup>41</sup>

Bonhomme speaks of changing the behavior of the clientele. What is likely to change is the clientele itself, the vocation of the bar Strip, not the behavior of the rowdies (they will only go elsewhere). "Impregnating their behavior with a new philosophy into them" really means, "we are going to change the place's clientele". At the end of the article, the owners' perspective is presented: they are angry. We never learn why though, and since they agree that the promenade needs to be cleaned up, their anger does not seem logical. The bar owners' perspective is clarified the next

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<sup>39</sup> *Le Droit*, 10/7/1991, p.1,3, "Première grande offensive de Tolérance Zéro," François Gagnon.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibidem*

<sup>41</sup> *Ibidem*

day<sup>42</sup>: they say the implementations of the laws are too strong, and are scaring the clients. They add that the City itself is to blame for the troubles on the Strip because they let the situation go for too long: "Des Programmes de ce genre impliquent un certain niveau de confrontation. On devrait au contraire démontrer une certaine flexibilité<sup>43</sup>." The bar owners are quoted also as saying that the appearance of Tolérance Zéro is of suspicious timing considering the dog incident and the upcoming municipal election. This, though, never gets mentioned again in *Le Droit*.

At the same time that *Le Droit* was featuring Tolérance Zéro, *The Citizen* preferred other stories: the ongoing reports about the dog as well as a few stories that might shed a bad light on the Hull police, notably the story about Flint Kaya. The tone in *The Citizen* was vastly different from that in *Le Droit*, the following article illustrates this point.

Rolanda Coe's brutality complaint against Hull police comes as officers try to clean up the City's notorious bar district. The "Zero Tolerance" campaign -- which runs some weekend nights until the early morning hours -- began in September and is to continue into 1992, said Capt. Andre Joly, one of the co-ordinators for Hull police. Joly said Coe's complaint is the first he has heard since the controversial crackdown began.<sup>44</sup>

An article about Tolérance Zéro begins with a discussion of a complaint against police. The tone is already set; *The Citizen* is more inclined to knock the police down than to support them in their efforts. It would seem that *The Citizen* is seeking controversy, not solution.

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<sup>42</sup>*Le Droit*, 10/11/1991, p. 3, "Opération Tolérance Zéro sur la promenade du Portage; Un hôtelier blâme la police," Régis Bouchard.

<sup>43</sup>*Ibidem*

<sup>44</sup>*The Citizen*, 12/20/1991, p.F9, "Hull police cracking down on troublesome strip; 'Zero Tolerance' means more officers, arrests," George Kalogerakis.

"I thought there would be more in an operation of this size," he added. He said the crackdown doesn't give officers an excuse to be rude or abusive. "We told our people to be extremely and excessively polite." Some bar owners say the crackdown is scaring away clients and could put them out of business. But police say residents like it. More people are saying good than people saying yeck, said Const. Yves Martel.<sup>45</sup>

The police are actually surprised how few complaints they have received. This statement might mean that the police spokesman expected the police to be more violent or the rowdies more vocal. That the officers have been following the guidelines about being polite is put into question since the article starts off by describing a complaint. The last line of the passage above definitely makes the officer sound less than brilliant.

Zero Tolerance means more officers are assigned to the Promenade du Portage area. They are to make arrests and give out tickets for everything. In the past, police just tried to keep the peace and did not lay charges in every case. "We want to return to residents a peaceful street where they can take strolls," said Joly.<sup>46</sup>

The point of the campaign is territorial: take the street away from the troublemakers and profiteers and give it back to the residents. Do not tolerate any more abuse of our space and enforce every rule we have in order to show that we have supremacy over the area; reestablish law as the rule. The police are thus justified in their repressive measures through a framing that is quite clearly spelled out in an us/them dichotomy and increases the myth of the Strip by increasing the stakes: the City of Hull is putting everything on the line by advertizing their defense so much. The City seems to be waging an all-out war, using all of their weapons (the full force of the law). They cannot, under any circumstance, risk losing face by letting some troublemakers get the upper-hand. That would jeopardize the stand upon which their authority rests.

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<sup>45</sup> *Ibidem*

<sup>46</sup> *Ibidem*

About 15 to 20 per cent more arrests are being made, he estimated. Most of the 152 arrests so far have been for mischief, public disturbance and for being drunk in a public place. Illegally parked cars are being ticketed and towed. The first weekend crackdown ended with 37 arrests. After the program became well-known among bar patrons, arrests dropped to less than half that, said Joly. Also, the winter cold has persuaded people not to hang around in the streets after the bars close. So there are fewer problems. The crackdown continues. Police are making sure bars aren't filled with more clients than fire regulations allow. As well, they are checking for illegal discounts on booze.<sup>47</sup>

The article ends with various facts that did not fit anywhere else. The point of this example is that in every article in *The Citizen* a bit of both sides is represented. *The Citizen* suggests that the police might be abusing their power; they suggest that Ontarians might be the innocent victims of over-zealous cops. In *Le Droit*, "Bonhomme-mania" is just starting to gather steam. *Tolérance Zéro* is the first instance where we see him as the knight in shining armor; but throughout the deposition of his two reports, Claude Bonhomme stays in the public eye as the warrior for peace and tranquility.

#### **6.4.1 Snapshots of violence**

*Le Droit* printed a series of pictures in 1992 to accompany their frequent articles about the troubled Strip, these are featured in Appendix 3. The journalists are portraying a battle between the forces of good and evil. The good is shown using strong measures to gain the advantage. These strong measures might work against them because, these pictures, taken out of context, show police brutality through the overuse of force. With the accompanying articles, though, the strong actions of the police are justified. If they had been printed in *The Citizen*, they might have been seen as a warning to potential partyers. These pictures depict the mayhem of the Strip. *Le Droit* consistently portrays the police as good guys, and pardons them of their misdeeds (see preceding Chapter). Within that context, these pictures can serve to show to what lengths the police are driven to regain control of the bar Strip territory.

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<sup>47</sup> *ibidem*

What do these images mean for the reader? Ontarians probably get the idea that Hull is that same old place they have always known, only it has become much worse because of the increased violence. Hullois probably get the idea that their Municipal Council and police are heroic as they are trying to solve the huge problem that is the Strip. The police are little Davids trying to combat the huge sinful Goliath (the Ontarian customers). One thing is clear, these pictures serve to fuel the myth of the Strip by focusing on the conflictory nature within the framing of the Strip.

#### **6.4.2 Claude Bonhomme, a mission**

1992 is Bonhomme's year. He makes the pages of *Le Droit* at least 43 times in relation to the bar Strip (see Chapter Four). Through the year, the newspaper closely followed the Municipal Council and often quoted Bonhomme as well as Lorrain Audy (police chief) as they pleaded for stronger measures to control the Strip. Nearly every incident that happened on the bar Strip was talked about in *Le Droit* and helped to legitimize the Councillor's point about cleaning up the bar Strip. Typically, the scenario goes like this:

Bonhomme proposes a strict measure, say, shutting bars down at 1 a.m. The Council is unsure about it and defeats or delays the motion. Something drastic sounding happens on the Strip and the Council decides to unequivocally support Bonhomme's idea. June 22, 1992 gives us such an example.<sup>48</sup> In this article we see many images that are of interest. Right from the start, the Strip is compared to circus (animals). The riot they are speaking of sounds gargantuan: 1000 people. A police person put fire to the powder keg by intervening in a domestic argument.

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<sup>48</sup>*Le Droit*, 6/22/1992, p.1,3, "Autre émeute sur la promenade du Portage; Un conseiller tente de retenir la foule" Renée Laurin.

For commentary on the event, the reporting of which is rather short because there is only one source of information (the police), they go to none other than Bonhomme himself. Bonhomme is in fury and is more than ever ready to "take the bull by the horns"<sup>49</sup> (the Strip = wild animal out of control). It is the worse riot since 1991 he says (making it sound as if riots happen commonly). He talks about how the people on the sidelines clapped, they liked the show. The journalist did not talk to the spectators or to any other witness than Bonhomme. The positive point, he says, is that it is events like this that will prove to the Council that action is necessary. He is slightly wrong. It is actually the appearance in the media of such events and their being attributed importance that will convince the Council that something needs to be done - not the event itself. This link could never be made known to the reader of the newspapers as it would show the newspaper's involvement with the issue and de-legitimize their perspective as an observer.

The article ends on the note of the upcoming Council meeting, announcing it and saying that decisions will have to be taken. The newspaper has made impartiality impossible by presenting only one version of events; they are completely behind Bonhomme. The Council will look traitorous if they do not go with Bonhomme.

The article from *The Citizen* from the same day is toned down<sup>50</sup>. The first one to have the word is the Mayor. He is not in a fury like Bonhomme, he simply pledges action. It is not an "émeute" of 1000 people, it is a "brawl" that involved "bystanders jumping into the fray"<sup>51</sup>. After-hour's turmoil and chaos are fairly strong images, but because of the sources of information, the description sounds more distant, less

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<sup>49</sup> *Ibidem*

<sup>50</sup> *The Citizen*, 6/22/1992, p..A14, "Hull Mayor pledges action after latest Brawl", no By-line.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibidem*

dramatic than in *Le Droit*. Bonhomme is not even mentioned. The focus is on the Mayor, the source of information about the brawl is never given.

*Le Droit* was consistent in its tone. They shot down anybody who disagreed with Bonhomme. A year later, some of Bonhomme's recommendations were defeated at Council and he resigned in indignation. Through this episode *Le Droit* remained consistent, Bonhomme remained the hero, the one who cleaned up, and that is the way he will go down in history.

*The Citizen* never made Bonhomme such a hero, it reported on the events and took account of what other sources, patrons, bar owners, and other politicians were saying about the situation. It went so far as printing opinions that might have been considered blasphemous by the editors of *Le Droit*. One article, November 1992, featured Walter Greco (the owner of The Chez Henri) explaining that business in the downtown core would be drastically hurt if the bars closed at 1 a.m.. No one on *Le Droit* side seemed to give a thought to this. Greco called the attention the Strip was getting: "A holy crusade that's being used for political gain," and said that "late night violence had been greatly exaggerated...to compare the problems in Hull to the riots in Toronto or Los Angeles [the Rodney King riots] is nuts<sup>52</sup>."

*The Citizen* kept away from Bonhomme, it stayed away from the politicking going on at Hull Municipal Council. *Le Droit* is involved with this process. The promenade is much closer to home for the readers of *Le Droit*. Through the voice of Bonhomme, *Le Droit* was an actor in the cleaning up of the Strip. It seemed to ensure that he was made to look like a hero and that no alternative would ever appear in their newspaper sounding reasonable. Bonhomme is the savior come to redeem Hull of its sin.

The myth of the bar Strip and its clean up is developed differently by each newspaper (different interpretations of the solution). What they have in common, though, is confrontation. There is confrontation on the street amongst the different criminal elements, there is confrontation between the police and the criminal element (*Le Droit*), there is confrontation on the street between the police and the clients (*The Citizen*); there is confrontation between the bar owners and the Municipal Council (*The Citizen*); and there is confrontation between Bonhomme and some recalcitrant Municipal Councillors (*Le Droit*). All this reference to confrontation emphasizes the myth of the bar Strip as a site for conflict. That there is conflict in the place where the cultures meet has been naturalized.

Would Bonhomme have been so fully supported if *Le Droit* had been more apt to talk about police brutality, the way *The Citizen* did? Throughout the period both newspapers painted red all over the Strip; *Le Droit* made Bonhomme the one holding the can of white paint. They helped to create him as the hero, using his image of "nettoyage" often, quoting him on any event that happened as the expert about what should be done. They give his words priority. Through him they exacerbate and fulfil the myth of the bar Strip, they see to it that it comes full circle.

## **6.5 Conclusion**

Myth gets propagated as it is passed along from person to person through word of mouth, or through more public channels like the ones illustrated above; through these flows of information, myth takes on a superior status. The myth of the bar Strip had some "truth" to it; the media selects some of these truths in order to create events. It selects accounts to describe these events and in so doing will privilege certain perspectives, perspectives that might be influenced by the stakes of a certain actor in a resolution to a situation.

