WRITING FOR DIGITAL NEWS: THE SOCIAL ORGANIZATION OF NEWS STORIES ABOUT HIV CRIMINALIZATION IN AN AGE OF CONVERGENCE JOURNALISM

COLIN HASTINGS

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation is an institutional ethnographic study of the social organization of news production about HIV criminalization in Canada. HIV criminalization is a global HIV activist concern. Broadly, HIV criminalization refers to the use of the criminal law to charge and/or prosecute people living with HIV who, allegedly, have exposed their sex partners to HIV, failed to disclose to their HIV-positive status, or transmitted HIV sexually.

This study extends the sociological study of HIV criminalization, particularly research on mainstream news representations of HIV non-disclosure criminal cases. Critical social science research on HIV criminalization and media has called attention to the sensational and stigmatizing character of news reports, however, social scientists have yet to explore how such a news discourse happens. To correct for that gap, I employ institutional ethnographic research methods to investigate the work practices of people who are variously situated in a digital news environment. By bringing into view the actual practices of journalists who produce news accounts of HIV criminalization, this institutional ethnographic project illuminates a new range of social actors whose activities can be understood to shape, and be shaped by, the social relations of HIV criminalization.

This project adds to sociological understandings of "newswork" by illuminating a practice that I call "writing for digital news." Writing for digital news is comprised of reporters' work to activate existing digital texts and process them into multiple news formats as quickly as possible. My central argument in this dissertation, is that the social organization of reporters' writing for digital news creates conditions that make it challenging for journalists to disrupt patterns of sensational reporting about HIV criminalization.

Interviews with reporters revealed that police news releases are a central part of news production routines. I draw on studies of recontextualization to make visible how reporters' work with these documents makes it possible for the police's accounts of crime, danger, risk, and security to circulate widely in news discourse about HIV criminalization. Of course, news coverage of HIV criminalization is not univocal. Social movements are a significant source of counter discourse. As interviews with HIV activists illustrate, activists shape public knowledge about HIV criminalization in the press by strategically leveraging the conventions of the news interview, producing quantified representations of the issue, and developing relationships with reporters.

Overall this dissertation adds to understandings of the social organization of media discourse about HIV criminalization. At the same time, it also provides space to reflect on broader analytic sociological questions. In particular, in this work I complicate the way that social relations are conceptualized in institutional ethnography, trouble the way that scholars understand the relationship between crime news and health news, and position this work within a trajectory of politically engaged institutional ethnography.

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CHAPTER ONE

1. INTRODUCTION

This dissertation is an institutional ethnography (IE) of the social organization of news production about HIV criminalization in Canada. The study brings together two strands of scholarship. The first is the sociological study of HIV criminalization, in particular, research on mainstream news representations of HIV non-disclosure criminal cases. The second is the ethnographic study of news production. I bring these two trajectories of research together to move beyond the way that research typically focuses on representation within news stories and on the activities of newsmakers in newsrooms. Through the use of institutional ethnographic research methods, I explore how news about HIV criminalization is produced through a complex of activities carried out by people variously situated in a digital news environment.

This sociological study extends knowledge of the social relations of HIV criminalization in Canada by taking seriously the role that the news media play in shaping public knowledge of complex issues, such as HIV criminalization. By bringing into view the actual practices of journalists who produce news accounts of HIV criminalization, this institutional ethnographic project illuminates a new range of social actors whose activities can be understood to shape, and be shaped by, the social relations of HIV criminalization. In this dissertation, I devote particular attention to work activities that are coordinated across various institutions to produce a standard type of news story about HIV criminalization. This typical type of news story, which I refer to in this dissertation as a “standard crime genre story,” portrays the issue in sensational ways and depicts people living with HIV as objectified, dangerous, and threatening individuals. Crime stories about HIV criminalization are a unique type of crime story because they focus on issues related to the disclosure of a health status. This means that crime genre stories about HIV criminalization integrate forms of public health knowledge and reasoning.

The production of standard crime genre stories about HIV criminalization is the empirical focus of this dissertation because they are the news stories that HIV activists have expressed serious concerns about for decades (African and Caribbean Council on HIV/AIDS in Ontario 2010, 2013). People living with HIV and those who work for community-based organizations that represent them, have problematized how standard crime genre stories enter into the daily news cycle as uncontextualized, reductionist accounts of malicious crimes, as opposed to more nuanced descriptions of a complex social, legal, and public health matter (Canadian Coalition to Reform HIV Criminalization 2017; Canadian HIV/AIDS Legal Network 2019) . Furthermore, short and sensational news stories about HIV criminalization with eye-catching headlines are the types of articles that readers are likely to share and distribute across digital newswires and social media feeds. Crime genre stories are the ones that most readily enter into news readers' everyday lives.

To understand how standard crime genre accounts of HIV criminalization happen, I interviewed reporters who write these articles, news editors who assign and approve these news stories, the sources that reporters rely on, and HIV activists who try to disrupt the production of crime genre articles. My central argument in this dissertation, is that the social organization of reporters' writing for digital news creates conditions that make it challenging for journalists to disrupt patterns of sensational reporting about HIV criminalization. I came to know about the social organization of digital news production by talking with reporters like Shawn.

Shawn is a beat reporter with *The Daily Journal*.[1] He meets me on the street outside the tall skyscraper he works in and we chat until the end of his smoke break, then he leads me inside the building, up the elevator to the newsroom floor, past the walls lined with iconic front pages his newspaper has published, and into the cafeteria with views overlooking the city. It's a brisk, sunny day in November 2017, and I'm nearing the end of my fieldwork. Lately my days have been spent pouring over freshly typed interview transcripts, and I am reluctant to add another transcript to the stack of data that needs to be combed through. However, my friend Neil has convinced me that meeting with Shawn would be well worth my time. Neil met Shawn when the two were undergraduates working for their student newspaper. Shawn was the paper's editor. According to Neil, even as an undergraduate student, Shawn was unmistakably serious about being a reporter. Neil described that Shawn constantly seemed to be following the scent of a story and would spend hours on his phone each day relentlessly trying to root out a lead. Neil was entirely unsurprised that Shawn was now writing for *The Daily Journal*. Beat reporting for a major news organization always seemed to be Shawn's singular focus.

Of all the reporters I spoke with while doing research for this dissertation, Shawn was the one who looked most like he had arrived at the interview straight from central casting. He embodied so much of what comes to mind when one conjures an image of the dogged, tenacious reporter. Perhaps what stood out most, was that he looked positively exhausted, as if he had been following a scandalous news lead for days. He also had a way of speaking that made it seem as though he knew an inside scoop that every other reporter was after. As he answered even my most mundane questions, he had a habit of quickly peering over both of his shoulders, leaning in closer to me from across the table, and speaking in a low, guarded voice. This posture made our interview feel important.

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[1] *The Daily Journal* is a pseudonym that I use to protect the anonymity of the reporter. I explain the way that I use pseudonyms throughout this dissertation on page 33.

As a reporter, Shawn faces the daily grind of producing news in what has been referred to as “the post-truth era.” The post-truth world is a space where “alternative facts” replace actual facts, feelings have more weight than evidence, people lose trust in traditional media outlets, and social media accelerates the circulation of false, unverified, and exaggerated information (Anon 2017; Mcintyre 2018). Just three weeks before I met Shawn, Collins Dictionary named “fake news” as their word of the year for 2017 - defined as “false, often sensational, information disseminated under the guise of news reporting” (Hunt 2017). Communication scholars have identified that the rapid circulation of misinformation in the mainstream news has to do with “the current media ecosystem” and how “the media’s dependence on social media, analytics, and metrics, sensationalism, novelty over newsworthiness, and clickbait makes them vulnerable to such media manipulation (Marwick and Lewis 2017). This is a dissertation about how that current news media ecosystem is put together, and ways that reporters’ newswork to keep up with the frenzied pace of online news amplify sensational stories.

One of Shawn’s first encounters with reporting sensational news, actually had to do with a rare encounter with a shark in Lake Ontario. He tells a story about how the pressure that reporters face to produce a “quick hit” story for their news organization’s website can cause them to “get burned:”

> We need to get burned... I got burned once and I don’t do that [write quick news stories] anymore… There was a report of a video of a shark, it was right at the start of my career, there was this YouTube video of a shark in Lake Ontario... I got sent the video and my editor asked, “can you write something quick on this?” So, I called the restaurant on the island and they told me, “I’m not sending my kids in the lake and we’re all really freaked out about this.” I called some other people and they said they had seen the video and were all

> freaked out about this. There's these two fishermen on the dock and then this shark comes out and takes their catch and they all freak out. I couldn't find the people, I couldn't reach, this is what haunts me, is that I couldn't speak to the people who made the video or the fisherman in the video, nobody seemed to know them. I write this story, nothing about a shark, like I kind of glossed over, it could be a shark, nobody knows what it is but this video has really freaked out these people on this little island and that's the story. It's really big and we quoted a marine biologist who says, "I don't think that's a shark, I don't know what that it is, but it's possible, they have come up the St. Lawrence before." Anyway, it turns out it was a Bell Media gag, like it was part of a promo for their "Shark Week" on Discovery Channel. And I was fucking livid. I had just started my job here, I was so mad. We never really said there was a shark, anyway, it just is like, that situation, that like quick hit, like, it's, you're so prone to error when you're under that kind of pressure, that I'd rather just screw it and say fuck it because it's [reporting misinformation is] so possible.

Shawn's story encapsulates a lot of what I came to recognize as the hallmarks of reporters' daily newswork. For one, his account starts to show just how porous the line between news producers and news audiences has become in the age of the smartphone. The main source of Shawn's news story is not an event he witnessed first-hand, but an online video that was spreading across social media. As I will describe throughout this dissertation, reporters' newswork in the era of convergence journalism is often characterized by activities to process online, digital texts into news stories as quickly as possible. The social organization of writing for digital news positions reporters to produce sensational news stories.

This is also a dissertation about the social organization of knowledge about HIV criminalization. HIV criminalization is a global HIV activist concern. It refers to the use of the criminal law to respond to people living with HIV "who allegedly expose their sexual partners to HIV infection, fail to disclose their HIV status to them, or sexually transmit HIV to their sex partners" (Global Commission on HIV and the Law 2012; Mykhalovskiy et al. 2016:12). Since the 1980s, Canadian HIV activists have mounted a consistent and powerful resistance to HIV criminalization that has recently made significant inroads in efforts to reform how the criminal law is used to respond to HIV non-disclosure in Canada. Through this sociological study of how the news media reports on HIV criminalization, I both contribute to these ongoing advocacy efforts, and document how activists' participation in the mainstream press has been a critical part of the work to resist HIV criminalization.

At the same time, this dissertation aims to contribute to various fields of sociological research. As I describe in the analytic reflections that I offer in chapter five, this study extends the way that social relations are conceptualized within IE and models an approach to institutional ethnographic analysis that shows how different institutional functions overlap. This dissertation also adds to sociological understandings of health news and crime news by illustrating the way that representations of health blend with crime reporting in the mainstream press. Finally, this work adds to a trajectory of activist oriented IE and extends ways of thinking about the "public life" of ethnographic research.

1.1. Objective

I wanted to do an IE of how news stories about HIV criminalization are produced, because this study offers an avenue to contribute to ongoing activist efforts to resist and reform HIV criminalization in Canada. I have been invested in HIV advocacy work since 2010, when I worked as an education outreach coordinator at an AIDS service organization (ASO) in Kingston, Ontario. I arrived at that role by way of my interest in community education for social justice that I gained as an undergraduate student. I had little knowledge of issues related to HIV when I started the job. The position was an opportunity to learn quickly – on my first day a harm reduction worker on staff taught me how to construct a pipe for smoking crack cocaine so that I could assist those who came to access harm reduction supplies; I accompanied educators who offered safer sex presentations at local schools and community centers; I observed colleagues who spoke on the phone with people living with HIV in local prisons; and I tagged along with co-workers when they met with other social service agencies in the region. With tremendous support from those at the ASO I was eventually equipped to be one of the workers who did these activities on behalf of the organization. My two years as an education coordinator were deeply formative in terms of my knowledge of issues related to HIV and my personal politicization.

When I left the ASO to start graduate school in 2013, my departure coincided with an important development in the criminal-legal response to HIV in Canada. The Supreme Court of Canada's *Mabior* decision in 2012 "harshened the legal obligation to disclose one's HIV positive status by introducing the concept of a 'realistic possibility' of HIV transmission, which can include activities that, based on current scientific evidence, pose a negligible HIV transmission risk" (Hastings, Kazatchkine, and Mykhalovskiy 2017; R. v. *Mabior*, 2012). There was a noticeable bifurcation in how the HIV sector responded to these changes in the criminal law. Many organizations such as AIDS ACTION NOW!, the Ontario Working Group on Criminal Law and HIV Exposure (CLHE), the Canadian HIV/AIDS Legal Network, and the HIV/AIDS Legal Clinic of Ontario (HALCO) mobilized to challenge the use of the criminal law to respond to HIV non-disclosure. Other community-based organizations did not intend to address the socio-legal contexts in which people are required to disclose their HIV-positive status, but rather, were intent on encouraging and supporting people living with HIV to disclose their HIV-positive status to sexual partners, and also to family, friends, and co-workers. I started to study the social organization of HIV criminalization, because I was concerned that these types of individualizing HIV disclosure interventions may be producing a new ethics of how to disclose one's HIV-positive status, and overlook the social worlds in which people living with HIV are expected or required to do so (Hastings 2019).

As a graduate student, I have sought ways of doing research that align with and add to, the ongoing work of community-based organizations that mobilize resistance to HIV criminalization. I relate to sociology as a way to investigate the world in order to understand how forms of oppression are socially organized so that they can be effectively challenged and transformed (Frampton et al. 2006). As a sociologist working in the area of HIV and the criminal law, it can be challenging to locate inroads to research that meaningfully connect with the actual work of HIV activist movements. At conferences and advocacy group meetings, I have seen how physicians and scientists directly apply scientific research evidence on HIV transmission in order to add to calls to limit criminal prosecutions and convictions for HIV non-disclosure (Barre-Sinoussi et al. 2018; Loutfy et al. 2014). At the same time, lawyers and policy experts intervene directly in Canadian court proceedings, support defense attorneys, hold meetings with provincial and federal government policy-makers, and assist people living with HIV through frontline support work.