The examples chosen above illustrate how the media contribute to developing the myth of a place. The newspapers represented the Strip as a highly criminalized place where animals went to roam and threatened peace and order. In such a setting they justified the polarization of two characters to mythical proportions: they "created" a mysterious villain in Flint Kaya and they "created" a hero in Claude Bonhomme.

One difference is clear: *Le Droit* covers the bar Strip more intensively. This points to a different regional focus. *Le Droit*, even though it is from Ottawa, is more conscious about what goes on on the Quebec side, where most of its readership is. It is more involved with the issues and seems eager to take a stance in their coverage. In this way, *Le Droit* played an active role in the story of the Strip. It is evident, from a comparative perspective, that *Le Droit* feels it has a stake in the outcome of the story of the bar Strip: my exploration of their framing certainly points to this. It helped to legitimize the actions of the police by developing the idea that the throngs were truly out of control (wild animals); it helped to justify Claude Bonhomme and his search for war by using strong images and words that showed the impending need for action to regain and protect territory.

*The Citizen* seemed to care less about the actual site, it treated the Strip as a source of news, especially crime news, and did not allot much coverage to the debate that brewed about the future of the Strip. As such, it remained an outsider, it did not get involved with the issues. It propagates the traditional image of Hull as a scruffy party-all night small town (as was exposed in the opening quote to this chapter). It does not care to challenge the myth or steer the story in any direction.

It is by reading two articles side-by-side that one understands which direction the media representations are taking the audience. The newspapers' love of extreme terms and exciting language is what sells newspapers. If a story does not turn out the way they would have liked (as in the Kaya case) they tend to play it down and give it minor

importance. Consistency seems to be an important part of the world they are portraying: one full of crime and policemen, one where noble politicians are trying, selflessly, to clean up the streets. Above all, the Strip is a place where conflict is omnipresent. Everything leads me to believe that the media make a conscious effort to frame a site in a particular way.

It is through these perspectives and apparent tactics that the newspapers elevated the myth of Hull's bar Strip, they portrayed it in extreme terms and made it sound like an extreme place. The newspapers, through these myths, exploit the bad in places and neglect all that is done to make people get along. They exploit the idea of conflict and make the bar Strip a focus for that regional conflict. Above all, The Strip is a place of conflict, a contested place.

## **CHAPTER 7: CONCLUSION, REFLECTIONS ON THE STRIP**

### **7.1 Fearful places**

I was recently in the Southwestern United States and a stranger and I talked about places. I mentioned that I was fond of New York City. He was surprised by this and told me he would never go there because of the crime and the pollution. I told him that the crime rates had dropped drastically since Rudolph Giuliani became Mayor and that the pollution was hardly noticeable since it was part of the general whirlwind of urbanity that New York offers. He thought I was crazy even though he had never been there himself. He was headed towards Los Angeles, which he liked (my immediate reaction at the irony of the situation made me realize my own biases towards Los Angeles, which I do not know well).

This man's impression of New York City has been fed by the myth of the bad place. Rather than thinking of the bright bustle of Times Square or of Central Park on a sunny summer day, this man could only picture a New York as it sometimes appears in the popular media: a seedy place where police officers are only outnumbered by criminals and drug fiends. This side of New York certainly exists, but to think of New York only in those terms is to miss the point: it is a worldly metropolis, a seat of civilization and it offers an incredible array of services and products: it is tremendously exciting. New York is home to a large number of media outlets. This makes it a highly publicized area. This works to its advantage in that it helps to drive a huge tourist industry; unfortunately, it also circulates an image of the city that is less than complimentary and because of that, many people are afraid of it.

The story I have described in this thesis could not have happened anywhere else in North America, Hull is unique in its context. The border, and its implicit cultural and political dualities, makes Hull a contested ground. There is Crescent Street in Montreal, Argyle in Halifax, Electric Avenue in Calgary, and Queen Street in Toronto; they all resemble the bar Strip in many ways: crowded with festive youth, many bars, pizza outlets, a jovial, permissive atmosphere. What happens in Hull is that the resident population feels that outsiders who are not necessarily welcome are invading their territory. The residents first complained in the early eighties and by the end of that decade every official source acknowledged that there was more activity, and more types of activity, than desired on the Strip.

Rather than fun, the underlying message was crime, rather than a tourist amenity; it was the town's bane. The bar Strip gathered meaning until it came to represent all that was wrong with the relationship between Hull and Ottawa as well as all that was wrong with the region culturally. Hull's bar Strip is essentially a contested place.

The fact that it is a culturally contested ground helps to polarize and emphasize recurrent images of the Strip. The fact that one group claims it and that another uses it, the dual functions and dual meanings of the place, help to glamorize its conflictual nature because both groups see it differently. What is in common to both visions is the conflictual nature of the site. These differing images are continually reinforced in several ways: through tradition, word of mouth and, through the media.

## **7.2 Analyzing the media's Strip**

Here is a story of how the media portrayed one single little patch of ground that caused a lot of stirring. One of the reasons it stirred so much emotion is because of

what it represents in the region: a contested ground between two cultural groups, split by language, history and economics, yet united by space, and having to face different sets of laws. In this concluding Chapter, I will provide a recapitulation of the major topics I covered. I will cover such topics as the major differences in the coverage's and what these can mean in a broader picture and further explore the relationship between place and the media.

I will rekindle ideas that have been present through this paper: framing, discourse and discourse analysis, the myth of the bar Strip, media and the support of institutions. I will finish with some of the resolutions of the story and how they can be used to summarize the portrayal. I exposed the results of different readings through the different chapters. Each contributed to an understanding of the different layers of meaning the articles have given to the Strip. Each reading exposed some essential differences in the portrayal of each of the newspapers.

### **7.2.1 first reading: retelling the story**

The first reading, which is the subject of Chapter Three, lets us in on the basic story. This reading is most true to life, as it is the result of a reading without the use of any particular tools. These stories are the ones that would stick out in a careful reader's mind if someone were to ask what happened on the Strip over the last 15 years. In this Chapter we notice a few differences in the coverage of the newspapers such as favorite subjects and well-covered topics. But we saw that the coverage is similar in that both newspapers choose the same subjects, at least the big stories are the same ones. The first reading retold the story and this was an essential step for reading the rest of the thesis.

### **7.2.2 Second reading: newsworthiness**

The second reading tells us all about what is most newsworthy: what the newspapers consider to be the stories sufficiently interesting to merit reporting. They are constrained in their abilities to gather news and hence often go to the same reliable sources. The biggest source for local news is the police. This is a reflection on our society: we prefer reading about a murder than the decisions taken at a school board meeting.

Editors must make choices about the content of their newspapers. Essentially, they must fill their newspapers with news. If there is war brewing in Yugoslavia, then their job becomes easy; they just plug into the wire service and hope for some good action. If there is not much going on they must rely on the local sources to produce news. Police officers often deal with unusual or twisted stories: murder, violence, drugs, sexual assault. These are fairly unusual events, but they are powerful in that they have a victim and readers can relate to that victim. In this way, even the smallest of criminal events can be written up so as to sound scary and make for entertaining reading: it is ghastly stuff, with the sensationalistic potential that sells newspapers. Newsworthiness is judged not according to what is important for us to know, but according to what editors interpret people want to read or what will entertain them and sell more newspapers.

The second reading is the result of looking at the appearances of particular themes, actors and sites. Through the construction of grids for analysis the newspaper articles were quantified into workable units. Some of the most important facts to come out of this reading are the few similarities that emerge. Both newspapers are obsessed with crime, and the main actor in crime, the police. Both these categories are present in about 70% of the articles in either of the newspapers.

There are significant differences in each of the newspapers, both in terms of the themes each focused on and the actors to which they went for information. By 1993, *The Citizen* was ignoring most of the stories that emerged from the Strip. *Le Droit*, in contrast, often featured the Strip on the front page. *Le Droit*, in these later years, also covered the actions of the Municipal Council closely, reporting on every new law and debate concerned with the troubled bar Strip. This coverage was never as prominent in *The Citizen*. Crime stories dominate *The Citizen*.

*The Citizen* wrote more about the fun times on the bar Strip and were also willing to discuss the openings of new bars; *Le Droit* did not mention good times on the bar Strip and focused much more attention on the solutions being brought forth by the Municipal Council to shut the scene down.

*The Citizen* went to a greater variety of sources and *Le Droit* tended to go to just a few, notably the police, municipal authorities and, later, to Claude Bonhomme. This does not mean that *The Citizen* was necessarily more objective (they carefully select out of what a speaker has said), but it shows us that they may not have been as involved in trying to get a point across as *Le Droit* was. *The Citizen*, at least, published different perspectives on the same issues.

One shortcoming of the quantitative analysis was the lack of interesting information to come from the "site" category. The articles had been picked by this attribute: site. This means that other sites were excluded or only came into the picture when talked of as a side note to the main story. Essentially, we learned nothing about the bar Strip through the site category, only that each newspaper had its favorite bars and that *The Citizen* had a tendency to attribute events to Hull as a whole and that *Le Droit* used the referent "la promenade du Portage" more often. This shows that *The*

*Citizen* tends to confuse la promenade du Portage with Hull as a whole and that *Le Droit* thinks of la promenade as only a part of Hull.

The other shortcoming of the quantitative analysis was that it does not tell us much about the meaning of the words in the articles. It tells us what is being said and how often it is being repeated but it does not say much about the meaning of articles, about how the place in question is being talked about; about the differences in the style used by the writers. With the quantitative analysis we understand little about the links between events, actors and sites; to understand how they relate, we need to use a narrative approach to analyzing the articles.

The best example of this weakness is the portrayal of the police. From the reading in Chapter Four we know that they are present in many of the articles. From this we can deduce that they played an important role in the story of the bar Strip. What we miss is the most interesting aspect to the role of the police: how each newspaper portrayed that role differently.

The beauty of the quantitative analysis is that it told us about the repetitive representation glut. The same themes came up over and over again; they will inevitably become associated with the site in question. After such thorough coverage of crime, we can see, through this analysis, why the Strip became a pressing problem to the City of Hull.

### **7.2.3 Discourse analysis: narrative reconstructions**

In the last two chapters, I focused on several different stories and actors that drew attention. In analyzing the discourse beyond its manifest content, we see that although both newspapers covered the same actions, the tone in the coverage was often different. For example: *Le Droit* protected the Hull police and *The Citizen* tried to

blame them for part of the troubles on the bar Strip. This is indicative of the greater portrayal of the Quebec side by both newspapers. *Le Droit* protected its institutions, getting involved with the issues through editorials, going so far as making the bar Strip a central issue to one year's election coverage. *The Citizen* attacked Hull's police service and thereby attacked Hull's institutions, showing their lack of interest in solutions.

These differences are hidden in the articles behind the choice of words, of the actors quoted, and behind the choice of images to go along with the articles. They are reflective of attitudes found in the community at large. Ontarians see Hull as rundown and ugly; Hullois see the Ottawans as rowdy and uncivilized when they visit Hull late at night. In this way, harsh police action seems justified to the Hullois; it seems like brutality to the Ottawans. The newspapers follow those leads and treat the stories appropriately.

We have seen different framings of what the bar Strip is for each community. A bane for one, a violent but fun place for the other. One newspaper became involved with the issues by focusing on the war against the street. The other newspaper became less and less involved with the street, only writing about crime. This coverage indirectly reflects what each community felt about the bar Strip. Some influential Hullois were involved and wanted to see the Strip shut down, they wanted to regain their territory. The Ottawans were most involved with the bar Strip when it came to changing rules about parking, or when Ottawans were injured or arrested on the bar Strip.

Burgess and Gold (1985) explored the naturalizing effect of the media on the meaning of place. A place is associated with a certain type of behavior and the media repeats this association. Through the media, behavior that might otherwise seem curious becomes naturalized, it becomes the norm. In the same way that a foreign

visitor might expect to see polar bears in Canada, a visitor to the Strip might have expected to see many drunken youth, at least some fights and perhaps a riot.

The media propel myth and image in the popular discourse about a place. It is through these discourses that we form our view of the world. The media help stereotypes develop: this is how the Strip came to be typecast into a "bad" place. Once that happened, the Municipal Council had to do something about it. The progressively harsher measures were justified through the portrayal of the Strip as a progressively crazier place. Myth propagates myth, which is why it will be decades before Hull can undo the reputation it has acquired over a century. Hull is a veritable Canadian urban legend.

### **7.3 Contested ground: border representations**

Both newspapers more or less ignored the cultural tension issue; it is rarely a part of their coverage in explicit terms. Both were probably afraid to alienate their readership and thought it wiser to avoid talking about the tensions on the Strip in terms of tensions that might extend over the broader capital region. However, the tension issue is definitely a part of the story of the Strip. It is an example of the latent content of the newspaper articles that the quantitative analysis was not designed to identify.

Both newspapers more or less ignored the dichotomies between Quebec and Ontario and between the French and English, both newspapers chose to ignore this aspect to the Strip. When it was mentioned, it was by an individual who was being interviewed and essentially never by any official sources. In this way, the public officials protected themselves. These issues reflect a difference in the implicit and explicit contents of the newspaper articles. When analyzing the myth of the bar Strip, in Chapter Six, we discover that the cultural tension issue is a necessary subtext to

explaining how either side represents the bar Strip; in order to make sense of the Strip as site of conflict, the reader must have the Us/Them dichotomy in mind as a subtext. This dichotomy is an essential building block to the myth of the bar Strip.

An essential aspect to the bar Strip is that it is a contested ground between two cultural groups. The Ottawans see it as a fun place to go out for a good time and escape the rigors of the hard-working Ottawa. To the Hullois, it represents everything that is bad about their town, about the invasion of the Anglophones, about the police's loss of control. The newspapers reinforced these visions of the bar Strip by portraying it as such a contested ground. They focused in on conflicts between individuals on the Strip a great deal, especially when questionable police work was involved or when harsh measures were suggested to keep patrons away from the place.

The newspapers do this by picking up on stereotypes (such as the brutal Hull cops) and publicizing these aspects of the situation. This reinforces the myth of Hull; it typecasts Hull into a particular role for the entire readership. This hurts Hull's reputation because such a cycle is likely hard to break: these images are strong and they will stick to people's minds much more than any stories of how much the place has changed in the last five years.

The newspapers both helped to re-establish certain stereotypes that are present in the local constructions of the bar Strip. The most obvious one is the idea of Us versus Them: the Ontarian partyers versus the Hull police. On the Hull side, the accent is mainly put on the Ontario partyers. The problem has been identified as the Ontario partyer for a century and it is therefore hard to undo that association. *Le Droit* went out of its way not to blame the Ontarians who were coming over, or at least to make that factor unclear within the coverage, but by merely putting conflict into the equation, everyone translates the problem into the two solitudes equation: Us and Them.

*The Citizen* also framed the events into a conflictory nature; they perpetuated the image of Hull as a seedy place through commentary articles that described it as such. More importantly, though, they blamed some the problems on over-reacting police officers. By publishing reviews about bars and restaurants on the Strip, they normalize the idea of going down there: business as usual on the Strip. The Strip becomes unusual with Tolérance Zéro, with the strong hand of the police: this is when the problems really start. By framing it this way, *The Citizen* puts the events into an Us/Them dichotomy, the same old story, they blame the other.

#### **7.4 Media as agent**

The media helped to make the bar Strip a troubled place in the manner that if they had not touched it, never questioned the fact that people partied there, maybe nothing would have changed: the bars would still be booming, people would still be having a great time, and the residents would continue to move out in droves while more and newer bars moved in trying to cash in on the lucrative market. It is questionable whether the By-Ward Market would be doing as well as it is right now or if the closing hours in Quebec would have changed at all. Perhaps partying, rather than crime, would have been the activity stereotypically associated with the bar Strip.

The media may have contributed to normalize foolish behavior. For example: if you hear that 1000 people were involved in a "riot" and the next night you happen to be on the bar Strip and find yourself in a melee of several dozen people watching a fight, you would probably think that you are acting normally (when in Rome...). The media might have had an effect on patrons' behavior, but this was indirect at best: the mood of the place is what drove the madness, and alcohol and the sheer number of people caused that. The media helped to publicize that mood.

The media definitely played a role in the City's involvement with the bar Strip. The media helped to bring the issue of the Strip to the forefront, they helped to make it a central debate at the Municipal Council level, they helped to make it a priority for certain politicians and they helped to close down the bars. *Le Droit* was much more active in this process, but *The Citizen* also played a role, especially as they were the first to call it the "notorious Strip," the first to make people notice the craziness<sup>1</sup>.

The idea of spatial control can be used to understand the bar Strip situation. The Council's measures were implemented to take back the street from all the bad elements (drugs, crime and drunken disturbers) and also from Ontarian domination. The Ontarians controlled the scene but they never realized that they did, to them it was not important. *Le Droit* was quite involved in their coverage; they might have seen the fight as territorial. *The Citizen* was not involved with it; they kept the Strip as an "any-other-place" and in so doing refused to acknowledge what it represented for the Quebecois. *Le Droit* wanted to help the Hullois regain control of their space and so drove the Municipal Council into action. It was a reciprocal relationship: the Council needed *Le Droit* to legitimize their actions and *Le Droit* needed the City as a source of news.

## **7.5 Reflections**

As an academic I am supposed to aim to be objective and cover all facts and sides. But I have made selective use of information, used the sources which best suited my project and, like any writer, naturally distorted things through the color of my own glasses. The difference between academic writing and newspapers has to do with

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<sup>1</sup> In the early years, it seems as though *Le Droit* was avoiding the area in order to save its reputation by talking about it little. They might have been forced into talking about it by the other media sources that started to cover the Strip extensively in the mid-eighties.

levels of rigor: newspaper articles hide their weaknesses, academic writings put them in evidence by questioning them further. Newspapers can lay some claim towards objectivity, but, as has been shown in the previous pages, these claims can be challenged. The chief difference between newspapers and academic writings is mass appeal, and the potential to inform a situation. It is unlikely that more than ten people will ever read this thesis, thousands of people read the newspaper every day. Newspapers are a quick and available source of information and are highly accessible to the mass of the population, at least in the West. They have a large potential in playing a role in a situation.

This thesis definitely has faults and biases. There is more information that could have been collected; it would have been interesting to look at different newspapers or even different media sources' (television especially) portrayals. It might have also been worthwhile to consider the portrayal of all of Hull in order to see if it was consistent with the rest of the image that was being expounded by the two newspapers. Finally, it would be interesting to compare the coverage of two bad neighborhoods, in order to judge the differences in the framing of either.

This study can be replicated and applied to a bad neighborhood in any city. By using a comparative approach, the researcher can identify the inconsistencies in the coverage more easily in order to expose the constructed nature of each outlet's framing. I was left wondering for a method that would compare the media's portrayal with people's actual perception. This would likely prove an exercise in frustration as people gather spatial perceptions from a broad range of sources and these can be different as well as alike, perhaps all repeating the same elements of a common discourse. There is no one discourse for a place. A place, as it is perceived and lived, goes beyond its physical structures, it is reliant on individual constructions that

continually shape it and reshape it: it would be impossible to concretely identify such a reality.

Through representations, especially popular ones like a newspapers', we gain access to what is shaping our perception of place. Representations help us to identify ourselves within space and as such influence and shape the spaces themselves. Through this process space gets continually reconfigured. In this way, what the Strip means changed throughout its history. The reputation that it gained until the early nineties still looms large over what it is, but this, through competing discourses, will inevitably change over time.

## POSTSCRIPT

My first experience ever with the bar Strip was on Canada day in 1989. I went to Ottawa for the day with a girlfriend in order to join the festivities. We did in grand fashion. After the fireworks, circa midnight, I ran into some High School buddies of mine who were stationed in Ottawa for the summer as military reserves. As Ottawa seemed to be emptying out, we decided to join the rest of the masses and headed over the Alexandria Bridge. The Strip was seething with humanity, it was very crowded and almost difficult to walk around. Everybody was young and drunk, and I was no exception, I was eighteen and I was having a great time. All of the bars were filled to capacity so we wound up going to this little locals' place on Eddy Street, just beside the Strip. It was small and insignificant, the music was low enough for us enjoy conversation and we sat there relaxedly enjoying the end of a long and crazy day.

Last night (April 1999), I decided to go to the Strip to walk around and see what it felt like these days. Place Aubry was hopping, the four bars there were packed, line-ups of underdressed people shivered impatiently to the loud boom of the bass outside the bars. It seemed like any other Friday on the Strip except that these are just about the only bars left in existence. The rest of the Street lays idle with for-sale signs and a few redevelopment sites. Not a cat could be discerned on the ghost-town Strip.

I ran into a friend and we went to that same bar I had been to on my first visit to the Strip ten years ago. The bar was comfortably dimmed and not crowded but had just enough people in it to make it look lively. There was Karaoke going and the locals mainly sat and watched as they took turns laughing at one another sing off-key. There were sweat pants and suits in the bar, old bearded men who looked to be happy with their scotch and young leather-jacketed guys pounding the beers back in celebration. The waitress sat down next to us to take our orders, a rather friendly gestured that insinuated a casual attitude to serving customers. We sat and talked for about an hour while the bar hummed along to its own rhythm, people laughing and talking and essentially enjoying an uneventful night out. Nothing weird happened, nobody there was unusual, and no one gave us a care even though we were not regulars. The bar, to me, represented a general feeling I have found in Hull, it was relaxed and unjudgemental, essentially friendly. What it lacked in style it more than made up for in attitude: we felt welcomed and respected. We felt like we belonged.

The Strip is not in the news anymore because it has been shut down. After 1995, the City continued its Zero Tolerance campaign. Those who had been arrested had to promise to stay away for at least a year and those who did come were made to feel less and less welcome. The bars shut down, one after another, as business started to drop. In the fall of 1996, Ontario's closing hours were extended to 2 a.m. A few months after, the Quebec National Assembly granted the City of Hull the right to regulate its bars' closing hours. The Municipal Council quickly voted in a 2 a.m. closing hour for all the establishments selling alcohol on its territory. This marked the very end of this part of the saga for the bar Strip. Now the By-Ward Market is the place to go if you are headed out on the town in the region, it is full of bars that are jammed packed and cater to every possible crowd.

I became interested in this project in the first place because of fear. If people fear a place, without knowing what it is really about, they will keep fearing it and never venture to explore it and see it as human. People feared the Strip and therein lie the root cause of its bad reputation. The media played up to this reputation and by exposing so much of the bad, by re-emphasizing the established stereotypes, they did nothing but emphasize the poor reputation of the place and thereby increased the audiences' potential sense of fear. Fear of place is real, and it is a bad thing. To overcome it, though, we have to explore places ourselves. Unfortunately, in a world that is increasingly being portrayed and learned about through media, many people are unlikely to feel the need to explore places, unlikely to want to go confront their fears.

In any case, the media will go on featuring crime and people will keep fearing places they do not know. People will keep avoiding the places they fear and those places will likely become worse and worse, as has happened to many downtowns of American cities. The cycle of reputation, media stereotype, myth building and crime reporting is not easily broken. Many downtown Hulls already exist and many more will be created or disintegrate into the bowels of urban vacant land.

Cities are dynamic, though, and spaces continually change. Hull has nearly all the elements that could spur a gentrification: in a few decades it could become a good neighborhood and perhaps finally attract the "right" crowd. The familiarity I felt in that bar last night, though, tells me that Hull shall never lose its friendly soul, I hope it can find a vocation for its Strip that fits into this character and at the same time does not offend anyone.