Understanding the mainstream press as a terrain of struggle in the context of HIV criminalization opens up possibilities for sociological inquiry that can contribute to HIV activists' efforts. Canadian research on HIV criminalization has shown that news media representations help fuel HIV criminalization. For example, studies have emphasized concerns about how news coverage fuels racist stereotypes connecting Black men with criminality and sexual violence (Adam et al. 2014; Miller 2005; Mykhalovskiy 2011; Mykhalovskiy et al. forthcoming). The negative effects of media coverage have also been noted in Canadian studies that explore the experiences that people living with HIV have of HIV criminalization. In these studies, people living with HIV and service providers reported feelings of heightened HIV stigma and expressed concerns that media discourses exaggerate the risk of HIV transmission and amplify public fears about people living with HIV (Adam et al. 2015, 2016; African and Caribbean Council on HIV/AIDS in Ontario 2013; Mykhalovskiy et al. 2016:15; Mykhalovskiy and Sanders 2008). Because mainstream press coverage helps to propel HIV criminalization, a central aim of this dissertation is to better understand how these problematic news stories are produced in the first place, with a view to supporting activists' efforts to effectively challenge and transform how this issue is presented to the public.

Contributing to organized resistance to HIV criminalization and adding to sociological understandings of the social organization of digital news production are immediate aims of this project. At the same time, I also hope that this dissertation can help readers make sense of the overwhelming volume of news information that we are inundated with on a daily basis in the digital news era. News moves faster today than it ever has before and journalists are under unprecedented pressure to publish fast, and when possible, first on the web (Castells 2009b; Usher 2018:21). Media scholars agree that the relentless updates and the quest for fresh news can lead to mistakes, and that fast, inadequate news compromises facticity (Karlsson 2011:280 cited in Usher 2018:23).

The persistent pace of digital news production means that audiences are confronted with an unyielding barrage of news stories, and it is worth noting that generally, these stories are about "bad news" – accounts of upsetting, alarming, and frightening developments in our world. This, of course, is due in large part to the news reflecting the myriad environmental and political crises occurring at this historical moment. However, journalists also note that their news organizations have increasingly focused on sensational crime and disaster updates, because these stories tend to do especially well in terms of web traffic metrics (Usher 2018:28). Given the speed and weight of the news barrage audiences face, it is perhaps not surprising that the term “headline stress disorder” has started to circulate in health and wellness and self-help discourses to describe how unrelenting sensational news comes to bear on the psyche of news audiences (Ramsey 2018; Rodriguez-Cayro 2018; scope n.d.; Stosny 2017). An emblematic article quotes a clinical psychologist who recognizes that “being tuned into the 24-hour news cycle may fuel a lot of negative feelings like anxiety, sadness, and hopelessness…a real sense of being out of control” (Spector 2017). Even if audiences want to take a break from the onslaught of digital news, it can be difficult to mute it entirely. A recent study found that more digital news consumers actually get their news online in the process of carrying out other digital tasks than specifically seek out news (Mitchell et al. 2016:18). A growing concern is that online news has become so overwhelming that people are increasingly trying to opt out entirely. The Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism’s 2019 “Digital News Report” found that more people say they actively avoid the news (32%) than when last asked this question two years ago (Newman, Fletcher, and Kalogeropoulos 2019:3).

While this dissertation is a study of news production, I call attention to ways that misinformation, sensational stories, and relentlessly fast and bad news comes to bear on audiences because I want to emphasize the noise of contemporary news. This commotion makes it challenging for newsmakers and audiences to produce and access dependable news information. However, reliable information is particularly indispensable at a time when we confront seismic issues that have to do with the precarious state of sustainable life on the planet, the rise of populism, ongoing migrant crises, and the destruction of urban communities via rapid gentrification. To think sociologically about these issues, and to live our everyday lives in these conditions, we require sound information upon which we can mobilize meaningful responses.

I invite readers to engage with this dissertation as a sort of respite from the din of online news. As a genre of writing, perhaps no medium diverges from the rapid pace of online news more drastically than the doctoral dissertation. As I conducted years of fieldwork, wrote and re-wrote chapters, and conferred with my dissertation supervisor, committee members, and colleagues at each step of the writing and research process, I was completely awestruck by news reporters who managed to produce tightly written, publishable articles on an everyday basis. At the same time, I have appreciated how researching and writing this dissertation has offered time and space to carefully reflect on how news production is organized to generate the content that arrives on our screens. I hope that reading this dissertation also provides a vantage point for pausing and contemplating how we come to know about our social worlds.

1.2. Context and Background

1.2.1. HIV criminalization in Canada

HIV criminalization can have many meanings. Broadly, the term refers to the use of the criminal law to charge and/or prosecute people living with HIV who, allegedly, have exposed their sex partners to HIV, failed to disclose to their HIV-positive status, or transmitted HIV sexually (Mykhalovskiy et al. 2016). Excluded from the notion of HIV criminalization are situations in which a person living with HIV is charged "with assault – including sexual assault and aggravated sexual assault – when force, violence, or coercion was used to obtain sex" (Mykhalovskiy and Betteridge 2012:36). In the Canadian context, people living with HIV can be charged and prosecuted for not *disclosing* their HIV-positive status. In 1998, in *R. v. Cuerrier,* the Supreme Court of Canada (SCC) established that people living with HIV have a legal obligation to disclose their HIV-positive status to sexual partners before sex that poses a "significant risk" of HIV transmission. The legal duty to disclose one's HIV positive status intensified in 2012 in *R. v. Mabior* and *R. v. D.C,* as the SCC ruled that there is a legal requirement to disclose one's HIV-positive status before having sex that poses a "realistic possibility" of HIV transmission (R. v. *Mabior*, 2012, SCC 47 and R. v. *D.C*, 2012 SCC 48). In its decision, the court stated that "as a general matter, a realistic possibility of transmission of HIV is negated if (i) the accused's viral load at the time of sexual relations was low and (ii) condom protection was used" (R. v. *Mabior*, 2012, SCC 47 at para 94).

In introducing the concept of a "realistic possibility" of HIV transmission, the *Mabior* decision harshened the legal obligation to disclose one's HIV-positive status in Canada (Canadian HIV/AIDS Legal Network 2014). A "realistic possibility" of HIV transmission can include activities that, based on current scientific evidence, pose a negligible HIV transmission risk, or no risk of HIV transmission at all. Since *Mabior,* at least 10 criminal HIV non-disclosure cases involved a defendant with a low or undetectable viral load, and 67% of cases have involved no HIV transmission (Hastings et al. 2017).

Those who do not disclose their HIV-positive status can face serious criminal charges, most often for aggravated sexual assault, which carries a maximum punishment of life in prison. Trends suggest that HIV non-disclosure cases have very high rates of conviction and that a large proportion of cases result in prison sentences. The average prison sentence of a person convicted for charges related to HIV non-disclosure (54 months) is more than double the average sentence for sexual assaults in Canada (24 months) (Hastings et al. 2017).

Since 1989, in Canada at least 197 people have faced criminal charges related to HIV non-disclosure (Canadian HIV/AIDS Legal Network 2019).There is evidence that the criminal law is increasingly used against people living with HIV from marginalized populations (Hastings et al. 2017). Between 2012 and 2016, almost half of all people charged for whom race is known were Black men. Indigenous women also account for a large proportion of women charged for whom race/race ethnicity is known. Of the at least 19 women who have faced charges related to HIV non-disclosure, the race/ethnicity of 13 women is known. Of these 13 women, at least 38% (5 of 13) are Indigenous (Canadian HIV/AIDS Legal Network 2019). The criminal law is also frequently used against gay men – "gay men represent the largest proportion of people living with HIV in Canada" and the number of cases against this group has increased since the SCC decision in 2012 (Canadian HIV/AIDS Legal Network 2019:8).

Most cases have occurred between 2004 and 2014. Over this ten-year period there were roughly 10-15 criminal cases per year. However, fewer cases were reported over the past few years. There were at least 6 to 8 cases each year between 2015 and 2017, and at least 5 cases in 2018 (Canadian HIV/AIDS Legal Network 2019). This reduction in the annual number of cases in large part reflects advocates' success in limiting how the criminal law is used to respond to HIV non-disclosure in Canada.

1.2.2. Activism to resist and reform HIV criminalization in Canada

There has been a sustained community-based response to the criminalization of HIV non-disclosure in Canada. Advocates' interventions have been organized primarily around law reform efforts. Notably, organizations such as the Canadian HIV/AIDS Legal Network, the HIV/AIDS Legal Clinic of Ontario, the Ontario Working Group on Criminal Law and HIV Exposure, and the Canadian Coalition to Reform HIV Criminalization have worked to limit the negative consequences of HIV criminalization by calling for the implementation of prosecutorial guidelines, intervening in criminal court proceedings, engaging policy-makers in Provincial and

Federal governments, working with defence lawyers, educating lawyers and judges, and supporting people with lived experiences of HIV and criminalization.

In recent years, advocates' calls to reform how the criminal law is used to respond to HIV non-disclosure in Canada have resulted in important steps taken by the Federal Government to reduce the circumstances under which HIV-related prosecutions will occur (HIV & AIDS Legal Clinic Ontario 2019). On World AIDS Day 2016, the Federal Attorney General acknowledged "the problem of overcriminalization" of HIV non-disclosure. On the same day a year later, Justice Canada released a report entitled, "Criminal Justice System's Response to the Non-Disclosure of HIV," which includes significant recommendations to limit prosecutions against people living with HIV. In 2018, the Federal Attorney General drew on this report to publish a binding directive to the Public Prosecution Service of Canada that guided against prosecution in cases in which a person has a suppressed viral load, used condoms, engaged only in oral sex, or was taking treatment as prescribed (HIV & AIDS Legal Clinic Ontario 2019).[2] In June 2019, the House of Commons Standing Committee on Justice and Human Rights released a report that integrated several important recommendations from HIV advocates to further limit the broad, unscientific, and unjust use of the criminal law against people living with HIV. The most significant recommendations included calls to remove HIV non-disclosure from the reach of sexual assault law and to narrow the criminalization of HIV to actual transmission only (Housfather 2019:15).

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[2] The Federal directive only governs Crown attorneys that are responsible for Criminal Code prosecutions in three territories (Yukon, Northwest Territory, and Nunavut). Therefore, to limit unjust prosecutions in other parts of the country, the Canadian HIV/AIDS Legal Network has called for similar directives or guidelines to be issued in each province (Canadian HIV/AIDS Legal Network 2019:4).

Community-based HIV advocates' law reform efforts have included interactions in the mainstream press that aim to intervene in public opinion of the issue. To understand how HIV activists relate to the media, it can be helpful to consider two types of interactions. First, HIV activists have mobilized critiques about how mainstream media has covered HIV criminal cases. In Canada, people living with HIV, many AIDS service organizations (ASOs), HIV activist collectives, legal organizations, and researchers have been deeply concerned about how HIV criminalization is portrayed in the mainstream press and have worked to intervene in media coverage. African, Caribbean, and Black (ACB) communities have been leaders in mobilizing concerns about how problematic forms of racist and anti-immigrant discourse intersect in news coverage of HIV criminalization. The most important statement of those concerns is a report produced by the African and Caribbean Council on HIV/AIDS in Ontario (African and Caribbean Council on HIV/AIDS in Ontario 2013; Mykhalovskiy et al. 2016). The report documents well-founded concerns that "media coverage of these cases will increase the stigma against our communities as Black people living with HIV are inaccurately portrayed as irresponsible sexual predators, infecting 'innocent Canadians'" (ACCHO 2014: 10). The report also describes the way that reporters "focus unnecessarily on the accused person's race, ethnicity and immigration status…[and] lead the public to think that Black people are criminally inclined. They create fear and hostility toward ACB people generally…Just as the law must change, so too must the stories portrayal in the media" (14).

To reinforce community concerns about racialization and anti-immigrant discourses in newspaper coverage of HIV criminalization, community-based HIV advocates have connected with researchers who have conducted quantitative and qualitative studies of the corpus of newspaper articles about HIV criminalization in Canada (Mykhalovskiy et al. Forthcoming). For example, in 2016, colleagues and I found that Black men (especially those who came to Canada as immigrants and refugees) are dramatically overrepresented in newspaper coverage of HIV non-disclosure criminal cases: “ACB immigrant men living with HIV are featured in newspaper articles four times more often than would be expected on the basis of the proportion of all defendants involved in criminal cases that they account for” (Mykhalovskiy et al. 2016:53). Our research also confirms that news coverage of HIV criminalization relies on racialized tropes that negatively characterize Black men as threats to individual “victims” and to the imagined Canadian nation (Mykhalovskiy et al. Forthcoming). This type of data has been useful for communicating the problematic and skewed character of news reports of HIV criminalization in diverse spaces, such as HIV community meetings, research conferences, and within the mainstream press (Easton 2016; Goh 2017; Keung 2016).

In addition to calling attention to troubling trends in news coverage of HIV criminalization, advocates have also used the news as a medium through which to broadcast concerns about HIV criminalization. This type of intervention is premised on the work that HIV advocates do as spokespeople to articulate concerns about HIV criminalization to news audiences in an accessible way. Recently, HIV advocates have successfully moved critiques that, for the most part, tend to circulate in alternative presses, activist publications, and within HIV organizations, into the mainstream press. For example, a powerful opinion-editorial article by Richard Elliot (the Executive Director of the Canadian HIV/AIDS Legal Network) and Stephen Lewis was published in *The Toronto Star* (Elliott and Lewis 2017), and advocates’ calls to enact consistent policies to limit HIV non-disclosure prosecutions were recently the topic of articles in *The Globe and Mail* and *The Toronto Star* (Bains 2019; Emmanuel 2019; Gallant 2019). As law reform and media intervention efforts gain momentum, my hope is that this study can add to advocates' understandings of how to engage with the mainstream press on this complex issue.