Hull, April, 1999

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3/14/1989, p.10, "Mort suspecte d'une Amérindienne, On n'aurait pas décelé de  
blessure," François Gagnon  
4/18/1989, p.1,3, "La promenade du Portage transformée en champ de bataille,"  
Charles Thériault  
6/6/1990, p.7, "Le policier Vincent nie être raciste," Régis Bouchard  
6/8/1990, p.9, "La révocation du permis du bar Remy's: l'audience remise au 13 août,"  
Régis Bouchard

8/14/1990, p.8, "Requête pour la révocation du permis du bar Remy's: un agent double aurait achete de la drogue au bar," Michel Beauparlant

8/15/1990, p.10, "La Régie des Alcools insiste sur l'identité du véritable tenancier," no by-line

1/15/1991, p.16, "Le Remy's perd son permis d'alcool," Régis Bouchard

4/27/1991, p.8, "Levée des scellés par la SQ au bar hulloius Remy's," Régis Bouchard

8/24/1991, p.10, "La promenade du Portage vue par Gilles Rocheleau comme une <<trail>> à chevreuil," Michel Beauparlant

9/18/1991, p.10, "Les policiers ont dû tirer 14 balles; la mort d'un chien suscite une enquête," Régis Bouchard

9/18/1991, p.11, "Ils n'avaient pas le droit de tuer mon chien," Régis Bouchard

9/19/1991, p.1, "La mort d'un chien désorganise la sûreté de Hull: le téléphone ne déroutit pas," Régis Bouchard

9/19/1991, p.4, "Aucune réprimande pour les policiers," Régis Bouchard

9/19/1991, p.20, "Incident déplorable," Murray Maltais

9/21/1991, p.11, "Chien abattu: Logemen' Occupe blâme les autorités politiques," Paul Gaboury

9/23/1991, p.1,4, "Des manifestants pour les droits des animaux frappent un os," Joël-Denis Bellavance

9/24/1991, p.5, "Chien abattu sur la promenade du Portage: Légère dénonce l'attitude des médias," Paul Gaboury

9/25/1991, p.40, "Un sentiment de frustration," Delphine Racine (Courier des lecteurs)

9/30/1991, p.6 "Un plan pour nettoyer la promenade du Portage," Michel Hébert)

9/30/1991, p.18, "On se trompe de scandale," (editorial) Murray Maltais

10/7/1991, p.1,3, "Première grande offensive de Tolérance Zéro," François Gagnon

10/11/1991, p. 3, "Opération Tolérance Zéro sur la promenade du Portage: un hôtelier blâme la police," Régis Bouchard

11/26/1991, p.4, "Vente d'alcool 24 heures par jour: levée des boucliers chez les élus de Hull," Paul Gaboury

6/10/1992, p.7, "Des caméras vidéo, promenade du Portage. Hull pourrait filmer sa faune nocturne," Paul Gaboury

6/11/1992, p.2, "Un zoo la nuit...à Hull," Jules Richer

6/19/1992, p.3, "Les élus de Hull mijotent un 'remède de cheval'," Paul Gaboury

6/20/1992, p.5, "Le chef de police Audy a perdu espoir pour la promenade du Portage: 'nous sommes près d'un état d'urgence'," Denis Gratton

6/22/1992, p.1,3, "Autre émeute sur la promenade du Portage; un conseiller tente de retenir la foule," Renée Laurin

6/22/1992, p.3, "La pression monte," Renée Laurin

6/22/1992, p.3, "Claude Bonhomme en furie," Renée Laurin

6/25/1992, p.5, "Tous les bars fermés à 1h," Paul Gaboury

6/29/1992, p.3, "La police de Hull passe aux actes," Denis Gratton

6/30/1992, p.4, "Hull veut fermer quatre bars," Paul Gaboury

7/4/1992, p.18, "Chaque crime coute 682\$ aux contribuables," no by-line

7/9/1992, p.19, "Hull est devenu le Cuba de Baptista," Benoit Guy Allaire

7/18/1992, p.14-5, "Les problèmes de criminalité ne datent pas d'hier: quand Hull était le 'petit Chicago'...", André Cellard

8/22/1992, p.1, "Des chiens pour mettre de l'ordre," caption only

8/22/1992, p. 4, "Des bergers allemands ont surveillé les fêtards," François Gagnon

10/3/1992, p.4, "Hull produit un rapport percutant," Paul Gaboury

## **PERSONAL COMMUNICATIONS**

Aubry, Jack. Reporter with The Ottawa Citizen. Ottawa, 9/15/199.

Bouchard, Régis. Reporter with Le Droit. Hull, 9/16/1998.

## **APPENDIX 1. PART 1: CODES**

All of the categories that I used in my coding are included here: many of these were not used for the analysis in Chapter Four.

### **Themes**

#### **Type: Front page, Picture, Caricature, Editorial, Commentary, Letter to editor**

The categories "Front Page" and "Picture" mean that an article was on the front page or that a picture was used in the article. These practices denote a form of importance for the story as it is more likely to catch the readers' eye. The "picture" category is missing from *The Citizen's* totals after 1987 because these articles were retrieved automatically and there was no way of checking whether an article had a picture or not.

The sub-category "editorials" are either editorials themselves, comment columns, letters to the editor, or caricatures (which were not otherwise coded). A presence in this category entails that the subject is important because the editors of the newspaper have given it their own space. They do this because they feel the issue at hand to be one that deserves more than a passing glance, one that will help to sell newspapers..

In the category "regular," I list the articles that do not fit in the other categories. This usually indicates that it is a run-of-the-mill story, it is not given any special treatment and is sometimes there because it has to be (as in a press conference), it is not particularly noteworthy.

#### **2a) Crime in general (non-specific)**

**2b) Tapage Nocturne: Fights, Riot, Brawl, underage drinking, noise, vandalism, drinking-associated crime, misdemeanors (specific event or in general terms)**

**2c) Violent crime (event or in general) e.g Murder, stabbing, or violence in general**

**2d) Drugs (as specific crime or in passing)**

**2e) Sex industry (Prostitution, sex shops, strip bars)**

**2f) Drinking and Driving**

**2g) Other crime (excludes 2a,2b,2c,2d,2e and 2f), but may be in the same article as them . eg: robbery with violence while on drugs would be 2g, 2c, 2d.**

These sub-categories are in no way perfect. The sex category is especially problematic in that it not only covers prostitution (which is of relatively low occurrence in the total coverage) but also stories about strip bars (not bars on the Strip, but go-go dancer bars) and sex shops. Although these are not "criminal" as such, they definitely fit into the seedier side of the newspaper's coverage and I think that they are viewed as such by much of the readership. I thought that this would make a tidy category, and it does in that prostitution seems to go along with strip bars and sex shops, spatially, at least. But it does not in the sense that the two big items covered in this category were the city's efforts to shut down the two strip bars and sex shops on the Strip. The fact that the city continually tried to shut these down because of the image problem they were causing seems to justify my choice.

The category "general" includes articles about crime in general, without focussing in on a specific crime or a specific type of crime. This category features such articles about the crime rate or the situation of the criminality on the bar Strip.

By "tapage" I mean, essentially, rowdiness. The French expression "tapage nocturne" better captures the essence of this category than the literal English equivalent "nocturnal rowdiness." This category includes misdemeanours such as drunken and disorderly, resisting arrest (especially popular during Tolérance Zéro), fights, brawls, riots (often used liberally by *Le Droit*) and vandalism. This category includes most alcohol-motivated or related crimes.

The "violent" category includes violent crimes: murder, attempted murders, stabbing, rapes, robberies with assault and so forth.

The "drugs" category was noted every time somebody was arrested for drugs, drugs were found on a criminal incidently or drugs were discussed as part of the problems of a particular bar or of the Strip in general.

Driving while Impaired, "D.W.I.," became a big issue in the mid-1980s, written about in association with the Strip by both newspapers and noted whenever the subject came up, either in specific or general.

The "other" category includes the other crimes that did not fit into any of the above categories. Especially present in this category are robbery and theft, which were covered a good deal by the newspapers but did not quite reflect the idea of what crime usually entailed in the frame of the bar Strip.

#### **Fire (either criminal or not)**

The coverage of "fire" was sporadic and very similar in both newspapers, I found myself with very little to say about it as the articles seemed to be written in a straightforward fashion in both newspapers. For this reason, I decided not to include it in the final analysis

#### **4) Transportation issues: taxis, parking, transit, circulation**

"Transportation" covers any article that dealt with taxis, parking, busses or talk of alternatives mode of transport as it relates to the Strip.

#### **5) French / English tension**

#### **6) Racism tension**

French/English tension covers themes such as complaints by business owners about Bill 101, complaints by local Hullois that they cannot get service in French on the Strip, or fights between francophone and anglophone patrons (if announced that way). This is a factor that would seem to be a part of the dynamic of the bar Strip as this area is virtually defined by its location on the cusp of two cultural heartlands, but cultural tension is relatively ignored by the two newspapers.

The racial tension sub-category involves incidents such as someone accusing another (a policeman, for example) of being racist or an incident, such as a fight, linked by the journalist to racial tensions. This issue would also seem to beckon a certain amount of importance as parts of the bar Strip and some of its scenes were dominated

by certain cultural groups (example: Maxime's – a club that caters especially to black patrons). These, also, appeared seldomly

#### **7) Extra financial costs, economic arguments**

"Financial Argument" was noted whenever money was brought into the debate about solutions. For example, bar owners argued that there would be job losses if bars were forced to close at 1 a.m.

#### **8) Image, reputation, status (of Hull)**

"Image" was noted whenever the concept of the image or the reputation of the city of Hull was brought up.

#### **9) Bars as problem (concentration of bars, bars as such)**

"Bar Problem" was noted whenever bars were named as the problem on the bar Strip.

#### **10a) Solution: measure, repression**

"Solution: measures" was noted whenever talk of a measure came up in discussion of possible solution ideas or in the actual implementation of these, as in Tolérance Zéro.

#### **10b) Solution: vocation, renouveau**

"Solution: vocation" entails a broader perspective: solutions that look at positive implementations rather than repression, those that try to rebuild the Strip by aiming to bring in tourists.

#### **11) Real Estate Development: changes in ownership, bought, sold, closing, opening, real estate**

This sub-category that included all news about openings, closings, purchases and sales of property. This sub-category had a very broad definition and came up very sporadically in both newspapers. I judged from these results that the sub-category was not very relevant to the dynamic of the bar Strip and therefore I did not include it in the final analysis.

#### **12a) Conflits de positions entre acteurs, complaints against police**

"Conflict between actors" was noted whenever there was conflict over a decision that was made, an action that was taken. The key was that the actual conflict needed to be written about in detail. A fight between two drunks did not fit into this category but someone complaining about their treatment by police did.

#### **12b) Cooperation entre acteurs (except if two actors in the same category: eg.cop helps cop, not here)**

"Cooperation between actors" also needed to have the notice of cooperation. This could be an agreement where there was none before or a pledge on the part of some actor to try to get along with another.

**13) Leisure, nightlife, distraction (positive)**

"Nightlife" covers reviews of the scene in general, or articles that talk about the good qualities of the bvar Strip: people heading to the bars after their graduation ceremonies or first year university students living the custom by going to the bars in Hull to have fun.

**14) Soft News: Cultural event, personality, review**

"Soft news" is news that could be written days before it is published, it is news that usually goes into the special weekend supplements of a newspaper. This includes reviews of bars and restaurants as well as the occasional profile of a person who works on the bar Strip.

**15) Accident or other: none of the above, article must not be classified according to any other themes (except if accident).**

This caused problems: Minnie Sutherland, accident is major aspect of the story.

This last category was the miscellaneous sub-category and was originally supposed to contain all the articles that would not fit into a single one of the other theme sub-categories, a catch-all category. This category would have been left empty if I had not been confronted with the problem of accidents. It was clear when I came to the Minnie Sutherland story that accidents were going to be discussed quite a bit and that these needed their own home as it was a major component to the story and had no other place to fit. I decided then to put accidents into the "other" sub-category, this might seem an odd choice but it was the only way that I could make this important aspect fit into the grid.

## **Actors**

- 1a) City of Hull (if referred to as such), lawyer representing the city of Hull**
- 1b) Mayor (past or present)**
- 1c) Council, Hull officials, Executive committee**
- 1d) Bonhomme**
- 1e) Other councillor**
- 1f) Special Committee/task force**
- 1g) Other (Hull) city actor, e.g.: administrators, fire people, inspectors**

The mayor is often a spokesperson for the position of the City of Hull. Both newspapers printed his perspective often.

"Council" refers to the Municipal Council of Hull. They are featured often as they have debates over and make decisions about actions to take regarding the bar Strip.