1.3. Conceptual Framework

By now, readers will recognize that this dissertation is premised on dual narratives. Broadly, one narrative concerns the social relations of news production in the era of the digital news cyclone (Klinenberg 2005:56). The other, has to do with how HIV criminalization is produced and sustained in Canada. This context invites sociological research that investigates how knowledge production about HIV criminalization is coordinated across various institutions, and identifies how HIV advocates can interrupt the production of sensational and stigmatizing news media messages about HIV criminalization that circulate in public discourse. To carry out this research, I locate this dissertation within the sociology of health and media studies, and I approach inquiry as a study in the social organization of knowledge. Scholarship in these areas directs me to explore how the everyday activities of news makers who work in various sites (beat reporters, journalists, news editors, police communications officers, and HIV advocates who insert their voice into the press) are hooked into broader social relations, and shape public knowledge about HIV criminalization.

1.3.1. Studies in the Social Organization of Knowledge

Studies in the social organization of knowledge is a term used to refer to empirical research, inspired by the work of Canadian feminist, marxist scholar Dorothy Smith, that takes "ruling relations" as its object of study. By ruling relations, Smith is referring to the forms of ruling that are common in contemporary capitalist society, what she calls, "the total complex of activities by which our kind of society is managed and administrated"(D. E. Smith 1990:14). Sociologists who empirically study the social organization of ruling relations have called attention to the ways that people's activities are coordinated in professional, formal, managerial settings such as health care, education, and the social service sector. There are two main ways that this dissertation extends studies in the social organization of knowledge. One is by showing how people's activities are also coordinated outside of managerial spaces, in empirical sites such as news media production. Second, this study exemplifies institutional ethnographic research that explores ruling relations across institutions. This is an important move for IE because institutional ethnographers typically restrict their analysis to ruling relations within a particular institutional complex, such as health care. I elaborate on the significance of studying how different institutions intersect and overlap with each other in chapter five.

Studies in the social organization of knowledge offer an approach to sociology that resists, what Smith calls, "objectifying discourses" – ways of knowing that substitute theories, concepts, and ideas for people's activities. Such "objectifying discourses" are a concern because they overlook "the site of experience, the presence of actual subjects, and the actualities of the world they live in" (D. E. Smith 1990:12). In order to preserve the presence of people and their everyday lives in sociological analysis, Smith's approach to sociology extends Marx's materialist ontology, and begins inquiry in the actual particularities of people's everyday lives, rather than formal categories of sociological discourse (Weir and Mykhalovskiy 2010:23). For this reason, IE is sometimes mistakenly understood to be an anti-theoretical project. However, Dorothy Smith's sociology of knowledge is deeply informed by diverse theoretical influences, including the works of Karl Marx, Karl Mannheim, Peter Berger and Thomas Luckman. An important distinction is that while these sociologists talk about activity, standpoints, or subjective reality as objects to be theorized, Smith's approach to IE remains committed to empirically investigating how the everyday world works (Heap 1995). Unlike other sociologies, IE is not about generating or testing social theory, and thus is not a theoretical project in that sense.

IE's distinct approach to sociology is perhaps best illustrated through an example that demonstrates different ways that a sociologist could design a study of news media reports of HIV criminalization. For instance, one could begin research into news media discourse of HIV criminalization in sociological literature. Such an approach might center on applying or testing theoretical concepts from social constructionist studies of how media produce images of crime and justice. In social constructionist approaches to media studies, research examines "social competition among different constructions of reality over being accepted as the general, dominant construction of reality" (Surette 1998:8). Researchers are interested in understanding how the media interprets and distributes what becomes society's generally accepted view. A study of news discourse of HIV criminalization that adopted a social constructionist approach would be committed to identifying and categorizing the key "claims" that are made about HIV criminalization in the press; recognizing the "claim-makers" who put forward these claims; understanding the way that some "claim-makers" come to "own the issue" in the press; and acknowledging "linkages" between HIV criminalization and other issues in the news (Surette 1998: 9-10). This approach positions the sociologist to produce a theory about the role of mass media in constructing shared meanings (Surette 1998:6).

IE studies of social relations take a different approach. Rather than collecting data that can be used to test or produce a theory about news media representation of HIV criminalization, I relate to interviews as windows into how the conditions that HIV activists mobilize against are put together. Studies in the social organization of knowledge prompt researchers to ground inquiry in people's everyday activities and to explore social relations ethnographically (Smith

2005). To do so, institutional ethnographers evoke the concept of social relations to "direct attention to and take up analytically how what people are doing and experiencing in a given local site is hooked into sequences of action implicating and coordinating multiple local sites where others are active" (D. E. Smith 1999:7). A central goal of this dissertation is to identify how people's work practices in disparate sites are coordinated over time to make the standard news discourse about HIV criminalization possible. As Campbell and Gregor describe:

> Where ethnographers in the conventional mode conduct tests (for example, triangulation) to give evidential weight to specific views, the institutional ethnographer attempts to explicate how the local settings, including local understandings and explanations, are brought into being – so that informants can talk about their experiences in the way they do…getting to an account that explicates the *social relations* of the setting is what an institutional ethnographic account is about (Campbell and Gregor 2008: 89-90).

In order to produce analytic descriptions of social relations, researchers read interview transcripts for social organization, seeking to uncover how people's activities are coordinated translocally. The analytic practice of reading for social organization rests on the assumption that social organization is built into people's way of speaking: that we can "find in their talk particular moments of participation in social relations that hook their local experience to the work of others elsewhere, known, and unknown" (Smith 2002:31). In reading interview transcripts, I was alert for how peoples' accounts of their work connect them to the work that others are doing in other social sites. For example, this meant looking closely for moments in reporters' accounts of their newswork where they described how they used a text (such as a representation of a statistic that quantifies web traffic [the number of times a news article they wrote is "clicked," "liked," or "shared"], a tweet, or a police report) that arrived at their work site from elsewhere in a way that made it possible for them to produce a news report.

This dissertation focuses on the everyday newswork of reporters and HIV advocates who shape news content about HIV criminalization because until now, these work practices have not been recognized as as part of the broader ruling relations that produce and sustain HIV criminalization in Canada. There are a number of ways that news discourse contributes to the social relations of HIV criminalization. For one, news about health issues, such as HIV, informs public knowledge in significant ways (Arulchelvan 2016:172; Brodie et al. 2003; Gupta and Sinha 2010; Hesse et al. 2005; Hesse, Moser, and Rutten 2010; Tu 2011; Walsh-Childers 2017:353). In particular, scholars recognize that sensational news coverage of health issues can intensify public fear and confusion about medical issues and contribute to the stigmatization of social groups who are associated with health conditions (Seale 2003; Weir and Mykhalovskiy 2010; Weldon 2001). News accounts of HIV criminalization instruct readers to conceptualize people who do not disclose their HIV-positive status as criminals deserving of punishment. This happens when news articles objectify people living with HIV who face criminal charges by only writing about a person in relation to the criminal charges one is facing and the criminal justice processes one is wrapped up in (Mykhalovskiy et al. n.d.).

Finally, news discourse contributes to the social relations of HIV criminalization by helping police find more complainants in criminal non-disclosure cases. Early on in the trajectory of reporting on a criminal non-disclosure case, reporters recontextualize police news releases as news texts and often include mugshot photos, details of the alleged crime, and other details of the case that derive from police in news articles. These news articles extend the work of police by calling on news readers to come forward as complainants or as people with additional information that police can use to build charges against an individual living with HIV. Bringing journalists' activities into view reveals that HIV criminalization occurs through a complex set of institutional and social processes. This study tries to show that HIV criminalization partly occurs through journalistic work practices that produce news texts that enable the social relations of HIV criminalization in Canada to exist extra-locally and to co-ordinate multiple local sites of people's everyday activities (Smith 2001:174). In so doing the dissertation enhances understandings of how HIV criminalization works, how it's put together (Weir and Mykhalovskiy 2010:24).

1.3.2. Sociology of Health

The sociology of health is dedicated to examining health, illness, and health care as social phenomena and exploring the social, economic, political, and cultural forces that shape people's experiences and understandings of health and illness. This study adds to a trajectory of scholarship on sociological studies of health that investigates sites in which health care and criminal-legal practices intersect. In particular, it adds to a branch of research on HIV criminalization that moves past the "criminal law–person living with HIV dyad" (Mykhalovskiy 2011). The "criminal law–person living with HIV dyad" denotes a common feature of empirically based, social science research on the public health implications of HIV criminalization in which attention is fixed on the activities of people living with HIV and populations who are understood to be "at-risk" of contracting HIV (Dodds and Keogh 2006; Galletly and Dickson-Gomez 2009). For example, social scientists with an interest in HIV criminalization have focused on the ways that people living with HIV understand criminal legal obligations to disclose one's HIV status, and the relationship between one's sexual risk behaviour and the presence of laws that govern disclosure (Burris et al. 2007; Dodds, Bourne, and Weait 2009; Mykhalovskiy 2011:669).

This line of research on the public health impact of HIV criminalization that concentrates on the activities of people living with HIV has been useful for confirming that criminal laws do not enhance activities that prevent HIV transmission and cautioning against the use of the criminal law as a response to HIV (Mykhalovskiy 2011: 669). However, research that remains fixed solely on the activities of people living with HIV is also somewhat limited in that it can overlook the range actors whose activities are shaped by the social relations that HIV criminalization organizes (Mykhalovskiy 2011: 670).

This dissertation aims to advance understandings of how HIV criminalization is coordinated by people's activities across different institutional sites. This project is informed by the work of social scientists who have conducted empirical studies that show that the effects of HIV criminalization "occur through a complex set of institutional and social processes that extend beyond the criminal law- PHA behavior dyad" (Mykhalovskiy 2011: 669). This perspective produces a more relational understanding of HIV criminalization that moves beyond a narrow focus on the activities of people living with HIV, or the study of people's work in a particular institution (such as health care) to show how criminalization concurrently organizes the activities of those who work in different institutions, such as public health, HIV advocacy, news journalism, and criminal law.

For example, in order to call attention to the range of settings in which people's activities are organized by HIV criminalization, scholars have begun to locate their inquiry in an analytical and empirical space called "the medico-legal borderland" (McClelland 2013; Mykhalovskiy 2011; Sanders 2014). The "medico-legal borderland" is a term used to denote sites in which health care and criminal-legal practices overlap (Timmermans and Gabe 2002). The medico-legal borderland is a useful sociological concept for researchers conducting empirical studies of the social processes and social effects of HIV criminalization because it prompts researchers to consider the particular forms of social control and hybrid health/crime subjects that emerge when criminal law and health care governance converge (Mykhalovskiy 2011: 674).

In recent years, sociologists studying HIV criminalization have extended studies of the medico-legal borderland by bringing into view a broader range of actors whose activities are shaped by the social organization of HIV criminalization. For instance, Alex McClelland (McClelland 2019a) examines how people living with HIV come to be known, defined, classified, and understood as risks and criminals through diverse forms of authoritative and expert forms of knowledge. His work illustrates how HIV criminalization is accomplished through intertwining processes of various institutions and actors, including public health, the criminal justice system, corrections institutions, policing, civil society groups, and community-based organizations. Likewise, Chris Sanders (2015) shows how the criminal law organizes the reasoning and documentary practices of public health nurses; Catherine Dodds and colleagues (2015) illustrate how prosecutions for HIV transmission influence, and in some cases disrupt, the way that health care providers deliver HIV services; and Martin French (2015) calls attention to ways that the criminal-legal regulation of HIV non-disclosure comes to bear on public health service providers who offer post-test HIV counselling. Each of these sociologists productively shifts perspectives on HIV criminalization beyond the “criminal law-PHA behavior dyad” to bring into view the complex of professional and community work practices that are affected by the intersecting health care and criminal-legal governance of HIV non-disclosure. In so doing, they contribute to a more relational understanding of HIV criminalization than is possible when attention remains fixed solely on the way that people living with HIV navigate the criminal-legal obligation to disclose one’s HIV-positive status prior to sex.

This dissertation is informed by the work of sociologists who locate their inquiries into the criminalization of HIV non-disclosure in the analytical and empirical space of the medico-legal borderland and who understand HIV criminalization as a complex of activities that involves a range of actors. Yet my analysis takes a different approach. I do not investigate how criminalization affects the counselling or other activities of health care professionals or those involved in efforts to prevent HIV transmission. Instead, my study starts by exploring how HIV criminalization shapes the work practices of news reporters who in turn, inform public knowledge of HIV criminalization.

1.3.3. Studies of media representations and HIV criminalization

This study of news production adds to a trajectory of sociological research that calls attention to problematic ways that the mainstream press has portrayed HIV and AIDS. Since the mid-1980s social scientists have taken media representations of HIV seriously and argued that mass media misrepresents those affected by HIV, and in so doing, fuels moral panic about the virus (Albert 1986; Baker 1986; Bayer 1991; Gillett 2003; Lester 1992; Miller and Williams 1993; Naylor 1985; Watney 1987). The first studies of mass media representations of HIV often focused on how the press conveyed moralizing messages about “deviant” gay men – spurring homophobia and broader AIDS phobia (Gillett 2003; Lupton 1994; Patton 1986; Sontag 1989). More recent studies of media representations of HIV have shown that the press continues to spread misinformation and reinforce anxieties about HIV by representing particular groups of people living with HIV, especially people who do sex work, people who use drugs, people who have recently migrated, and racialized people as “dangerous others” (Lupton 1994, 1999; McKay et al. 2011; Patton 1986; Persson and Newman, 2008; Watney 1987; Miller, 2005; Oppenheimer, 1988).

In recent years, studies of news media and HIV have accentuated the particularly problematic ways that news media produce meanings of HIV criminalization. Research shows that news media reports of HIV criminal non-disclosure cases are commonly reductionist accounts that diminish complex cases to descriptions of sharp criminal-victim dichotomies (Petty 2005; Weait 2007). Scholarly critiques of media reports of criminalization also illuminate that media rely on sensational language, reproduce negative stereotypes of offenders, and exaggerate the threat that people living with HIV pose to the general public (Flavin 2000; Patton 2005). A distinguishing feature of news reports of HIV criminalization is that they objectify people living with HIV as morally blameworthy criminals. This trend has shown to be especially pronounced when criminal cases related to HIV disclosure involve immigrant or refugee defendants (Bird and Dardenne 2009; McKay et al. 2011; Miller 2005; Mykhalovskiy et al. 2016; Persson and Newman 2008b). News reports that objectify people living with HIV as criminal subjects and produce defendants as morally reprehensible and blameworthy are not unique to people of colour or those have come to Canada as immigrants or refugees. For example, a close look at the media coverage of a white, Canadian woman who has faced criminal HIV non-disclosure charges on three separate occasions shows that news stories are consistently premised on a criminal-victim dichotomy, hyper-sexual representations of the person facing charges, and the exaggeration of the risk of HIV transmission that she poses (Kilty and Bogosavljevic 2019; Roth and Sanders 2018). However, it is especially important to call attention to ways that these types of objectifying discourses are often paired with and amplify strategies that produce racial difference in news stories about HIV criminalization.

This line of social science research on problematic media messages about HIV can be understood as part of broader sociological discussions of HIV stigma. Typically, research on

HIV stigma takes Goffman's classic work as its point of departure. Goffman defines stigma as "an attribute that is significantly discrediting" which, in the eye of society, serves to reduce the person who possesses it" (Goffman 1963; Parker and Aggleton 2003:14). This conception of stigma, write Parker and Aggleton, tends to consider HIV and AIDS-related stigma in highly emotional terms. The analytic focus of studies of HIV stigma often remain fixed on stigma as "anger and other negative feelings towards people living with HIV… or 'stigmatizing attitudes' that are correlated with misunderstandings and misinformation concerning the modes of HIV transmission" (15).

I want to place this dissertation in line with the work of Parker and Aggleton, who encourage researchers to move beyond conceptions of HIV stigma "as a thing which individuals pose on others" (19). Instead, I understand stigmatization "as a process linked to competition for power and the legitimization of social hierarchy and inequality" (Parker and Aggleton 2003:19). As Parker and Aggleton write,

> It is important to better understand how stigma is used by individuals, communities and the state to produce and reproduce social inequality. It is also important to recognize how understanding of stigma and discrimination in these terms encourages a focus on the political economy of stigmatization and its links to social exclusion (17).

One way that this study of media calls attention to stigmatization as a process that is tied to the reproduction of inequitable power relations, is by moving beyond an analysis of media messages about HIV that convey negative attitudes about people living with HIV or spread misinformation. Sociologists who examine news media representations of HIV criminalization have yet to explore how such a news discourse happens. To correct for that gap, this study empirically investigates how the work of journalists is connected to work in other institutions that produce and reproduce power and control over people living with HIV – such as the criminal justice system, police, and public health.

1.3.4. Studies of Newsmaking Practices

Studies of news media can be understood to be divided into three broad areas of inquiry – studies of production, studies of content and representation, and studies of audiences' reception of media messages (Seale 2003). Sociologists who study the news media typically analyze the content of news media messages in order to seek ideological biases, or identify the discursive dominance of particular themes, constructions, or messages (Seale 2003: 515). In this dissertation, I concentrate on how news media are actually produced, an area that researchers have devoted less attention to in recent years (Seale 2003: 524). Scholars suggest that the general shift away from ethnographic studies of newsrooms in favor or studies of representations has to do in large part with the relative ease with which data for studies of representation can be collected and analyzed. (Seale 2003:525). As I learned while conducting fieldwork for this project, the material needed for studies of production are onerous to produce and involves hurdles such as gaining access to the social worlds of newsrooms, approaching and recruiting journalists willing to talk about their work amidst hectic workdays, and transcribing and analyzing the talk that emerges in interviews.

While ethnographic studies of news media production were quite popular during the 1970s, the sense among news media researchers is that the "golden period of media production studies" has passed (Tumber 1999:xvi). Some news media researchers, such as Chris Paterson (2008), encourage scholars to return to the empirical site of the newsroom. He cautions that a shift away from ethnographic studies of news media production was "unfortunate and premature" because such ethnographic analyses of newsrooms offer a unique and valuable perspective on the actual spaces where decisions related to genres, routines, values, and products are made (Paterson 2008:3). Indeed, through my journey into newsrooms I learned about the technologies that reporters use to identify news stories, the steps that they take to coordinate their reporting with others who work in the newsroom (editors, supervisors, camera operators, and other reporters), the ways that reporters process source texts into news articles, and how they think about aligning their writing activities with the overall vision of their news organization.

The field of newsroom ethnography can broadly be understood to have developed in two waves. Sociologists who crafted the first wave of newsroom ethnographies in the 1950s were mostly concerned with identifying the routines and order of newsrooms in an effort to create generalizable descriptions of how news is made (Usher 2014:21). For instance, early ethnographic inquiries into how news is produced and distributed concentrated on editorial "gatekeepers" (White 1950) and the social structure of newsrooms (Breed 1955). In the 1970s and 80s, at a time when the influence of newsroom ethnographies is said to have reached its peak, ethnographers often called attention to the relationship between news content, the organization of newsrooms, and broader social structures. For example, according to Herbert Gans, the news reinforces social hierarchies because sources' values are implicit in the information that they provide to journalists (Fishman 1999a; Gans 1979). Thus, Gans' empirical study concludes that news content is tied to the structure of newsrooms, and the structure of newsrooms reflects broader societal hierarchies.

Since the mid 2000s sociologists who study news media production have examined the ways that journalists' routines and processes have shifted in the digital age (Usher 2014:21). The "newsroom-centric" approach to ethnographic studies of journalism remains central to the "second golden-age in news ethnography." Ethnographers study newsrooms in order to better understand how journalists adjust to the demands that accompany digital news platforms, such as a 24/7 newscycle and an environment that demands more interactive engagement with readers (Usher 2014: 5). These studies have also highlighted the challenges, constraints, and pressures that journalists face as they incorporate novel technologies into their organizational workflow of news production (Anderson 2013; Batsell 2015; Boczkowski 2010; Brock 2013; Broersma and Peters 2012; Klinenberg 2005; Mitchelstein and Boczkowski 2009; Phillips 2014; Quandt 2008; Ryfe 2012; Steense and Ahva 2015; Usher 2014). This collection of newsroom ethnography is useful for broadly illustrating the conditions of contemporary news production that come to bear on journalists' everyday work in significant ways. A unique contribution of my institutional ethnographic study of newswork in the digital era, is that is shows how writing for digital news shapes public knowledge of the issue of HIV criminalization in particular. In so doing, it prompts critical questions about the broader social implications of digital news production processes.

1.4. Methods

This dissertation is based in sociological institutional ethnographic field research that involved watching what happened, listening to what people said, asking questions about what people do, and collecting data over an extended period of time in an effort to learn about how news stories about HIV criminalization are produced (Hammersley and Atkinson 1995:1). The fieldwork that I conducted between 2015 and 2018 involved extensive reading of news articles about HIV criminalization; participating in community-based HIV advocacy groups' meetings and conferences; and thirty-five interviews with people who shape news stories. I interviewed twenty journalists, fourteen HIV advocates, and one police communications representative. It is important to note that some of the participants occupy multiple roles, for example, I spoke with activists who produced news content in the form of opinion editorial articles. Of the thirty-five interviews that I conducted, segments of thirty are included in this dissertation. I selected these thirty accounts because they most clearly reflected the trends that I recognized across the corpus of interview transcripts, and made visible how work that was taking place in one social location was hooked up to work that was others were doing in other social sites.

I recruited interview participants in an assortment of ways. Prior to beginning fieldwork, I did not have experience in the social world of news production, and so it was challenging to enlist journalists to speak with. I sent cold emails to reporters who had written on the issue of HIV criminalization in the past five years and those who authored articles that were published during my fieldwork. This process enabled me to recruit twelve reporters to the study. It was common for interview participants to recommend other journalists for me to interview, and this helped to broaden the range of news reporters I spoke with. I also posted an open call on social media for individuals who work in news media available to participate in an interview.

Most of the reporters I interviewed work for what can broadly be understood as "mainstream" news organizations. There are various ways that scholars define and theorize "mainstream" news. For instance, some scholars differentiate mainstream news from alternative news in terms of the size of the audience (Turow 1997). These scholars view mainstream media outlets as those that *broadcast* to the largest possible share of the public audience, whereas alternative media *narrowcast* to specific small-scale niche audiences (Tsfati and Peri 2006:168). Other scholars distinguish mainstream news from alternative news with reference to ownership. In this sense, mainstream media are owned by large corporations, whereas alternative media are smaller-scale news productions with less funding (Shoemaker 2001; Tsfati and Peri 2006:168).

Most scholars who study mainstream media understand the mainstream/alternative media dichotomy to reflect the distance between power centers in society (Tsfati and Peri 2006:168). Whereas mainstream media are viewed as embedded in power, alternative media channels reflect views that are seldom heard on mainstream channels (Atton 2002a; J. . Downing 2001; Shoemaker 2001; Tsfati and Peri 2006). While it is challenging to mark clear and consistent distinctions between mainstream and alternative news, of the twenty reporters I interviewed, fourteen work for organizations that generally fit the characteristics of mainstream news outlined here. That is, they work for organizations that produce and broadcast news content for mass audiences, are owned and operated by large corporations (either government or privately owned) and communicate news stories that reflect power relations in society (Tsfati and Peri 2006).

HIV criminalization has been thoughtfully covered in alternative presses, zines, and activist publications (For example see: How to Have Sex in a Police State n.d.; Black and Whitbread 2018; Keogh 2017; McClelland 2019b; Ritchie 2017). This issue has also been attentively addressed in long-form, mainstream news publications that diverge from quick, crime genre stories. However, this dissertation focuses mostly on the work of reporters who broadcast crime genre stories for two reasons: First, because these are the stories about which activists have expressed the most consistent concern and alarm, and second, because most stories about HIV criminalization are written as crime stories (Mykhalovskiy et al. 2016:33). Thus, most accounts of newswork included in this dissertation are descriptions of concise and fast writing for digital news. This also means that this project offers fewer insights into the particularities of producing longer form journalism or alternative news content.

Recruiting HIV advocates to interview was a much more straightforward process than accessing reporters. I enlisted participants by reviewing news articles about HIV criminalization and contacting those who appeared in news stories as spokespeople. I knew many of these individuals through my extended network of people who work as HIV activists, community organizers, legal experts, lawyers, and researchers in the field of HIV. Ultimately, cold emails, the snowballing method, and the social media call yielded an about even distribution of participants.

All interviews were recorded and transcribed in full. Interviews were typically forty-five minutes to an hour in length – the shortest interview was twenty minutes, and the longest was an hour and fifteen minutes. Some journalists kept in touch and shared with me subsequent news articles that they published. I continue to work alongside many of the HIV advocates I interviewed on community-based working groups and collectives.

Interviewees are referred to in this dissertation by pseudonyms.[3] To protect the anonymity of research participants who work in the field of journalism, I have altered the names of news organizations, publications, headlines, and details of news stories that they named during interviews. Similarly, I have also changed the names of community-based HIV advocacy organizations that activists spoke about during our discussions. HIV advocates and researchers have repeatedly called on journalists to avoid publishing the names of people who face criminal charges for not disclosing their HIV-positive status, because this press coverage can cause a litany of long-term harms. In this dissertation, I have sought to protect the anonymity of those who have faced charges by using pseudonyms and altering details of criminal cases, such as the year in which criminal charges happened and the location in which they occurred.

The interviews did not follow a structured list of questions, except for one interview in which an individual participated on the condition that they receive a list of questions ahead of the interview and that our conversation not stray from that list. My approach to interviewing was informed by interview methods for institutional ethnographic research. Institutional ethnographic interviews are not standardized and are perhaps best described as “talking with people” as part of a “fully reflexive process in which both the participant and the interviewer construct knowledge together” (Devault and McCoy 2004:24). The most distinctive feature of interviews in institutional ethnographic research is that they focus on the work that people do. I related to interviews as a way to learn about what people’s everyday activities consist of, how they know how to carry out those activities, and how that work is hooked up to broader ruling relations. This meant starting interviews by asking journalists to broadly describe a “typical workday,” or prompting an HIV advocate to “take me through how you and your organization crafted a response to this news report about HIV criminalization.” Because I sought detailed accounts of respondents’ work practices and wanted to learn about how their work is hooked up to work that happens elsewhere, I often interjected to ask questions such as “how did you know to complete that step of your work process?”; “what do you mean by that?”; “can you share examples of what that looks like?” This was important for gaining an understanding of what particular people’s actual work consists of and identifying how it connects to work done by other people in other social settings.

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[3] Research participants from the Canadian HIV/AIDS Legal Network agreed to waive anonymity. Because of the specificity of their work it would have been challenging to ensure their anonymity.

I used NVivo software to organize interview transcripts and field notes, but did not use discrete coding categories to analyze data. Instead, I read interview transcripts for social organization. Reading for how speakers’ accounts are socially organized means being attentive to the form of activity that are represented in one’s talk and to the relations that make that activity possible (Mykhalovskiy and McCoy 2002:29). This involves posing questions that direct analytic attention to how people’s activities interface with broad social relations that shape them. For example, in my analysis I asked how it is that reporters’ work to decide that an item is newsworthy comes to involve the work of reading police documents and “wondered about the social and institutional relations that made such work possible and that are entered into by the speaker in his or her doing of that work" (Mykhalovskiy and McCoy 2002:30).

1.5. Chapter Outline

In the next chapter, I build on the work of institutional ethnographers who have evoked a generous definition of "work" to examine the social organization of particular empirical sites. In particular, I use the term "newswork" to study the diverse everyday activities that reporters do to produce news content. Reporters' accounts of their newswork in chapter two illustrate that they are under tremendous pressure to produce a seemingly unending stream of digital news content that will be widely consumed online. This chapter extends sociological studies of new production by showing that in order to keep pace with the unrelenting demands of convergence journalism, reporters' work centers on what I call "writing for digital news." "Writing for digital news" is a concept that expresses the specific text production processes that are typical of newswork within the social relations of convergence journalism. As reporters' accounts in this chapter show, writing for digital news is characterized by work to activate existing digital texts (such as emails, digital newswires, twitter feeds, Facebook posts, existing online news articles, and online videos) and process them into multiple formats (such as tweets, news broadcast scripts, and various types of online news texts) as quickly as possible.

Of course, sensational and stigmatizing news stories about HIV have circulated in the press for decades and predate the emergence of convergence journalism. While convergence journalism does not explain the long history of troubling representations of HIV in the news, I argue that the social relations of convergence journalism are a primary driver of sensational news reports of HIV criminalization in the contemporary context. My main argument in this chapter is that writing for digital news makes it likely that news accounts of HIV criminalization will continue to be written as sensational crime genre stories.