"Claude Bonhomme" was single-handedly the most important individual actor in the saga of the bar Strip. Everytime he was talked about or talked to, it was noted.

"Councillor" refers to individual councillors, other than Claude Bonhomme, speaking on their own behalf or on behalf of their constituents. They were often talked to in relation to actions that were being taken by the council and with which they agreed or disagreed. A few of these men and women come up more often than others, but it was simplest to group them all together as none of them came to dominate the news, the way Claude Bonhomme did.

"Committee" refers to the special committees, commissions and boards of inquiry that were set up to study and analyze the problems of the bar Strip. Notable in these are the Tassé committee in the mid-80s and the Bonhomme committee of the early 90s.

- 2a) Police chief, police director**
- 2b) Hull police or individual Hull police person**
- 2c) Other police force**

The category of the police was broken down into three parts: the police chief (or the police spokesperson); police officer or simply "the police," which invokes the Hull police; and other police force. The "other" are the R.C.M.P., the S.Q., the Gatineau, Aylmer and Ottawa Police Forces, who were all at some point or other involved with various kinds of criminality on the bar Strip.

- 3a) City of Ottawa, "Ottawa" or city's agent**
- 3b) Federal agent or federal individual, includes CCN**
- 3c) Judge/court of law, judicial inquiry, court clerk. Must be as actor, not as site**
- 3d) Régie des Alcools (des jeux et des ... du Quebec)**
- 3e) Québec government agent, includes CRO**

The "law" sub-category refers to the courts: be it a judge or "the court." they came up almost exclusively in criminal prosecutions. The "Régie" refers to the Régie des Alcools du Québec, which had a lot of input on the Strip as they were the board responsible for the administering of alcohol permits. The "Quebec" government itself was also quite involved with the bar Strip as they are the ones who made and changed laws through the years that affected drinking habits in Quebec and this changed the nature of the relationship between Hull and Ottawa.

**4a) Hullois (as individual, not as complaining or taking action: just somebody who is in the news and happens to be from Hull, their being from Hull is not central to the story)**

**4b) Quebecois / Francophone (Quebecois other than Hullois, from anywhere in Quebec, Aylmer, Gatineau, Montreal, etc...)**

**4c) Ontarian / Anglo / Ottawan**

**4d) Residents, interest group (Not to be confused with 4a, this is someone or a group that is an actor because they live in Hull, not for some other reason and they also happen to live in Hull)**

**4e) Criminal, suspect, trouble maker (s)**

**4f) Victim**

**4g) Ethnic or native group member, or group, if identified as such**

**4h) Client, patron**

**4j) Business community member, business other than bars**

**4k) Taxi, usually goes with 4a or 4c**

**4l) Media as actor, when someone blames the media, or imparts a role unto the media, Not so and so told the media...**

The categories of Ontarians, Hullois and Quebecois was kept track of in order to see how often the newspapers would mention that this person or that person came from... . This can be useful in understanding who gets represented more and why and these will only be dealt with in the comparison section of this section as they are quite meaningless in and of themselves. The accompanying tables are in appendix 2.

The last two categories, business people, and taxis stand for groups of people, or spokespeople for those groups, but they could not fit anywhere else in the chart.

There are two sub-categories that I chose not to analyse here: "patrons" and "media". The patrons are sporadically represented, usually they are approached as witnesses to an event. The two reporters that I talked to, Jack Aubry of *The Citizen* and Régis Bouchard of *Le Droit* both agreed that the patrons were an unreliable source and they both said that they did not use them very much: it is hard to interview a drunk person, they said<sup>1</sup>.

The "media" category was noted whenever the newspapers were mentioned as an actor. This, though, happened very rarely as it was usually in a bad light when it was

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<sup>1</sup>Personal communication with Jack Aubry of *The Citizen*, September 15, 1998; Personal communication with Régis Bouchard of *Le Droit*, September 16, 1998.

done. Both newspapers played down these accusations by not publicizing them very much.

- 5a) Tenancier(s) or "bar(s)" as actor, or grouping of bar owners**
- 5b) Bar staff**

### **Sites**

- 1a) Hull in general**
  - 1b) Centre-ville, vieux Hull, Ile de Hull**
  - 1c) Promenade du Portage, Bar Strip, Principale**
  - 1d) St Joseph**
  - 5) Place Aubry**
  - 6) Laval Street**
  - 7) Eddy Street**
- 
- 2) Autre lieu comme comparaison**
  - 3) Ottawa, Ontario**
  - 4) Aylmer/Gatineau/Outaouais**

Ottawa was written about in association with the Strip in the sense that the trouble makers in Hull would head back to Ottawa after the bars closed and cause more trouble, or simply head to the bars in Hull after the bars in Ottawa closed. It is clear throughout the coverage that Ottawa is linked to the Strip as the trouble-makers come from there. In this category also, I have put the relevant tables in Appendix 2.

The Outaouais, especially Gatineau and Aylmer, was also talked about, usually as a comparison to Hull, as in crime rates, or as a possible site for the next bar Strip.

The third aspect to this category is places that are completely other, and are used as comparisons. This is often Montreal, as in the police station is as busy as Montreal's notorious station 25. Or often the Strip was compared to Harlem, as a really bad neighbourhood, ruled by drugs, prostitution and violence. The final big analogies were used when 'riots' happened. In these cases, the Strip was usually compared to Los Angeles and the Rodney King riots that took place there in 1992.

**8) Unnamed specific bar (cancel if named later in article), "bar(s)" or les debits de boisson in general**

**9a) Quatre Jeudis**

**9b) Le Bop**

**9c) Le Bistro**

**9d) Cafe VAn Gogh**

**9e) Chez Henri**

**9f) Lido**

**9g) BroadStreet**

**9h) La Place**

**9i) Le rendez-vous**

**9j) Shalimar**

**9k) In Extremis**

**9l) Le Club**

**9m) Thunderdome**

**9n) J.R. Dallas**

**9o) Maxime's**

**9p) Zap**

**9q) Le Capri**

**9r) Remy's**

**9s) Crystal**

**9t) Nouvelle Epoque**

**9u) Chez Louis José**

**9v) Bar D'avignon**

**9w) Maitre Draveurs**

**9x) Aux 3 Canards**

**9y) Le Ruisseau**

**9z) Best's bar**

**9aa) Charlot**

**9ab) Café Terrasses**

**9ac) Tobasco**

**9ad) Le Select**

**9ae) Le Bidon**

**9af) Bank Hotel**

**9ag) Standish Hall**

**9ah) Le Caprice (Le Capri??)**

**9ai) Bocage**

**9aj) Vogue**

**9ak) Whip Tavern**

**9al) Le Soleil**

**9am) St Hubert BBQ**

**9an) Helium**

**9ao) Alberta Tavern**

**9ap) Lipstick**

**9aq) Zinc**

**9ar) Oncle Tom**

**9as) Le Coquetier**

**9at) Bijou**

**9au) VSOP**

**9av) Roxanne**

**9aw) Le Pub**

**9ax) Caviart**

**9ay) Le Marginal**

**9az) Le Playback**

**9ba) T.J.'s**

**9bb) L'Espadon**

**9bc) Club 747**

**9bd) Park Avenue**

**9be) City Club**

**9bf) Cage aux Sports**

**9bg) Au Zone (Ozone)**

**9bh) R.I.P.**

**9bi) Manhattan**

**9bj) Astro-Light**

**9bk) L'Enfer**

I took account of all the bars as they were named when I did my analysis and came up with a list of 63 sites that I was talking account of. Most of these, though, only made it to the newspapers a handful of times. In order to simplify the totals, I chose the ten bars that made it into the newspapers a total of at least twenty times.

Most of the time the bars made it into the newspapers as a site for a crime or a particular event. A few of the bars became favoured spots for action by either newspaper.

The "unnamed" sub-category was noted when a sentence like "a fight broke out in a bar in Hull" was used and that the article did not go on to name the specific bar. This reflects a generalizing tone on the part of the reporter. The bars were noted every

time they were mentioned. This means that even if a newspaper talked about a bar's owner, the bar would get a notation as a site.

Some of these are problematic. I generally took note of an establishment and added it to the list if I understood at that point that it was a bar on the Strip. It turns out that some of these are restaurants and that some of these are on St-Joseph. Conversely, if I knew a place to be on St-Joseph, I wrote down 1d) as a site. And if I knew a place was a restaurant, I wrote down, 1c) or 1d) depending on the case. But I did not always know this ahead of time. However, if a place is on the list, I kept track of it. This is mainly a problem in that the list is too long.

Some of these clubs were in the same place as some others: for example, Chez Henri became the City Club, Best's Bar became Remy's. Often these were nothing more than name changes. It would be too much trouble to reconstitute exactly which place is which, so I have not bothered, better to keep track of them as they appeared in the media.

## APPENDIX 1. PART 2: CODING

This is an article that I have pulled out at random to show how I went about the coding. I have put the codes in square brackets as items appear throughout the text.

PAGE 1 OF 4 IN ITEM 2 OF 24 PAPER The Ottawa Citizen PDATE Fri 30 Nov 90  
EDITION Final SECTION City PAGE B2 HEADLINE \* Police [actor-2b] sweep on Hull's  
bar strip [site-1c] brings 14 arrests [theme-2b] BYLINE Anne Tolson \* Fourteen people  
were arrested [actors-4e] early this morning in five Hull bars [site-8] as part of an  
undercover police operation designed to clean up the city's main strip. "Operation  
Nightlife," a three-month joint operation conducted by \* Hull police and the RCMP  
[actor-2c] drug section, was carried out in response to what police say has become a  
growing cocaine problem [theme-2d] in bars \* along Promenade du Portage. More than  
50 trafficking charges are to be laid, and as many as 14 other people are to be arrested  
over the next few days. Undercover police have been going into bars along the strip  
since September, buying small amounts of cocaine from street-level traffickers. "We  
went in and scooped up the people from whom we'd made buys," said RCMP Staff-Sgt.  
Reo Belhumeur. "We feel we've made a good impact on the promenade." Belhumeur  
said police have been receiving numerous complaints from people who have been  
approached by traffickers or harassed by those high on the drugs sold. He said the drug  
of choice along the promenade is cocaine. "The only thing being sold on the strip these  
days is cocaine," Belhumeur said. "It's most available." Police said bar owners [actor-  
5a] were found not to be involved. Compared to some operations, Nightlife wasn't that  
big, Belhumeur said. "It wasn't that big because we were targeting street-level  
traffickers," he said. But he added that the second phase of the operation will involve  
trying to find the people who are supplying traffickers with drugs. \* Those arrested were  
to appear in Hull court this morning.

## APPENDIX 2: TABLES

Table A-1: Comparison of crime coverage.

	general	tapage	violent	drugs	sex	D.W.I.	other	total
<b>1980</b>	17%	-11%	-5%	0%	0%	0%	-5%	1%
<b>1981</b>	0%	5%	9%	5%	0%	-3%	-6%	20%
<b>1982</b>	0%	-6%	-6%	1%	0%	0%	1%	14%
<b>1983</b>	-1%	-6%	14%	4%	<b>25%</b>	0%	9%	8%
<b>1984</b>	24%	-14%	-13%	-3%	-7%	0%	2%	<b>-16%</b>
<b>1985</b>	-4%	-16%	-8%	4%	-4%	4%	17%	<b>-18%</b>
<b>1986</b>	-13%	-16%	10%	1%	-2%	0%	-2%	<b>-21%</b>
<b>1987</b>	1%	-8%	24%	<b>8%</b>	-3%	-14%	19%	1%
<b>1988</b>	6%	<b>31%</b>	-18%	<b>6%</b>	0%	4%	-3%	7%
<b>1989</b>	11%	<b>31%</b>	5%	<b>12%</b>	10%	-6%	11%	<b>35%</b>
<b>1990</b>	6%	-5%	8%	<b>12%</b>	21%	3%	-2%	<b>30%</b>
<b>1991</b>	-6%	<b>-11%</b>	-17%	-11%	-2%	-7%	-15%	-2%
<b>1992</b>	1%	<b>-26%</b>	-29%	6%	2%	-10%	8%	-16%
<b>1993</b>	-18%	<b>-14%</b>	-10%	9%	-1%	3%	6%	5%
<b>1994</b>	-4%	<b>-19%</b>	-38%	13%	-12%	-6%	-17%	<b>-22%</b>
<b>1995</b>	7%	<b>37%</b>	19%	5%	2%	5%	19%	<b>67%</b>
<b>Total</b>	0%	0%	<b>-6%</b>	<b>4%</b>	1%	-2%	1%	<b>1%</b>

Table A-2: Comparison of cultural tension coverage.

	F/E	Racism
<b>1980</b>	-5%	0%
<b>1981</b>	-3%	-3%
<b>1982</b>	0%	0%
<b>1983</b>	10%	0%
<b>1984</b>	0%	0%
<b>1985</b>	4%	0%
<b>1986</b>	4%	0%
<b>1987</b>	4%	0%
<b>1988</b>	2%	3%
<b>1989</b>	-2%	<b>-13%</b>
<b>1990</b>	-13%	<b>-21%</b>
<b>1991</b>	1%	-2%
<b>1992</b>	1%	-4%
<b>1993</b>	3%	1%
<b>1994</b>	1%	-17%
<b>1995</b>	0%	2%
<b>totals</b>	<b>1%</b>	<b>-3%</b>

Table A-3: Problems and solutions in *Le Droit*

	articles	\$	image	bar	measures	vocation	conflict	cooperation
1980	9	0%	11%	0%	11%	11%	0%	0%
1981	9	0%	0%	0%	22%	0%	11%	11%
1982	8	0%	0%	0%	13%	13%	0%	0%
1983	21	0%	10%	0%	<b>52%</b>	14%	19%	5%
1984	23	9%	<b>17%</b>	4%	<b>35%</b>	17%	22%	4%
1985	46	<b>28%</b>	<b>17%</b>	7%	<b>59%</b>	11%	30%	2%
1986	44	9%	<b>16%</b>	5%	27%	7%	16%	14%
1987	21	5%	<b>10%</b>	0%	29%	0%	5%	0%
1988	58	10%	<b>19%</b>	9%	21%	3%	22%	2%
1989	38	3%	8%	5%	37%	3%	37%	5%
1990	31	3%	3%	0%	16%	3%	23%	0%
1991	75	5%	7%	1%	33%	7%	<b>41%</b>	4%
1992	107	<b>17%</b>	9%	4%	<b>53%</b>	9%	<b>36%</b>	3%
1993	122	<b>20%</b>	<b>12%</b>	4%	<b>46%</b>	<b>17%</b>	<b>42%</b>	6%
1994	70	10%	<b>11%</b>	1%	<b>46%</b>	<b>27%</b>	<b>46%</b>	10%
1995	43	9%	<b>14%</b>	0%	26%	<b>23%</b>	19%	0%
<b>totals</b>	725	12%	11%	<b>3%</b>	39%	12%	<b>31%</b>	<b>5%</b>

Table A-4: Problems and solutions in *The Citizen*.

	articles	\$	image	bar	measures	vocation	conflict	cooperation
1980	19	5%	5%	0%	5%	5%	5%	11%
1981	32	0%	3%	3%	13%	0%	16%	0%
1982	18	0%	0%	0%	6%	0%	11%	0%
1983	19	5%	<b>21%</b>	5%	42%	0%	<b>63%</b>	0%
1984	31	6%	<b>16%</b>	3%	16%	3%	13%	0%
1985	47	<b>30%</b>	<b>21%</b>	4%	<b>57%</b>	6%	30%	0%
1986	32	<b>28%</b>	<b>16%</b>	16%	<b>53%</b>	0%	13%	0%
1987	34	9%	<b>21%</b>	3%	41%	3%	6%	0%
1988	31	0%	13%	6%	16%	0%	23%	3%
1989	48	2%	4%	0%	13%	0%	38%	2%
1990	19	5%	11%	11%	21%	0%	<b>63%</b>	0%
1991	32	16%	3%	3%	19%	3%	<b>53%</b>	6%
1992	37	<b>30%</b>	14%	0%	<b>62%</b>	3%	38%	0%
1993	30	10%	13%	0%	<b>57%</b>	13%	23%	3%
1994	11	18%	<b>18%</b>	0%	<b>36%</b>	9%	36%	0%
1995	3	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
<b>totals</b>	443	12%	12%	<b>4%</b>	32%	<b>3%</b>	28%	<b>2%</b>

Table A-5: Comparison of the coverage of problems and solutions.

	<b>\$</b>	<b>image</b>	<b>bar</b>	<b>measures</b>	<b>vocation</b>	<b>conflict</b>	<b>cooperation</b>
<b>1980</b>	-5%	6%	0%	6%	6%	-5%	-11%
<b>1981</b>	0%	-3%	-3%	10%	0%	-5%	11%
<b>1982</b>	0%	0%	0%	7%	13%	-11%	0%
<b>1983</b>	-5%	-12%	-5%	10%	14%	<b>-44%</b>	5%
<b>1984</b>	2%	1%	1%	19%	14%	9%	4%
<b>1985</b>	-2%	-4%	2%	1%	4%	1%	2%
<b>1986</b>	-19%	0%	-11%	-26%	7%	3%	14%
<b>1987</b>	-4%	-11%	-3%	-13%	-3%	-1%	0%
<b>1988</b>	10%	6%	2%	5%	3%	0%	-2%
<b>1989</b>	1%	4%	5%	24%	3%	-1%	3%
<b>1990</b>	-2%	-7%	-11%	-5%	3%	<b>-41%</b>	0%
<b>1991</b>	-10%	4%	-2%	15%	4%	<b>-12%</b>	-2%
<b>1992</b>	-13%	<b>-4%</b>	4%	-9%	7%	-2%	3%
<b>1993</b>	10%	<b>-1%</b>	4%	-11%	4%	18%	2%
<b>1994</b>	-8%	<b>-7%</b>	1%	9%	18%	9%	10%
<b>1995</b>	9%	14%	0%	26%	23%	19%	0%
<b>totals</b>	0%	<b>-1%</b>	0%	<b>7%</b>	<b>9%</b>	<b>3%</b>	<b>3%</b>

Table A-6: Miscellaneous theme in *Le Droit*.

	<b>Articles</b>	<b>transport</b>	<b>Nightlife</b>	<b>soft</b>	<b>other/accident</b>
<b>1980</b>	9	0%	11%	22%	0%
<b>1981</b>	9	11%	0%	0%	0%
<b>1982</b>	8	0%	0%	0%	0%
<b>1983</b>	21	10%	5%	5%	0%
<b>1984</b>	23	9%	9%	0%	0%
<b>1985</b>	46	<b>30%</b>	0%	0%	0%
<b>1986</b>	44	<b>30%</b>	0%	0%	0%
<b>1987</b>	21	14%	0%	0%	0%
<b>1988</b>	58	3%	5%	3%	2%
<b>1989</b>	38	32%	0%	0%	<b>8%</b>
<b>1990</b>	31	10%	0%	0%	<b>19%</b>
<b>1991</b>	75	17%	0%	4%	1%
<b>1992</b>	107	13%	2%	3%	2%
<b>1993</b>	122	15%	1%	10%	0%
<b>1994</b>	70	17%	0%	4%	0%
<b>1995</b>	43	14%	2%	2%	2%
<b>totals</b>	725	16%	<b>2%</b>	<b>4%</b>	2%

Table A-7: Miscellaneous theme in *The Citizen*.

	articles	transport	nightlife	soft	other/accident
1980	19	16%	0%	11%	0%
1981	32	3%	16%	19%	3%
1982	18	0%	6%	11%	0%
1983	19	21%	11%	16%	0%
1984	31	16%	0%	3%	0%
1985	47	<b>32%</b>	2%	2%	2%
1986	32	<b>28%</b>	0%	3%	0%
1987	34	21%	3%	3%	0%
1988	31	10%	10%	6%	0%
1989	48	21%	0%	8%	<b>33%</b>
1990	19	11%	0%	16%	<b>37%</b>
1991	32	13%	0%	3%	13%
1992	37	5%	0%	0%	0%
1993	30	<b>27%</b>	3%	13%	0%
1994	11	9%	0%	27%	0%
1995	3	0%	33%	33%	0%
<b>totals</b>	<b>443</b>	<b>17%</b>	<b>3%</b>	<b>8%</b>	<b>7%</b>

Table A-8: Miscellaneous themes in comparison.

	transport	nightlife	soft	other/accident
1980	-16%	11%	12%	0%
1981	8%	-16%	-19%	-3%
1982	0%	-6%	-11%	0%
1983	-12%	-6%	-11%	0%
1984	-7%	9%	-3%	0%
1985	-1%	-2%	-2%	-2%
1986	1%	0%	-3%	0%
1987	-6%	-3%	-3%	0%
1988	-6%	-5%	-3%	2%
1989	<b>11%</b>	0%	-8%	<b>-25%</b>
1990	-1%	0%	-16%	<b>-17%</b>
1991	5%	0%	1%	-11%
1992	8%	2%	3%	2%
1993	-12%	-3%	-3%	0%
1994	8%	0%	-23%	0%
1995	14%	-31%	-31%	2%
<b>totals</b>	<b>-1%</b>	<b>-2%</b>	<b>-4%</b>	<b>-5%</b>

Table A-9: Sites in Hull in *Le Droit*

	articles	"Hull"	Strip
<b>1980</b>	9	56%	56%
<b>1981</b>	9	56%	22%
<b>1982</b>	8	13%	13%
<b>1983</b>	21	76%	24%
<b>1984</b>	23	70%	43%
<b>1985</b>	46	43%	41%
<b>1986</b>	44	57%	52%
<b>1987</b>	21	29%	71%
<b>1988</b>	58	34%	60%
<b>1989</b>	38	45%	68%
<b>1990</b>	31	35%	52%
<b>1991</b>	75	28%	76%
<b>1992</b>	107	23%	80%
<b>1993</b>	122	25%	81%
<b>1994</b>	70	27%	70%
<b>1995</b>	43	33%	65%
<b>total</b>	725	35%	66%

Table A-10: Sites in Hull in *The Citizen*.

	articles	"Hull"	Strip
<b>1980</b>	19	37%	58%
<b>1981</b>	32	34%	31%
<b>1982</b>	18	28%	11%
<b>1983</b>	19	53%	16%
<b>1984</b>	31	48%	29%
<b>1985</b>	47	36%	30%
<b>1986</b>	32	72%	34%
<b>1987</b>	34	59%	35%
<b>1988</b>	31	42%	61%
<b>1989</b>	48	46%	73%
<b>1990</b>	19	47%	89%
<b>1991</b>	32	44%	72%
<b>1992</b>	37	38%	86%
<b>1993</b>	30	37%	83%
<b>1994</b>	11	55%	82%
<b>1995</b>	3	0%	67%
<b>total</b>	443	44%	53%

Table A-11: Sites in Hull in Comparison.