In the third chapter, I add to sociological studies of news production that highlight how reporters' newswork is hooked into a network of sources that enable them to access elite institutions. My analysis concentrates on the ways that reporters newswork connects to corporate communications departments that operate within police forces, because journalists I interviewed consistently named police news releases as their most significant source of news stories about HIV criminal non-disclosure cases. In the third chapter, I argue that as reporters strategically select segments of text from police news releases and recontextualize it as news, they facilitate the flow of police knowledge and reasoning into the mainstream press. This section of the dissertation extends sociological studies of the "police mission drift" by showing how the coordination of police communications work and reporters' newswork is an integral aspect of the social organization of knowledge about HIV criminalization. This coordination propels the police's understanding of crime, danger, risk, and security into mainstream news discourse.

In chapter four, I turn my attention to the work of community-based HIV advocates who endeavor to interrupt crime genre reporting about HIV criminalization. I draw on advocates' descriptions of their media activities to bring forward three types of media intervention work: work as spokespeople on the issue of HIV criminalization in the press, work to produce media texts, and work to cultivate relationships with reporters. I argue that advocates' interactions with the press are more than simply encounters between representatives of community organizations and a representative of a news organization. Reading advocates' accounts of their media work for social organization shows that their interactions with the press are actually highly strategic initiatives to coordinate diverse knowledge and expertise of HIV advocates and align them with the relevancies of reporters.

Chapter five moves away from narrative descriptions of my fieldwork and identifies three key analytic questions that surfaced while producing this dissertation. In this analytic chapter I reflect on how institutional ethnographers conceptualize social relations across institutional complexes, the relationship between health news and crime news, and I recount my experiences producing politically engaged IE.

In the concluding chapter, I recap key findings and themes from the dissertation, identify some limits of this study, and recommend next steps for advocacy and research on HIV criminalization and the mainstream press.

CHAPTER TWO:

2. THE SOCIAL ORGANIZATION OF NEWS PRODUCTION AND WRITING FOR DIGITAL NEWS

The deeply troubling trends in news coverage of HIV criminalization confront sociologists with the question of how to respond to this style of journalism. How might critical scholars, concerned with diminishing HIV stigma and reforming the criminal legal response to HIV, intervene in a context in which the knowledge of this issue that is available to the public is so skewed and so stigmatizing? One approach, following Stuart Hall (Hall 2000:271), is to take on a cultural studies analysis of news texts to study the media as, an "ideological terrain of struggle." A cultural studies approach to studying news texts attends to the "images, concepts, and premises which provide frameworks through which we represent, interpret, understand, and 'make sense' of some aspect of social existence" (Hall 2000:271). This type of study can show that "the media do not simply and transparently report events which are 'naturally' newsworthy in themselves" but rather, that news is the end-product of a complex process that involves sorting and selecting events and topics according to a socially constructed set of categories (Hall et al. 1978).

Generally, cultural studies research on media discourse does not ethnographically examine news production processes. While numerous studies have carried out discourse analyses of news coverage of HIV criminalization, researchers have yet to explore how such news accounts are actually created (Kilty and Bogosavlijevic 2019; Lupton 1999; McKay et al. 2011; Mykhalovskiy et al. 2016; Mykhalovskiy and Sanders 2008; Persson and Newman 2008b). In this chapter I correct for that gap by exploring how "writing for digital news" in the context of the relations of convergence journalism contributes to stigmatizing and sensational news discourse. Exploring what journalists do to research, develop, write, and circulate news reports on HIV criminalization makes it possible to develop an empirical description of how the social world of news production on this topic is socially organized, or "how it is put together", and in so doing, can offer a groundwork for political action that tries to disrupt the production of stigmatizing news stories.

My inquiry into the social organization of reporters' everyday newswork[4] is informed by interviews with twenty-one journalists in which they describe how they produce a news report. Journalism scholarship has established a register of activities that characterize what is commonly recognized as "newswork" (Gans 1979; Tuchman 1978; Zelizer 2017:31). The set of practices involved in doing newswork is ever shifting. For example, typesetting skills of the print room have given way to contemporary demands for journalists to possess general and broad digital skills that are the empirical focus of this dissertation (Zelizer 2017:31). In the digital newsroom journalists' newswork routines include the work of conducting online research to locate stories, pitching stories to news editors, identifying sources to interview, finding digital source texts (newswires, press releases, social media content, and other news articles), transferring segments of source texts into news articles, and producing news texts that can be quickly and efficiently spread across multiple formats.

Each of the twenty-one interviews that I conducted helped me to better understand the social world of newswork. Of the twenty-one reporters I spoke to, twelve have written stories about HIV criminalization in Canada. These twelve interviews were especially constructive for my understanding of the social relations that organize the newswork of reporters who cover issues related to HIV criminalization and offered a window into how news stories about HIV criminalization come to be. The twelve journalists I interviewed report on this issue from within varied work settings and for diverse news agencies. I spoke to staff reporters who work in the newsrooms of major Canadian newspapers and smaller regional newspapers; freelance journalists who write for free, alternative publications; and others who work for newswires that produce news content that is disseminated in newspapers across the country. Interviews with this range of journalists helped to reveal how particular social relations of news production shape reporters' newswork.

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[4] I use the term newswork to describe the scope of activities that newsmakers (beat reporters, freelance journalists, editors, to name a few) do to produce news stories inside and outside of newsrooms. For more on newswork see (Deuze and Witschge 2018).

This empirical account of how reporters' news work is socially organized surfaces the extent to which their everyday work practices consist of activating texts,[5] and traces how the highly textual character of reporters' news work is coordinated by relations of commercialization and generalist reporting associated with convergence journalism. As the experiences of reporters who are featured in this chapter demonstrate, a work environment in which reporters are required to rapidly and continuously produce a type of news story that will be widely consumed by online readers is likely to produce sensational accounts of topics such as HIV criminalization.

This chapter unfolds in three parts. In the first section, I display a typical news story about HIV criminalization. The news article exhibits the characteristics of the crime story genre that has consistently structured news reports of HIV criminalization for decades. In addition, the news report shows how mainstream news media regularly link race, immigration, crime, and HIV status so as to circulate representations of racialized people living with HIV, especially those who are newcomers to Canada, as dangerous "Others." I present and discuss the news article not as a prelude to an analysis of representation, but as a jumping off point for an analysis that moves away from the content of news texts to explore the social world of news production. In the second section of the chapter, I ground my analysis of the news in reporters' descriptions of their everyday work activities. I draw on my institutional ethnographic exploration of reporters' newswork in order to bring into view the sequence of work practices that go into creating a news story that are not visible when one reads a news article. Most notably, I show that journalists' newswork consists primarily of "writing for digital news." Making reporters' writing for digital news visible enhances understanding of how stigmatizing news reports of HIV criminalization come to be. I conclude the chapter by reflecting on how insights into the social organization of newswork can contribute to activists' efforts to challenge stigmatizing news media accounts of HIV criminalization.

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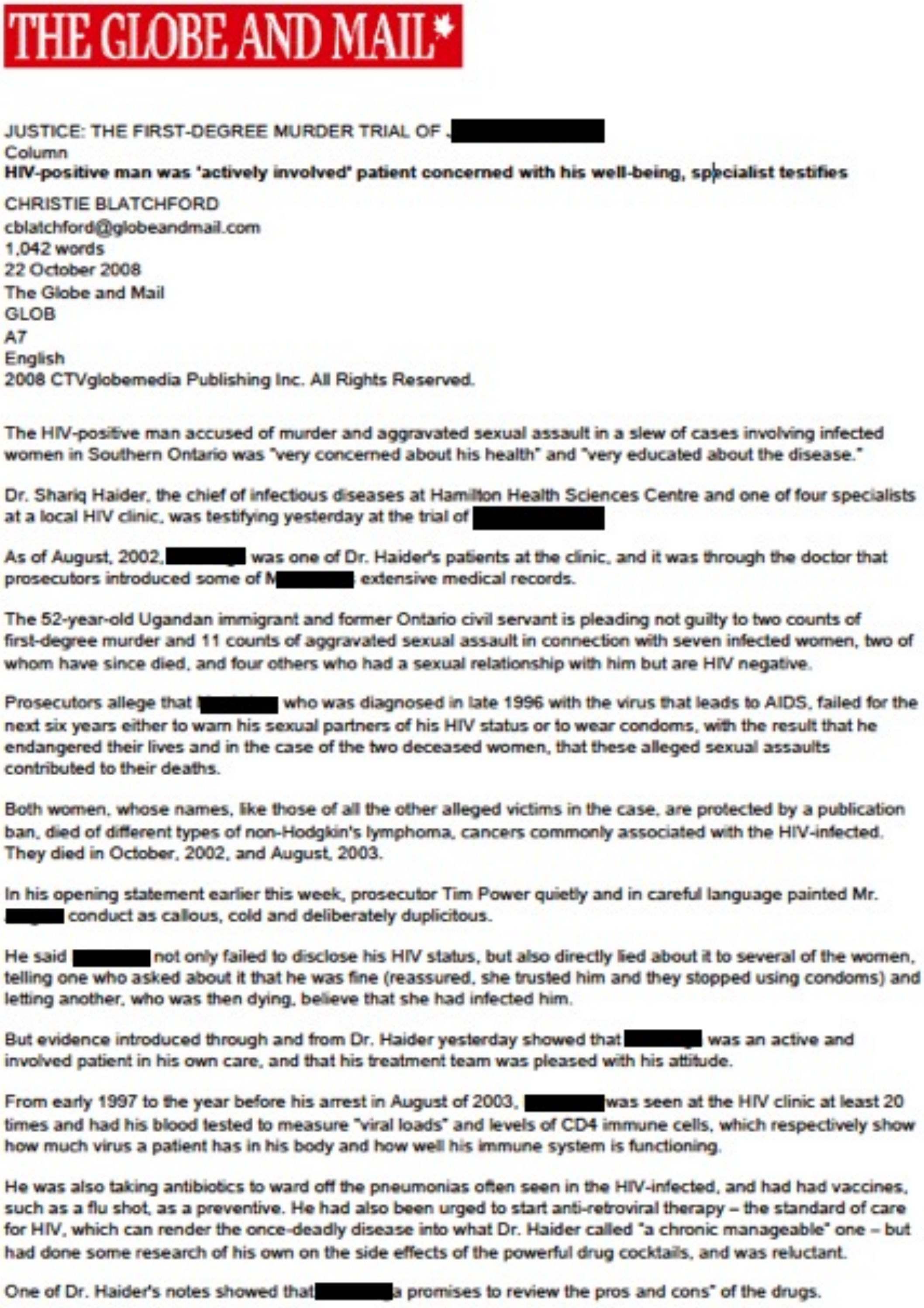
[5] I use the phrase "activate" texts to refer to ways that people's work with texts in their local work processes enters their activities into courses of action and work being done in other sites and at other times (Smith 2005:170). Institutional ethnographers employ the language of "activating" texts in order to explore how texts operate as coordinators of ruling relations. As Dorothy Smith describes, "recognizing texts as people activate them in their work, as they occur, makes possible the expansion of ethnography beyond the local to explore and explicate institutional order. It makes visible the presence of institutional relations in the everyday of people's lives" (Smith 2005:169).

2.1. The Surface of News Reports of HIV Criminalization

Before I turn to look closely at journalists' newswork practices, it is useful for readers to have a sense of what news reports about HIV criminalization that circulate in the mainstream press typically look like. The below text (Figure 2.1) is a news report published in *The Globe and Mail* by Canadian journalist Christie Blatchford on October 22, 2008 (Blatchford 2008). I include this article here in order to display common features of news reports of HIV criminalization. In 2016, I was part of a team of researchers who published a community-engaged study of 1680 English-language Canadian newspaper articles about HIV non-disclosure criminal cases in Canada published between 1989 and 2015 (Mykhalovskiy et al. 2016). The experience of working on the study help me to illuminate some of the ways that Blatchford's article typifies how the mainstream press covers HIV criminal cases.



THE GLOBE AND MAIL

JUSTICE: THE FIRST-DEGREE MURDER TRIAL OF [redacted]
Column
HIV-positive man was 'actively involved' patient concerned with his well-being, specialist testifies

CHRISTIE BLATCHFORD
cblatchford@globeandmail.com
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The HIV-positive man accused of murder and aggravated sexual assault in a slew of cases involving infected women in Southern Ontario was "very concerned about his health" and "very educated about the disease."

Dr. Shariq Haider, the chief of infectious diseases at Hamilton Health Sciences Centre and one of four specialists at a local HIV clinic, was testifying yesterday at the trial of [redacted]

As of August, 2002, [redacted] was one of Dr. Haider's patients at the clinic, and it was through the doctor that prosecutors introduced some of [redacted] extensive medical records.

The 52-year-old Ugandan immigrant and former Ontario civil servant is pleading not guilty to two counts of first-degree murder and 11 counts of aggravated sexual assault in connection with seven infected women, two of whom have since died, and four others who had a sexual relationship with him but are HIV negative.

Prosecutors allege that [redacted] who was diagnosed in late 1996 with the virus that leads to AIDS, failed for the next six years either to warn his sexual partners of his HIV status or to wear condoms, with the result that he endangered their lives and in the case of the two deceased women, that these alleged sexual assaults contributed to their deaths.

Both women, whose names, like those of all the other alleged victims in the case, are protected by a publication ban, died of different types of non-Hodgkin's lymphoma, cancers commonly associated with the HIV-infected. They died in October, 2002, and August, 2003.

In his opening statement earlier this week, prosecutor Tim Power quietly and in careful language painted Mr. [redacted] conduct as callous, cold and deliberately duplicitous.

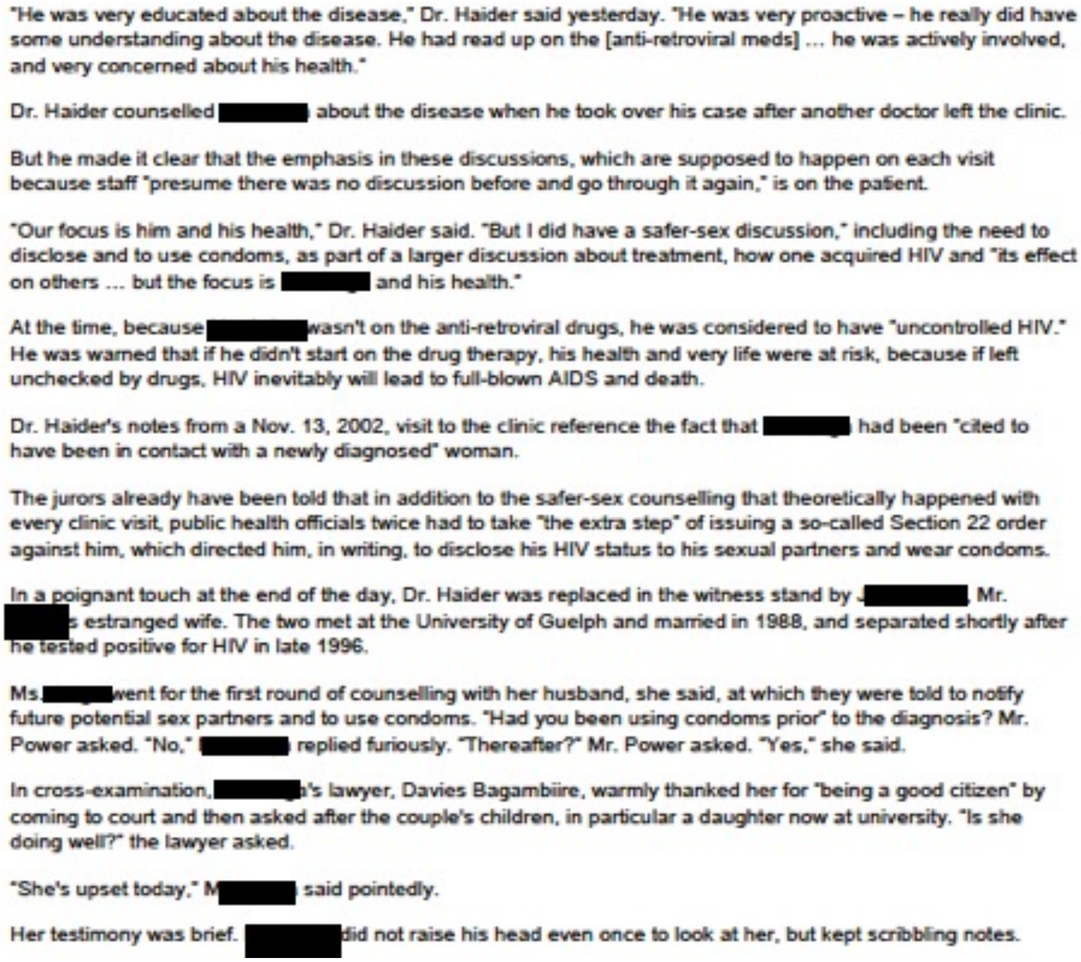
He said [redacted] not only failed to disclose his HIV status, but also directly lied about it to several of the women, telling one who asked about it that he was fine (reassured, she trusted him and they stopped using condoms) and letting another, who was then dying, believe that she had infected him.

But evidence introduced through and from Dr. Haider yesterday showed that [redacted] was an active and involved patient in his own care, and that his treatment team was pleased with his attitude.

From early 1997 to the year before his arrest in August of 2003, [redacted] was seen at the HIV clinic at least 20 times and had his blood tested to measure "viral loads" and levels of CD4 immune cells, which respectively show how much virus a patient has in his body and how well his immune system is functioning.

He was also taking antibiotics to ward off the pneumonias often seen in the HIV-infected, and had had vaccines, such as a flu shot, as a preventive. He had also been urged to start anti-retroviral therapy – the standard of care for HIV, which can render the once-deadly disease into what Dr. Haider called "a chronic manageable" one – but had done some research of his own on the side effects of the powerful drug cocktails, and was reluctant.

One of Dr. Haider's notes showed that [redacted] promises to review the pros and cons" of the drugs.



"He was very educated about the disease," Dr. Haider said yesterday. "He was very proactive – he really did have some understanding about the disease. He had read up on the [anti-retroviral meds] … he was actively involved, and very concerned about his health."

Dr. Haider counselled [redacted] about the disease when he took over his case after another doctor left the clinic.

But he made it clear that the emphasis in these discussions, which are supposed to happen on each visit because staff "presume there was no discussion before and go through it again," is on the patient.

"Our focus is him and his health," Dr. Haider said. "But I did have a safer-sex discussion," including the need to disclose and to use condoms, as part of a larger discussion about treatment, how one acquired HIV and "its effect on others … but the focus is [redacted] and his health."

At the time, because [redacted] wasn't on the anti-retroviral drugs, he was considered to have "uncontrolled HIV." He was warned that if he didn't start on the drug therapy, his health and very life were at risk, because if left unchecked by drugs, HIV inevitably will lead to full-blown AIDS and death.

Dr. Haider's notes from a Nov. 13, 2002, visit to the clinic reference the fact that [redacted] had been "cited to have been in contact with a newly diagnosed" woman.

The jurors already have been told that in addition to the safer-sex counselling that theoretically happened with every clinic visit, public health officials twice had to take "the extra step" of issuing a so-called Section 22 order against him, which directed him, in writing, to disclose his HIV status to his sexual partners and wear condoms.

In a poignant touch at the end of the day, Dr. Haider was replaced in the witness stand by [redacted], Mr. [redacted]s estranged wife. The two met at the University of Guelph and married in 1988, and separated shortly after he tested positive for HIV in late 1996.

Ms. [redacted] went for the first round of counselling with her husband, she said, at which they were told to notify future potential sex partners and to use condoms. "Had you been using condoms prior" to the diagnosis? Mr. Power asked. "No," [redacted] replied furiously. "Thereafter?" Mr. Power asked. "Yes," she said.

In cross-examination, [redacted]'s lawyer, Davies Bagambiire, warmly thanked her for "being a good citizen" by coming to court and then asked after the couple's children, in particular a daughter now at university. "Is she doing well?" the lawyer asked.

"She's upset today," [redacted] said pointedly.

Her testimony was brief. [redacted] did not raise his head even once to look at her, but kept scribbling notes.

Figure 2.1. Standard crime genre story of an HIV criminal non-disclosure case.

The most noticeable feature of Blatchford's article is that it is written as a crime story. Our study of news coverage of HIV criminal non-disclosure cases shows that the mainstream press has consistently reported on HIV non-disclosure as a type of crime story since the first charges were laid in Canada in the late 1980s (Mykhalovskiy et al. 2016:33). Media scholars interested in representation understand crime stories as a type of media frame (Entman 2003; Gitlan 1980). Studies of news media frames attend to how news coverage "select[s] some aspects of a perceived reality and make[s] them more salient in a communicating text" (Entman 1993:52; Jiwani and Young 2006; Ryan, Carragee, and Meinhofer 2001:176). For example, studies of the crime story frame show that this media frame regularly emphasizes sensational, violent aspects of crimes (Altheide 2003). Important critical race studies have also pointed to ways that news reports that are framed as crime stories contribute to the criminalization of racialized people by consistently depicting racialized people as particularly violent and threatening (Entman 1992, 1994; Entman and Rojecki 2000; Jiwani 2006; Oliver 2003).

In this dissertation, I employ the concept of the "crime story genre" as opposed to the crime story frame. While studies of media frames attend to the content of news discourse, the concept of "genre" is used in analyses that understand discourse as a type of social activity (Van Dijk 2018:232). Teun Van Dijk (2018) describes that "…genres are defined in terms of the properties of the communicative situation or context, such as who, when, where, for whom, and how the discourse is used, as well as by their style of meaning (229). He goes on to explain that genres are communicative situations that may be characterized by categories such as time period, institution, participants, and social roles (232).

A defining feature of the stable and consistent crime story genre about HIV criminalization that I study in this dissertation, is that the institutional logic, relevancies, and routine events of the criminal justice system structure news reports about HIV non-disclosure (Mykhalovskiy et al. Forthcoming). In our review of Canadian newspaper articles about HIV non-disclosure criminal cases, we referred to this characteristic of crime genre reporting about HIV non-disclosure as "criminal justice time." The notion of criminal justice time emphasizes how news coverage is coordinated by the routine events that sequence the criminal justice processing of a case: "news written in this way reports on a standardized sequence of events through which HIV non-disclosure criminal cases proceed (*when* a person is arrested, *when* a bail hearing is held, *when* people testify in court, etc.)"(Mykhalovskiy et al. Forthcoming:5). While other types of news articles, such as editorials and opinion pieces, are published about

HIV criminalization, the vast majority of news articles in the corpus that we reviewed addressed a specific case of HIV non-disclosure that was before the courts (Mykhalovskiy et al. Forthcoming).

This sequencing of stories is apparent in Blatchford's crime story about J.A. The article featured here is one of nine that Blatchford wrote between October 2008 and April 2009, each of which reports on a development in the criminal-legal case against J.A. This patterning of crime genre stories is significant because it works to objectify J.A. as a criminal subject, functions to provide a discourse that reinforces an understanding of HIV non-disclosure as a criminal offense, and creates a stock of reporting that invites news readers to think about HIV non-disclosure in this way. When news stories are coordinated by the standard processing of a criminal-legal case, readers only come to know about HIV non-disclosure as a crime, and only hear about the person accused of not disclosing his or her HIV positive status in relation to the crime he or she is being charged with.

Another standard feature of news coverage of HIV criminalization that is displayed in Blatchford's article has to do with how news reports regularly portray African, Caribbean, and Black men living with HIV in negative and stereotypical ways. Studies show that reporting on criminal HIV non-disclosure that reinforces the fear and prejudice that surrounds HIV is particularly stark when criminal cases related to HIV non-disclosure involve defendants who are immigrants or refugees (Bird and Dardenne 2009; McKay et al. 2011; Miller 2005; Persson and Newman 2008). A common way that this occurs is through news reports that link representations of racialized difference and immigration status with moral blameworthiness (Mykhalovskiy et al. Forthcoming:8). Notice, for instance, how Blatchford substitutes the descriptor "the Ugandan immigrant" in place of J.A.'s name as she introduces the criminal charges that are being laid against him in order to produce J.A. as a dangerous, threatening, “Other.” News coverage of HIV criminal non-disclosure cases not only portray defendants who are racialized in negative and stereotypical ways, they also disproportionally cover cases that involve racialized defendants. In the Canadian context, African, Caribbean, and Black men living with HIV account for 20% of people who have faced criminal charges related to HIV non-disclosure, however, they are the focus of 62% of newspaper articles dealing with these cases (Mykhalovskiy et al. Forthcoming:4).

There are many ways sociologists concerned with HIV stigma, processes of criminalization, and the way that media act as an important source of public information about crime might develop a critical analysis of this text. For instance, one could situate this text within a broader study of representation that adds to understandings of how meaning is given and how power and knowledge intersect in dominant explanations of crime (Brock, Glasbeek, and Murdocca 2014; Henry and Tator 2002). A critical researcher might pursue a study of news content that adds to the work of Canadian scholars who show how race and racism are deeply embedded in media representations of crime, particularly those who have drawn on the work of Stuart Hall to demonstrate how racialized people are consistently represented as “others” who exist outside of and as threats to the imagined community of Canada (Chan and Chunn 2014; Henry and Tator 2002; Jiwani 2006; Lawson 2014). One might also draw on Blatchford’s article to extend the research literature on media representations of HIV criminalization in particular. As I have started to show, this news report exemplifies many of the common themes identified in empirical reviews of news coverage of the issue. For instance, Blatchford’s piece typifies how press coverage consistently relies on a sharp criminal-victim dichotomy, constructs Black men as hypersexual and predatory, inflates HIV risks, represents Black men as “foreign” others, and silences the perspectives of defendants (Lupton 1999; McKay et al. 2011; Mykhalovskiy et al. Forthcoming; Persson and Newman 2008b).

My study of news coverage of HIV criminalization in Canada is informed by this rich collection of literature. I am particularly indebted to critical race scholars who help me to understand Blatchford's news article as an artifact of a standard genre of crime reporting that establishes connections between race and crime and mediates the public's understanding of "criminals"(Brock et al. 2014; Chan and Chunn 2014; Entman and Rojecki 2000; Henry and Tator 2002; Jiwani 2006; Jiwani and Young 2006). In this dissertation I endeavor to extend this trajectory of research on the media, but I take a slightly different approach. Rather than attending to the content of news texts, I shift my institutional ethnographic analysis toward the work that reporters do to produce a news story and ground my study in the social contexts in which reporters write.

Blatchford's news article is important for me to display at the outset of this chapter because conversations that have arisen around this sort of news coverage led me to this dissertation topic and helped focus my approach to inquiry. For years, HIV activists, and especially African, Caribbean, and Black (ACB) people living with HIV and the community-based organizations that represent them, have expressed serious concerns about how news reports of HIV criminalization typically reproduce stereotypes about ACB people and reinforce false assumptions about racialized people and criminality (African and Caribbean Council on HIV/AIDS in Ontario 2010, 2013). Studies that call attention to the overrepresentation and negative portrayal of racialized defendants in mainstream news coverage are useful to the extent that they can support activists' claims about large-scale systemic racism in the context of HIV criminalization and the broader criminal justice system.

Following the publication of our study of newspaper coverage of HIV non-disclosure criminal cases in Canada, I presented our findings at various research conferences and community meetings. Those in attendance most often related to our quantitative and qualitative data as a useful resource for identifying the mainstream press as a site in which HIV stigma proliferates. At the same time, I consistently fielded questions about how such a skewed and troubling news discourse takes form and how those concerned with HIV stigma might intervene in the production of such stigmatizing messages. In order to respond to these questions, it is important to extend research on the news beyond studies of representation, and to ethnographically explore the everyday work practices of journalists with a view to producing an empirical account of how reporters' newswork is socially organized.