	"Hull"	Strip
<b>1980</b>	19%	-2%
<b>1981</b>	21%	-9%
<b>1982</b>	-15%	1%
<b>1983</b>	24%	8%
<b>1984</b>	21%	14%
<b>1985</b>	7%	12%
<b>1986</b>	-15%	18%
<b>1987</b>	-30%	36%
<b>1988</b>	-7%	-1%
<b>1989</b>	-1%	-4%
<b>1990</b>	-12%	-38%
<b>1991</b>	-16%	4%
<b>1992</b>	-14%	-6%
<b>1993</b>	-11%	-2%
<b>1994</b>	-27%	-12%
<b>1995</b>	33%	-2%
<b>total</b>	<b>-10%</b>	<b>13%</b>

Table A-12: Bars as sites in *Le Droit*.

	art	name	4-Jeu	Bist	CheH	Lido	Bstret	Shali	JRD's	Remy	ParkA	CitiC
<b>1980</b>	9	0%	0%	0%	44%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
<b>1981</b>	9	0%	0%	0%	22%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
<b>1982</b>	8	0%	0%	0%	63%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
<b>1983</b>	21	0%	0%	0%	0%	57%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
<b>1984</b>	23	17%	4%	0%	0%	9%	0%	0%	9%	0%	0%	0%
<b>1985</b>	46	17%	0%	2%	11%	28%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
<b>1986</b>	44	18%	0%	0%	5%	0%	0%	2%	0%	0%	0%	0%
<b>1987</b>	21	10%	5%	10%	29%	5%	0%	0%	5%	5%	0%	0%
<b>1988</b>	58	16%	2%	0%	12%	9%	0%	0%	14%	2%	0%	0%
<b>1989</b>	38	8%	0%	0%	3%	16%	0%	0%	3%	0%	3%	0%
<b>1990</b>	31	3%	0%	0%	6%	3%	3%	3%	3%	10%	3%	0%
<b>1991</b>	75	11%	0%	0%	1%	3%	4%	3%	3%	5%	4%	11%
<b>1992</b>	107	9%	4%	3%	1%	5%	7%	2%	0%	1%	3%	6%
<b>1993</b>	122	10%	3%	1%	1%	11%	5%	3%	0%	0%	5%	7%
<b>1994</b>	70	6%	0%	3%	23%	9%	9%	10%	0%	0%	4%	17%
<b>1995</b>	43	14%	7%	0%	5%	2%	5%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
<b>total</b>	<b>725</b>	<b>10%</b>	<b>2%</b>	<b>1%</b>	<b>8%</b>	<b>9%</b>	<b>3%</b>	<b>2%</b>	<b>2%</b>	<b>1%</b>	<b>2%</b>	<b>5%</b>

Table A-13: Bars as sites in *The Citizen*.

	art	name	4-Jeu	Bist	CheH	Lido	Bstret	Shali	JRD's	Remy	ParkA	CitiC
1980	19	0%	0%	0%	5%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
1981	32	19%	9%	3%	9%	0%	0%	0%	6%	0%	0%	0%
1982	18	6%	0%	0%	50%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
1983	19	16%	0%	0%	5%	37%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
1984	31	3%	3%	0%	3%	16%	0%	0%	3%	0%	0%	0%
1985	47	28%	0%	2%	11%	9%	0%	2%	0%	0%	0%	0%
1986	32	13%	0%	0%	9%	13%	0%	6%	0%	0%	0%	0%
1987	34	29%	9%	12%	29%	6%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
1988	31	13%	0%	0%	3%	6%	0%	0%	16%	19%	0%	0%
1989	48	15%	0%	2%	17%	8%	0%	4%	10%	2%	0%	0%
1990	19	5%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	11%	5%	0%	0%
1991	32	3%	0%	0%	0%	0%	3%	0%	6%	16%	6%	6%
1992	37	11%	5%	14%	3%	8%	8%	5%	0%	3%	8%	5%
1993	30	17%	3%	10%	0%	0%	17%	0%	0%	0%	10%	20%
1994	11	18%	0%	9%	9%	9%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	9%
1995	3	33%	0%	0%	33%	0%	0%	33%	0%	0%	0%	0%
total	443	14%	2%	4%	10%	7%	2%	2%	4%	3%	2%	2%

Table A-14: Comparison of bars as sites.

	name	4-Jeu	Bist	CheH	Lido	Bstret	Shali	JRD's	Remy	ParkA	CitiC
1980	0%	0%	0%	39%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
1981	-19%	-9%	-3%	13%	0%	0%	0%	-6%	0%	0%	0%
1982	-6%	0%	0%	13%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
1983	-16%	0%	0%	-5%	20%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
1984	14%	1%	0%	-3%	-7%	0%	0%	5%	0%	0%	0%
1985	-10%	0%	0%	0%	20%	0%	-2%	0%	0%	0%	0%
1986	6%	0%	0%	-5%	-13%	0%	-4%	0%	0%	0%	0%
1987	-20%	-4%	-2%	-1%	-1%	0%	0%	5%	5%	0%	0%
1988	3%	2%	0%	9%	2%	0%	0%	-2%	-18%	0%	0%
1989	-7%	0%	-2%	-14%	7%	0%	-4%	-8%	-2%	3%	0%
1990	-2%	0%	0%	6%	3%	3%	3%	-7%	4%	3%	0%
1991	8%	0%	0%	1%	3%	1%	3%	-4%	-10%	-2%	4%
1992	-1%	-2%	-11%	-2%	-3%	-2%	-4%	0%	-2%	-5%	0%
1993	-7%	0%	-9%	1%	11%	-12%	3%	0%	0%	-5%	-13%
1994	-12%	0%	-6%	14%	-1%	9%	10%	0%	0%	4%	8%
1995	-19%	7%	0%	-29%	2%	5%	-33%	0%	0%	0%	0%
total	-4%	0%	-2%	-3%	2%	1%	1%	-2%	-2%	1%	2%

# Requête pour la révocation du permis du bar Remy's Un agent double aurait acheté de la drogue au bar

**Michel Beauparant**  
**Le Droit**  
Un agent double de la Sûreté provinciale d'Ontario a témoigné, hier, à l'effet qu'il a réussi à acheter une once de cocaïne dans le restaurant-bar Remy's dans le cadre de la vaste opération anti trafic de drogue «Scorpion» qui a eu lieu pendant deux ans à compter d'octobre, 1986.

Témoin du ministère public devant la Régie des permis d'alcool du Québec, l'agent Tom Girling n'a toutefois pas pu relier Flint Kaya, le propriétaire du bar, directement aux activités de traficage que la police croyait avoir lieu dans l'établissement.

La Régie a repris hier, à Hull, une audience en rapport avec une requête de la ville de Hull visant la révocation du permis de bar qui détiennent cet établissement du Portage.

## Drogue

C'est le 19 mars, 1987, que le policier de 32 ans a acheté la drogue. Bien qu'il avait essayé de transiger avec Kaya lui-même, l'agent Girling a dû barier la transaction avec deux hommes décrits comme étant «des hommes de main» de Kaya, savoir William «Rusty»

Fisher, qui lui a remis l'once de cocaïne, et Serge Gunduz qui a pris les 2800 \$ demandés.

Deux jours plus tard, le 22 mars, Girling est retourné au Remy's, parlant cette fois à Flint Kaya, pour négocier l'achat d'une livre de la même drogue.

Il dit dans son témoignage que le marché ne s'est pas avéré parce que Kaya soupçonnait qu'il y avait cinq dicas (détectives) dans son bar. Girling ajoute que Kaya lui a alors demandé d'agir en «simple client» et que le videur à la porte lui a proposé de sortir par l'arrière, ce qu'il rapporte avoir refusé puisqu'il était «clean» (sans drogue).

L'agent Girling déclare être retourné au Remy's le 8 mai, 1987, mais à cause de l'entourage nombreux gravitant autour de Kaya dans sa salle personnelle de musique attenante au bar il n'a pu aborder le sujet d'une transaction.

## Transaction

Cependant, il dit que parmi les personnes présentes une fille de Vancouver avait une demi once de marijuana et que Kaya a mulé deux «jointes» qui ont circulé dans le groupe.

Pendant l'été l'agent secret

dit qu'il est revenu à la charge, notamment lorsqu'un Bob McDonald a communiqué avec lui pour lui proposer un marché. Les deux s'entendent sur une transaction de deux onces de cocaïne et se donnent rendez-vous dans le stationnement sis en face du Remy's.

Selon l'agent Girling, McDonald voulait l'argent d'avance mais lui ne voulait acquitter que sur remise de la drogue. McDonald se serait alors retiré pour aller consulter «Flint» dans le bar. A son retour, l'émissaire aurait rapporté que Flint ne veut pas transiger avec lui, Girling.

Brûlé, l'agent double fut remplacé par un autre pour la deuxième phase de l'opération.

## Arrestations

Mettant en présence les autorités provinciales du Québec et de l'Ontario ainsi que la police de Hull sous la coordination de la police d'Ottawa, cette opération de deux ans a porté sur les deux côtés de la rivière et jusqu'à Montréal. Dans la région, 88 personnes de l'Ontario ont été arrêtées et accusées sous plus de 120 chefs. 40 d'entre elles ont déjà été condamnées à des peines diverses. 11 ont été libérées (entre autres parce que les accusations ont été retirées) et les autres ont toutes été citées à procès qui devraient avoir lieu avant la fin de 1990, selon le procureur Ann Alder, du district d'Ottawa-Carleton.

Du côté québécois, sept personnes ont été accusées dont deux frères de Flint Kaya, Ferdan et Bess qui sont en attente de procès des deux côtés de la rivière, ainsi que deux employés du Remy's, Tom Chun et Serge Gunduz. Ce dernier fait l'objet d'un mandat d'arrestation du fait qu'il se serait réfugié en

Turkie, selon l'agent Claude Whitlock, de la police de Hull, qui doit être entendu aujourd'hui.

Il n'y a pas que la transaction de l'agent Girling qui porte ombrage sur le Remy's.

## Meurtre

Un témoin est venu étaler devant les régisseurs les détails du meurtre de William Cole survenu au tout début de la nuit du 11 au 12 août, 1987, dans les quartiers privés contigus au bar et contrôlés par serrures codées.

Ayant été informés des grandes lignes de ce meurtre lors de leur première séance ici en juin, les régisseurs Raymond Boulet et Michel Debois ont appris de l'agent provincial Robert Dubé que, sorti de prison à 8 h au matin du 11 août après avoir purgé une peine pour la séquestration de la concubine de Kaya, Cole s'est amené dans Hull vers 16 h.

Le bruit de sa rentrée court l'immédiat du Portage où il se pointe en soirée.

Il rentre au Remy's et, malgré la recommandation que

Flint Kaya avait faite depuis le Mexique et qui préconisait l'intervention policière le cas échéant, certaines personnes se chargent de Cole. Cet «individu hautement criminalisé», selon l'agent Dubé, est amené dans les bureaux privés, il est battu, on lui donne de la cyanure puis on le bat à nouveau à la tête avec un baton. Tout pendant que les clients s'amuse.

Aux petites heures, on le sort dans des sacs de plastique et on le transporte au lac Mulvihill, dans le parc de la Gatineau, où on l'achève par un coup de fusil à la nuque. Ce qui était superflu dit l'agent Dubé en évoquant le rapport d'autopsie puisqu'il aurait succombé à ses blessures «irréversibles» à la tête.

De cet incident, Flint Kaya a fait de la prison pour avoir entravé le travail des policiers jusqu'à son retour du Mexique il a convoqué son personnel pour «fabriquer» un alibi voulant que Cole soit sorti du bar en marchant. Son entourage d'affaires a par ailleurs écoupé de sentences allant de deux ans à la perpétuité.

# Les policiers ont dû tirer 14 balles La mort d'un chien suscite une enquête

Révis Bouchard

**Le Droit** Le service de la police de Hull a institué une enquête interne à la suite d'un incident survenu dans la nuit de dimanche à lundi alors que des policiers ont abattu un chien de race danois sur la promenade du Portage, à Hull.

«Comme dans tous les cas où les policiers font usage de leur arme de service, il y a une enquête interne», a souligné,

hier, le sergent Yves Martel de la Sûreté de Hull. L'enquête a d'ailleurs été confiée au capitaine Robert Balzano du service au personnel du corps policier hullais.

Selon la version de la Sûreté de Hull, les policiers présents sur la promenade du Portage, à Hull, dans la nuit de lundi à mardi, vers minuit 45, ont agi en fonction de la menace immédiate et avec les moyens qu'ils avaient à ce mo-

ment, a précisé le sergent Martel.

Voici les faits tel que relatés par la Police de Hull.

Il est minuit 45 lorsque deux policiers aperçoivent un danois qui marche sur le trottoir sans aucune laisse. Les deux agents retracent alors le propriétaire du chien qui suit l'animal à une quinzaine de mètres. L'individu est ensuite informé qu'en vertu d'un règlement municipal, l'animal doit être attaché avec la laisse.

L'homme, après quelques arguments, finit par obéir.

Une quinzaine de minutes plus tard, les mêmes policiers revolent le même chien qui se promène avec une laisse qui traîne sur le trottoir avec le résultat que les agents avertisent à nouveau le propriétaire et lui remettent alors une sommation pour ensuite procéder à son arrestation pour avoir contravenu à un autre règlement municipal.