2.2. The Everyday Work of Journalists

At the outset of my fieldwork, I expected that my research would take me to the gritty, everyday and everynight worlds of journalists that circulate in popular depictions of news production. I imagined that I would spend my time in locations that resemble the settings of my favourite newspaper movies – large, noisy, bustling rooms, cluttered with discarded Styrofoam coffee cups and lined with reporters chain smoking, flipping through note pads, talking on the phone with clandestine sources, and clacking away on their keyboard to file a breaking story just ahead of their deadline. I anticipated that I would meet and talk with intrepid reporters, individuals who resemble the archetypal journalists who wear trench coats and sprint out the door of the newsroom as a story breaks. However, the newsrooms that I visited and the reporters I interviewed brought a much different picture of journalism into view.

There are two main ways that the everyday work of reporters that I observed working in the context of convergence journalism diverged from what I expected to find in newsrooms.

First, writing for digital news is a much more collaborative type of writing practice than I anticipated. Though most newspaper articles are headed by a byline that attributes the text's authorship to a single journalist, my study shows that journalists' work practices are part of a dynamic dialogue and premised largely on processing talk and text from various digital sources into multiple digital formats (Forstorp 1998). Second, popular representations of journalists often focus on their beat work – the way that they "pound the pavement" to access sources and leads for news stories. However, reporters I spoke with regularly described their work to select, source, and research stories as a desk-top, text-based activity. These two features of journalism that resonated throughout my interviews with reporters helped me to understand the work of writing for digital news.

Close attention to the work practices of journalists is central to this dissertation. The concept of "work" is commonly used in institutional ethnographic research as a term that locates inquiry in the "actualities of what people do on a day-to-day basis" (Mykhalovskiy and McCoy 2002:24; Smith 1987:166). According to Dorothy Smith, this means beginning research in people's descriptions of their work – "what people do that requires some effort, that they mean to do, and that involves some acquired competence" (Smith 1987: 165). Building on contributions from institutional ethnographers who have extended the general concept of "work" to explore the social organization of particular empirical sites (see Mykhalovskiy and McCoy 2002 on "health work") I use the concept of "newswork" to direct attention toward the wide range of activities that journalists do to produce a news report. This section of the chapter that examines the everyday work of journalists proceeds in two parts. First, in an effort to make the everyday work activities of journalists visible, I draw on two interviewees' accounts of their typical workday. One interviewee, Alex, is a young daily news reporter at *News Centre*. His descriptions of his work illustrate how journalists access, process, and repurpose an array of talk and text in order to produce news content that can be spread across multiple platforms at once. The other journalist, Sarah, worked for *Urban News* as the agency's web editor. Her account offers insights into how online news happens and shows how news editors process, arrange, and filter digital texts so as to ensure a constant flow of "fresh" news content. Together, these accounts demonstrate that journalists' newswork is primarily a practice of text production. In the second part of this section, I move to locate journalists' work practices in the actual relations by which they are organized. In particular, I put forward an empirical description of how the social world of news production is organized by the relations of convergence journalism.

2.2.1. Feeding, Sending, Isolating, and Chopping Daily News

As was the case with many of the reporters I interviewed, it took several rounds of emails and text messages with Alex to arrange a time to meet that fit the hectic schedule that he navigates as a daily news reporter. After a couple of weeks of correspondence, Alex suggested we meet early on a Wednesday morning at a Starbucks downtown. As I rode the streetcar east, on what turned out to be a brutally cold morning, my phone buzzed with a series of text messages that helped me get a sense of Alex's energy and enthusiasm before I met him in person. It became clear that his proficiency for relaying news updates extended outside of the newsroom and into his personal interactions as well. His messages asked if we could meet in the west-end instead, his plans had changed and it would be easier for him to ride his bike there; questioned if our new meeting spot had Wi-Fi, and if he should bring his laptop; and offered updates such as, "ooooh you're early! Just brushing my teeth, then coming over!" It was clear from the outset of our interview that Alex loves his job a great deal and that he finds his work as a reporter to be consistently exciting, stimulating, and challenging. At points during our conversation he became so enthusiastic while describing his work that he had to stop himself, take a breath, and begin again. In addition to being difficult to pin down for an interview, another characteristic that Alex shared with many reporters I spoke with, is that he was much younger than I expected he would be. Throughout my field work I learned that daily news in Canada is largely produced by young reporters, often fresh from journalism school. Industry insiders suggest that in an age of resource scarcity, younger reporters typically demand less pay and are more willing to work longer hours (Bilton 2015). Since our interview, I have heard Alex file news reports on the radio a number of times and I have been struck by how much his commanding, deep, and deliberate news radio voice differs from the eager, brisk, and bouncy way that he spoke when we met.

I first came to know about Alex's work as a journalist while I was interviewing Gabe, one of Alex's colleagues at *News Centre*. Gabe mentioned Alex while he was trying to articulate the intense pressures that young reporters confront in contemporary newsrooms. He described that Alex "has to produce for T.V, radio, web, sometimes four files in a matter of two days, that's a lot." Gabe saw Alex as the sort of young reporter that editors will

> …sic to the wolves every day…because they're young and inexperienced, you know, they're eager and so we say, "go get it," and they have to file [news stories] on two or three platforms and there's only so much time…they don't have a lot of time to…really understand something and you know, you're only jumping in on the story for a day or two because the resources aren't there.

My interview with Alex offered important insight into how he organizes his everyday work activities in order to contend with the pressures and balance the multiple tasks that Gabe depicted. At the very outset of our interview Alex described that his everyday work requires multiple skill-sets and forms of knowledge:

> I work as a reporter at *News Centre* in French. I primarily work in TV but I also do radio and web. I work, my beat is business but I've also done stories about public health and so I've touched on HIV, PrEP,[6] that sort of thing. I also do stories about education and francophone affairs. Primarily my work is in French but I also do pitch stories on the English side for Toronto or national.

This description was important for my initial understanding of the variety of practices that comprise Alex's newswork. For example, this segment shows that Alex's work activities traverse multiple languages, media platforms, story-telling techniques, and news topics. Another important aspect of this passage is Alex's reference to pitching stories, which offers insight into how he is positioned within the structure of the news agency. It is not as though Alex can independently select a topic and begin writing on his own accord. The process of writing a news story begins with Alex "pitching" ideas for a news story to an assignment producer. Alex explained that he arrives at the office each day with up to three pitches in mind, "then our assignment producer will be like, yes do this…or no, that's a bad idea, here's another story…but that's when our assignment producer will sort of give us a story, either something we've pitched or something else that's maybe in the news or there's been a press release." This segment starts to show that writing for digital news is an activity that is closely tied to the broader priorities and processes of a reporter's news agency. For instance, Alex's newswork requires him to write with an awareness of his editors' work practices, procedures and sense of newsworthiness.

The pitch meetings that occur before Alex begins writing a news story are one way that he aligns his newswork with editorial processes. Alex also described how editors circulate data to regulate the content and form of his writing. Editors at *News Centre* regularly distribute data that quantifies how online readers engage with articles on the news agency's website. Alex described that he receives,

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[6] The Canadian AIDS Treatment and Information Exchange (CATIE) describes Pre-exposure prophylaxis (PrEP) as "a medication that a person who is HIV-negative can take to reduce their risk of getting HIV. When PrEP is used as prescribed it is rare to get HIV through sex, and the chance of getting HIV from sharing drug using equipment is dramatically reduced"(CATIE n.d.).

> …usually weekly updates on "here are the top stories of the week, this has been the number of shares, clicks," there's different metrics… those are emailed out to everyone. So, everyone knows what stories worked, what didn't work. Interestingly sometimes the stories that were shared the most, had like ten-second views, sometimes people see a headline and they'll share it without even reading the story. So that's another metric that we look at, like, okay well my story was maybe seventh on the list, but had a readership of about a minute, a minute thirty, so you know people actually spend more time in my story than the one that was shared the most. So obviously, you have to take into consideration all those different elements.

Alex explained he understands that the purpose of editors' sharing this data is to encourage reporters to model their news stories on those that have been viewed and shared most widely online. Thus, his newswork not only involves having story ideas vetted by editors, it also centers on the effort to model his text production activities upon news texts that are understood by editors to be "the top stories of the week." Together, Alex's account of the pitch meeting and his description of how digital news metrics are circulated by editors, reinforce an understanding of writing for digital news as highly responsive to particular organizational priorities.

Alex's account of his typical workday also brought into view the extent to which his work activities to produce news content consist mainly of activating existing texts. He coordinates his daily work routine to ensure that he meets *News Centre*'s demand for the production of a steady stream of news content that can be spread across multiple news platforms. To do so, Alex explained that he considers "every hour as a deadline" for producing and circulating news texts:

> It used to be like, oh you just have your six o'clock deadline or your four o'clock radio deadline but now we're just constantly producing 24-hour news so I think of every hour as a deadline and I think about what can I provide every hour essentially… Sometimes there are days when I'm like, the story is factual and

> accurate and everything but I didn't add my personal…, how can I? I feel like I didn't make it as fun or interesting as it could have been in terms of the writing style and creativity and whatnot just because I didn't have time to go through everything and add little clips and edit. So sometimes I'm like, ugh, this story could have been so much better had I had time to go through everything.

Reporters I interviewed regularly historicized their experiences in newsrooms in a similar way to Alex. It was common for journalists to contrast the overwhelming speed at which news is produced in the digital era with what they understood to be the more deliberate routines of analog newsrooms. In this passage, Alex describes the stress, apprehension, and frustration that he experiences as he works throughout the day to routinely produce a particular type of news text – a text that can be produced quickly, efficiently, and in step with the dizzying pace of digital news production. It is clearly challenging for Alex to square the organizational demand for the constant and rapid production of news texts with his conception of a sort of newswork that would allow him to insert his unique voice and writing style into a news text. This example illustrates how the managerial expectation for consistent and efficient text production prevents Alex from expressing his personal voice in news texts.

As Alex described his everyday newswork, it became clear that his work centers not only on the constant and rapid production of texts, but on the production of a type of text that can be efficiently modified and repurposed by others in his news agency. Consider Alex's description of his typical workday:

> Okay, typical day…I'll send out a bunch of emails, I'm looking for sources of people who are experts on the matter who can talk, I guess it depends on the story, but let's say I'm working on a public health story on vaccination. I'll try and line up interviews with government officials, experts on the matter, pharmacists or doctors or whatever, then I'll go out…trying to squeeze in all those interviews, then I'm going out with my cameraman to all those different interviews. While I do all of this, radio wants to be fed so I usually will send in a one minute rant on my topic with a few interviews that I've done and we'll just sort of sum

> their ideas and produce a one minute rant that's going to be played for a few radio newscasts in the afternoon. I usually send in the written form of my radio newscast to the web team, and then they'll sort of make a web version of that article. Yeah and then so I usually try to be back at the station for the latest at three o'clock because I want to give myself time to write, to go through my footage, my material and then I write up a TV script, you know, based on the interview clips that I've isolated. Then I have to get that vetted by the senior producer for the TV show. Once it's vetted I go voice it in a radio booth…So, then I usually take my TV story, chop out a few parts... If there's anything that's a developing element in that story, sometimes I'll save something for that story for the next morning and maybe something for web. Like write up a small like web article on part two of this story, and leave it for the next morning. So that's an average day.

This segment helps bring into view the tremendous volume of texts that Alex produces during a typical workday. While we most often associate journalists' work with their complete, published, news article, Alex describes that writing for digital news is based on producing other texts, such as emails, interview questions, interview transcripts, short rants based on these interviews, written newscasts to be broadcast on the radio, written newscasts to be broadcast on television, and multiple iterations of web articles. One could draw on this interview segment to add to studies of news media production that examine how journalists identify expert sources, conduct interviews, or develop scripts for radio and television broadcasts. However, I include this passage here because it illuminates that writing for digital news is about processing, transferring, and repurposing texts.

For instance, in this passage, important steps in Alex's newswork routine (as described in the first part of this section) have already been completed. He has presumably already pitched the news story to an assignment producer and he has likely reviewed what type of news stories have recently garnered the highest volume of web traffic online (another sort of text processing activity). The next steps in his newswork, as featured in this account, bring two important features of his everyday text processing practices into view. First, this description starts to show that Alex's work is not only based on the routine production of texts, it is also rooted in activities that process various texts and talk into his news article. For example, his first step is to access expert sources whose voices he can insert into his news text. This once again underlines that writing for digital news is not a univocal exercise, it is a sort of writing practice that one conducts in dialogue with the talk and text of authoritative sources. The second significant aspect of Alex's account of his text production practice, is that it shows how his work is geared into the routines of many other actors in his news agency, such as camera operators, radio producers, website editors, and television producers. His newswork is about processing texts into his news article, but it is also about producing texts that others in his news agency can process, repurpose, and use for various news formats. For example, notice that his day is mostly an exercise in *feeding* interview texts into radio broadcasts; *sending* the written form of the radio broadcast to a web team who will reshape it into an online article; *isolating* and *chopping* interview segments that can be transferred into the script of a television broadcast that a newscaster will read on the air; and finally, all the while, keeping abreast of developments in the news story in order to produce shorter web articles that keep an online news site replete with the most recent details. These work practices in which Alex processes and repurposes a common source text, such as an interview, and spreads it widely across various news platforms enable him to meet the organizational demand for a steady supply of news content.

While Alex's account helps to show how reporters process and reprocess various digital texts in order to produce digital news content, it is worth pausing to highlight the particularly significant role that interview work plays in the production of digital news. Mats Nylund writes,

> the reporter-source interview is an extremely important part of news production, but has only rarely been the subject of academic research. Even in the late 1980s, Teun van Dijk drew attention to the lack of this

> kind of research. According to him, “Much more empirical work is necessary about the discourse processing of source texts and their transformation into final news discourse” (Van Dijk 1988:137). Years later, such research continues to be rare (Nylund 2011:480).

I place this dissertation into conversation with the work of scholars, like Nylund, who understand news interviews as a kind of “news-generating machine.” The news interview is a particular type of social situation that elicits replies and statements from the interviewee that are turned into quotes and sound-bits, the crucial raw material of news stories (Nylund 2011: 480).