L'individu est amené dans le fourgon cellulaire non sans difficultés avec le résultat que le second policier éprouve de plus en plus de peine à contrôler l'animal qui veut défendre son maître.

## 14 coups de feu

Selon le sergent Martel, le chien aurait alors tenté de mordre l'agent au bras avec le résultat qu'un policier a tiré un premier coup de feu de calibre .38. Douze autres coups de ce même calibre suivront alors que l'animal sera finalement achevé avec un quatorzième projectile de calibre .12.

Tout en admettant que le nombre de coups de feu tirés pouvait sembler énorme, le sergent Martel explique que les policiers qui ont tiré n'ont jamais réussi à atteindre l'animal comme ils l'auraient voulu. «L'animal était une cible mobile», a expliqué le sergent Martel qui ajoute que les policiers devaient aussi tenir compte du fait que de nombreuses personnes avaient envahi les lieux après les premiers coups de feu, augmentant ainsi le danger.

M. Martel a par ailleurs confirmé que la police de Hull n'avait aucun contrat de services avec la Société de prévention contre la cruauté animale (SPCA). «Nous avons un préposé aux animaux qui a été demandé sur les lieux. À son arrivée l'animal était déjà mort. Je ne crois pas que sa présence aurait changé quelque chose. La menace était immédiate», a souligné M. Martel.

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# «Ils n'avaient pas le droit de tuer mon chien»

Régis Bouchard  
Le Droit

NULL «Qu'ils aient tiré 14 coups ou seulement un coup. Ils n'avaient pas le droit de tuer mon chien».

Brent Francis, 26 ans, d'Ottawa, n'accepte pas que des policiers de Hull aient abattu son chien, dans la nuit de dimanche à lundi, sur la Promenade du Portage à Hull.

L'homme a déjà établi des contacts avec la directrice de la Société de prévention de la cruauté aux animaux, Mme Huguette Robillard, qui a d'ailleurs indiqué qu'une enquête avait été instituée afin de faire la lumière sur les circonstances qui ont entouré la mort du chien de M. Francis, un grand danois de 4 ans, qui pesait 130 livres.

Contrairement à la ville de Gatineau par exemple, Hull n'a aucun contrat de services avec la SPCA qui, selon Mme Robillard, possède une expertise reconnue lorsque se présentent des cas impliquant non seulement des chiens, mais des animaux en général.

«Les policiers n'ont pas la formation pour traiter avec les animaux, comme ils ne peuvent éteindre les feux à la place des pompiers», souligne Mme Robillard, qui ajoute que la SPCA offre un service d'urgence 24 heures sur 24.

## Un chien docile

La directrice souligne d'ailleurs que la nuit dernière, son organisme est intervenu à 2h, en pleine nuit, à la demande de la Sûreté de Gatineau pour un chien qui semblait agressif. «En 15 minutes tout était sous contrôle et l'animal nous donnait la patte», a-t-elle précisé.

Dans le cas particulier du chien de M. Francis, Mme Robillard a indiqué que les danois étaient des chiens très dociles et très sociables malgré leur taille imposante. «Dans les minutes qui ont précédé l'incident, des témoins disent avoir joué sans aucun problème avec l'animal», selon Mme Robillard.

Cette dernière questionne d'ailleurs les motifs qui ont amené les policiers à tirer 14 coups avant de parvenir à abattre l'animal. «C'est très excessif, mais le blâme ne doit pas être jeté uniquement sur les policiers, mais également sur la ville à qui nous avons fait des offres de services à plusieurs reprises», a dit Mme Robillard.

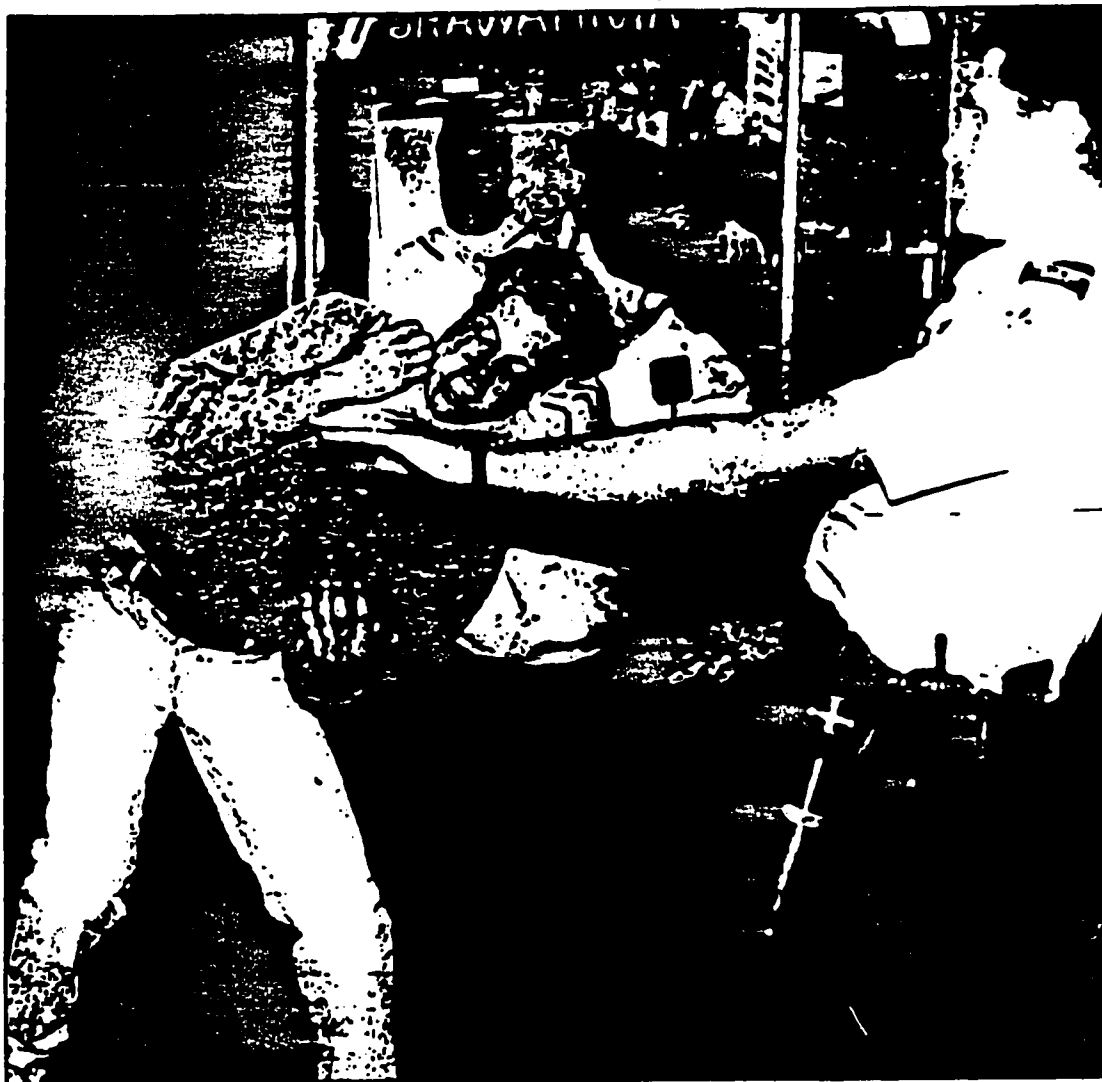
Quant à l'enquête comme telle, Mme Robillard a dit qu'il faudra compter environ deux semaines avant de savoir si des accusations de cruauté envers un animal seront portées.

6/25/1992, "Tous les bars fermés à 1h," Paul Gaboury



ADRIAN P.S.

6/29/1992, p.3, "La police de Hull passe aux actes," Denis Gratton.



MARTIN ROY, Le Soleil

6/30/1992, p.4, "Hull veyt fermer quatre bars," Paul Gaboury.



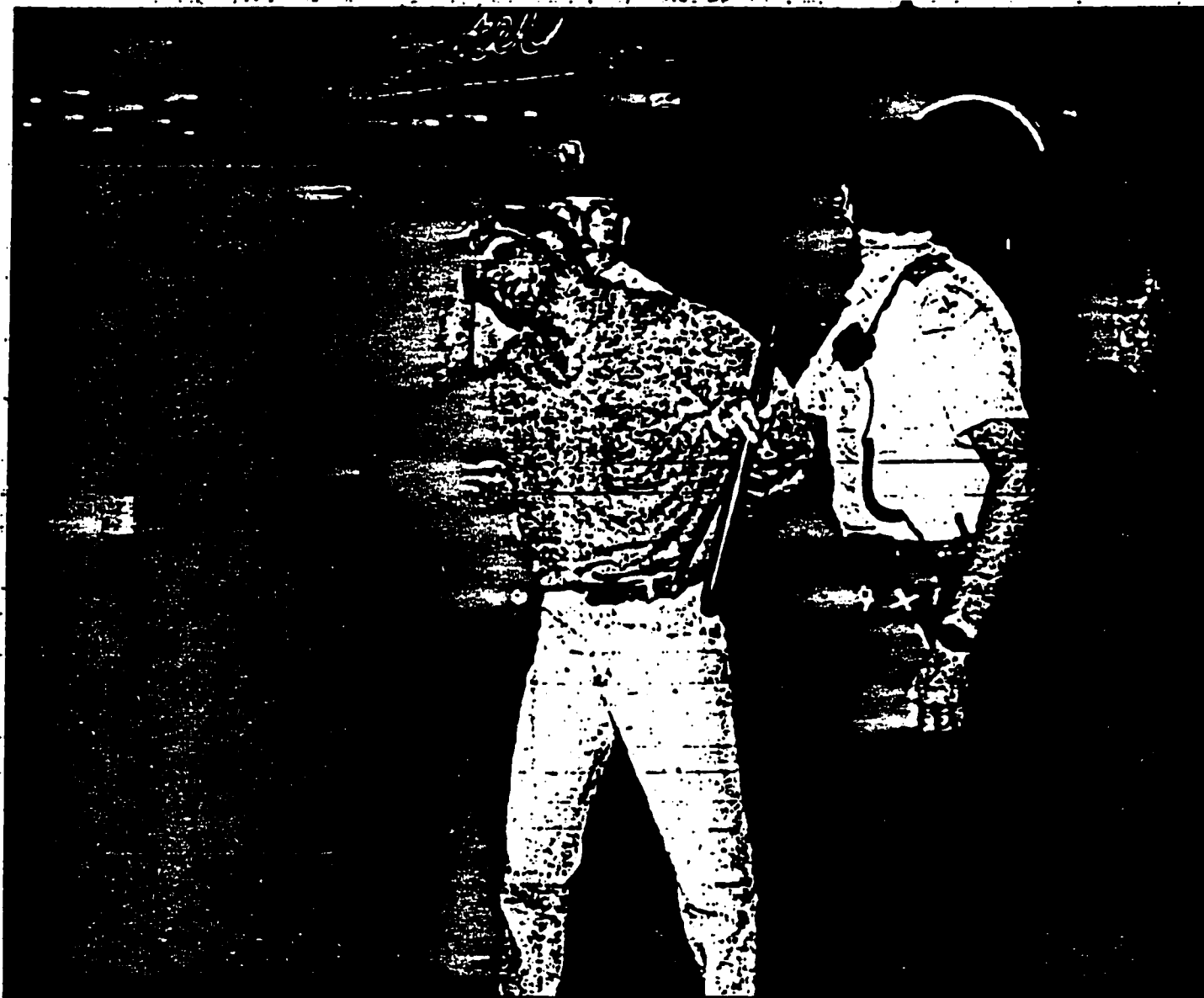
ARCHIVES, LeOreil

7/4/1992, p.18, "Chaque crime coute 682\$ aux contribuables," no By-line.



MARTIN BOY, Letiron

7/9/1992, "Hull est devenu le Cuba de Batista," Benoit Guy Allaire.



MARTIN BOY, LeWeek

8/22/1992, p.1, "Des chiens pour mettre de l'ordre," caption only.



8/22/1992, p/4, "des Bergers Allemands ont surveillé les fêtards," François Gagnon.