In cases when reporters I spoke with had time and space to conduct first-hand research as part of their newswork activities, interview work tended to structure their routines. For example, Justin is a freelance reporter who works for a community news organization. He described,

> Literally the first thing I ever do when I approach a story, I’ve gotten my assignment from my editor, I open a new document, I write the name of the story, and then I list the basic voices that I want…[for the story about a criminal HIV non-disclosure case] I sat down and I wrote that I had to attempt to contact the guy [facing criminal charges] himself or his lawyer, I had to get two institutional voices, an activist voice, the police, and public health. Before I knew who any of these people were, I had to write down that these were the voices I want in the story and I went about filling those voices in.

This passage is interesting because it helps to show how source interviews structure Justin’s entire news production process. His newswork is about locating and collecting sources who will reply to his questions and subsequently provide the raw material that he requires to produce a news text. What Justin’s remarks suggest, is that source interviews are different from the litany of other digital processing and reprocessing work that reporters do. From the time a story is assigned to a reporter to the point at which the news article is published, sources can inform reporters’ knowledge of an issue and shape news content in significant ways. In chapter four, I expand on how HIV advocates utilize news interviews as the basis for interventions into news content. For now, I want to present source interview work as an important type of text processing work that reporters do.

2.2.2. Pulling News Stories

Alex's description of his newswork shows the extent to which writing for digital news consists of producing, processing, repurposing, and distributing texts. While his account displays how reporters isolate, chop, feed, and send texts to other platforms across their news agency, the locations at which these texts arrive remain out of view in Alex's description of his local, everyday world. In order to "enlarge the scope" of my understanding of news production, I wanted to talk with someone whose daily work activities center on receiving and processing the sort of news content Alex produces (McCoy 2006:704). Fortunately, Sarah, a friend of a friend of mine, responded to an open call for interview participants that I posted on Facebook. Sarah and I met at a coffee shop close to her office after work one evening. A few months before we met, Sarah left her job as a web editor at *Urban News* and started working as a communication specialist at a non-profit organization. Before I turned my tape recorder on, Sarah described that she was very much enjoying the more stable work schedule and calmer pace of her new job.

As a web editor, Sarah's workday consisted mainly of sifting through long streams of news stories on digital news wires and making decisions about which ones to post on the *Urban News* website. Her work also involved arranging the stories on the site's homepage. She headed the sort of web team that would receive Alex's article and, as he described, "make a web version of that article." Sarah's work activities exemplify the type of text processing and repurposing practices that are central to writing for digital news. Sarah described her work in the following way:

> So, I was a web editor at *Urban News*. So that makes it seem like I had more decision-making power than I did, the title seems really lofty. But basically, a large portion of my day was just pulling news from the wire, so *Canadian Press* and a little bit of *AP*, mostly *Canadian Press*…So, when I say like, pulling stories, it would come through the system and it was really just assigning it a headline because usually the headlines weren't really that great that would come automated, adding a photo, then deciding to put it on social media... And then so when I did deal with original content it was editing that content for the web, proofreading, not really fact checking because there was no time, but proofreading, putting it up, tweeting it out. That was really a large portion.

Looking closely at Sarah's account of her work practices brings into view a remarkable collection of text processing and repurposing activities. Most notably, her editorial work was about "pulling" news stories from various news wires and processing them into news content for the agency's website. This processing work included steps to add or alter the story's headline, to add a photo to the story, and to review the text in order to correct for errors in form. Sarah's reference to there being "no time" to fact check, reinforces the rapid pace at which news is produced in contemporary newsrooms. These time constraints meant that for the most part, Sarah made minimal modifications to the texts that she processed into web content. As she described, her work consisted of "copy and pasting it pretty much. Maybe you would tweak it a bit…but that's pretty much it, you weren't really changing content unless you noticed a spelling mistake they missed or something like that." Much like Alex, Sarah coordinated her newswork activities in order to produce news texts as quickly as possible and to fulfill her news agency's demand for a constant supply of news content.

Sarah's descriptions of her work also illuminate that her practice of "pulling news stories" was rooted in the exercise of evaluating texts and assessing which ones ought to be included on the homepage. For example, she specifies in the segment above that some of the headlines she came across "weren't really that great." During our interview, it seemed challenging for Sarah to articulate how she evaluated texts, to explain precisely how she knew which stories to pull from the wire and process into web content, or to specifically define what characterized a newsworthy article. She described that many of the articles that came through the wire over the course of her eight-hour shift were clearly not relevant to her paper's readership. As she explained,

> it was kind of like picking, because a lot of the stuff we would have never have chosen to put up, so it would be like…some random crime story from the States, and we'd be like, it doesn't really matter...or like, a million sports stories that we don't need, something random like, I don't know, track and field, but it would all come through [the wire]."

This segment begins to show how Sarah's newswork to pull stories and place them on the web was coordinated by her anticipation of how *Urban News'* online readership would receive the article. In this passage, it seems easy for her to pass over stories that have to do with events that occur outside the newspaper's geographic location or that report on events that would only interest a niche audience. Her newswork is about assessing news stories in terms of what content is relevant to a wide segment of readers, and will in turn, attract a high volume of online visitors to the website. Sarah stated that the criteria for what counted as newsworthy "was definitely very subjective to be able to pick what you thought was interesting or what you thought people would be interested in." As she described her work, she identified sources that she used as barometers to gauge what stories would interest a wide segment of readers and draw visitors to the homepage.

For example, Sarah's work regularly involved monitoring the webpages of other news agencies. Sarah explained that one of her colleagues "would see what [news story] was doing well elsewhere, it's like, oh do we have this story yet? Because it's actually doing really well over here. Maybe we should grab that." Sarah and her co-workers also watched social media feeds in a similar way: “I think if something for some reason exploded on Facebook I’d be like maybe we need to revisit where it’s placed on our homepage.” Checking social media was a central part of Sarah’s work because often times social media would alert Sarah to an important news story before it came through on the news wires she was monitoring and looking to “pull” stories from. She described, “Sometimes you’re waiting for something to come through [the wire]. Nowadays you see something that happens on Twitter and that happens before the wire comes through and so you’re like, aahh when is this coming through [the wire]!?” Sarah’s work to track news stories on competing organizations’ homepages and on social media feeds displays a particular type of text processing activity. Sarah repurposes online news stories as text devices that support her work to evaluate what news stories are relevant and likely to attract readers to the homepage that she coordinates as a web editor.

A primary way that Sarah worked to draw readers to the *Urban News* website, was by constantly updating and maintaining a steady stream of “fresh” stories on the homepage. Over the course of her eight-hour shift Sarah made regular revisions to the stories that were featured on the homepage and the way that they were arranged: “depending on the day, I would say [the homepage would be refreshed] like twenty times, sometimes more…I would say, just like every half hour maybe.” Sarah understood that a consistent flow of novel content on the homepage made it more likely that readers would visit the site multiple times throughout the day and as she emphasized, “you want them to check back in.” While Sarah was mostly responsible for the layout of the homepage, her supervisors would sometimes bypass her editorial work by scheduling news stories to “go live.” Essentially, stories would be scheduled to “go live” in order to coordinate the layout of the *Urban News* homepage with the layout of the print version of the daily *Urban News.* As Sarah described,

> Sometimes, and it was a directive from supervisors, that a couple of pieces from…the next day's paper would be scheduled to go live [on the website]…so that the paper the people were getting that day didn't feel stale…the idea was that if someone saw something in the paper that they want to share, they they'll be able to find it [on the website].

In this passage, an interesting aspect of Sarah's text processing work emerges. We can see here that her work happens in a sort of cycle that is closely related to how news texts move on social media. Sarah not only refers to Facebook to gauge what stories are worth placing on the *Urban News* homepage, her supervisors also foreground the lead stories from the print version of the paper on the website's homepage in order to facilitate readers sharing the articles on Facebook. This sequence calls attention to the predominant role of text processing activities in contemporary newswork.

2.3. The Social Organization of Newswork

Alex and Sarah's accounts of their everyday work show some of the ways that activities to produce, process, and modify texts are a central feature of today's newswork. In this section I illustrate how this writing for digital news is coordinated by a management strategy for news production referred to as convergence journalism. I devote particular attention to how the social relations of convergence journalism hook reporters' work into organizational processes of commercialization and generalist reporting. As I examine how commercialization and generalist reporting shape how journalists produce, process, and modify texts, I point to how convergence journalism contributes to the reproductions of the standard genre of salacious, sensational crime stories about HIV criminalization.

Critical social science research on how HIV criminalization is reported on in the mainstream press typically concentrates on the content of news coverage rather than the social relations of news production (Flavin 2000; Patton 2005; Petty 2005). Researchers understand the source of problematic news coverage of HIV criminalization to be based in historically rooted racist news discourse (Lupton 1999; McKay et al. 2011; Miller 2005) and as a feature of structural racism (Persson and Newman 2008b).

In this section of the chapter, I want to show how a study of social organization can contribute to understandings of how problematic news coverage of HIV non-disclosure is produced. Here, I build on the work of critical scholars who call attention to the long history of stigmatizing news reports of HIV criminalization by showing that the social conditions of convergence journalism make it exceedingly difficult to disrupt the genre of crime reporting in which these stigmatizing discourses proliferate. This is because convergence journalism creates conditions of work that set reporters up to rely on existing texts that emphasize the sort of sensational, superficial news coverage that has defined news reports of HIV non-disclosure for decades. Before I explore how processes of commercialization and generalist reporting shape journalists' newswork, I turn to contextualize convergence journalism in more detail.

2.3.1. Convergence Journalism

Much has been made of the burgeoning "crisis" facing contemporary journalism (Almiron 2010; Barnett 2009; Fuller 2010; Levy, David and Nielsen, Rasmus 2010; McChesney, Robert 2003; Reinardy 2011). In recent years, journalism scholars have called attention to how news production (especially print news production) in the digital age is defined by radical uncertainty and marked by audience fragmentation, falling print circulation, the decline of the advertising model, dismal online advertising profits, and shrinking subscription revenues (Bell 2016; Saridou, Lia-Paschalia, and Veglis 2017; Usher 2018; Zelizer 2017). Studies show that in response to their precarious economic circumstances, news organizations have had to become more profit conscious and have been forced to reinvent themselves. To describe how news organizations have restructured themselves in order to contend with the compound challenges of producing news in the digital era, journalism scholars often highlight the extent to which "convergence models" have become central to the structure and business strategies of newsrooms (Mitchelstein and Boczkowski 2009; Zhang 2012).

The concept of convergence in journalism has many interpretations and definitions (Kolodzy 2006:4), however, it generally refers to "the coming together of once-separate media in a digital, networked environment – in online journalism" (Pavlik 2001:38). The Infotendencias Group adds to an understanding of media convergence as a complex process that affects the production of news in myriad ways:

> Convergence journalism is a multidimensional process which, facilitated by the widespread implementation of digital communication technologies, affects the technological, business, professional, and editorial aspects of the media, fostering the integration of tools, spaces, working methods, and languages that were previously separate, in such a way that journalists can write contents to be distributed via multiple platforms (Infotendcias Group 2012:29–30).

While my focus in this chapter is primarily fixed on how journalists carry out their everyday work activities to produce news content in converged newsrooms, this definition illuminates how convergence models operate at various levels of news organizations. Convergence can be understood as a management strategy that news organizations adopt in order to keep labour costs down and to increase the output and efficiency of the news production process. The shift towards convergence means that news organizations reduce resource spending as they employ fewer reporters who are expected to cover more news topics across a range of news platforms. Thus, convergence models come to bear in significant ways on a news organization's business scheme, professional approach, resources, and news content (Doyle 2013; Klinenberg 2005; Lawson-Borders 2009; Quinn 2004; Saridou et al. 2017).

In the Canadian context, a great deal of journalism now occurs under conditions of convergence. In fact, the Canadian media industry is the most highly concentrated of any major comparable country in the world (Fry 2017:53). In 2016, data showed that just three main groups (Postmedia, Transcontinental, Torstar) owned close to 66% of all daily newspapers (Fry 2017:53). Fewer sources of information mean less original reporting, less investigative journalism, and less contact with local communities (Fry 2017: 55). The convergence of Canadian media corporations has resulted in significant staff layoffs, more than 16, 500 jobs have been lost in the media sector since 2008 (Fry 2017: 56). These staffing cuts have been said to negatively impact journalists' ability "to cover or investigate stories and to deliver the reporting that Canadians rely on to fully participate in a democracy" (Fry 2017: 56).

A close reading of journalists' accounts of their newswork reveals that their everyday work practices are coordinated by two key relations of convergence journalism: commercialization and generalist reporting. In both instances, these social relations produce a context in which the work of creating news is about processing existing texts into multiple formats as quickly as possible, and with very limited opportunity for original journalistic investigation.

2.3.2. The Commercialization of Digital News

The precarious economic circumstances in which news is produced today push news agencies to operate with great concern for the commercial viability of their product. As Eric Klinenberg (2005) argues, "although the news media was born as a commercial medium and has always been deeply entangled with corporate, profit-driven interests, insiders fear that the logic of the market has penetrated to unprecedented depths of the modern newsroom" (Klinenberg 2005:53). One of the primary ways that news organizations have transformed their news production practices in order to protect their profit margins, is by prioritizing multimedia reporting that is intended for online, digital platforms. As news organizations restructure themselves to contend with a hyper-competitive and economically uncertain media landscape, digital news production provides a cost-effective strategy for producing low cost and widely spreadable news content (Bakker 2012; Saridou et al. 2017:1006). The journalists I interviewed regularly explained that their news agencies have restructured their organization to steadily prioritize the production of digital, online news over other platforms. For example, Shawn has worked as a fulltime reporter at a major Canadian newspaper for four years. Even over that rather short period of time, he recognizes that the newsroom has become "a lot more integrated. It used to be a web desk and a print desk. Now it's a lot more, they came out and said 'we're a digital organization that happens to print a newspaper,' trying to make print an afterthought rather than the first thing they think about."

This sort of "digital first" approach to news production that Shawn describes shapes the everyday newswork of Alex and Sarah. One way that the commercialization of digital news coordinates their activities is by intensifying the pace of their newswork. The advent of online news that updates instantaneously has created an informational environment in which there is always breaking news to produce and to consume. In order to attract and maintain the attention of online news consumers, agencies must ensure that they produce a consistent stream of novel news content. The continuous time cycle for news making in the age of digital production has spun the regular news cycle into an erratic and unending pattern that Eric Klinenberg refers to as a "news cyclone" (Klinenberg 2005). To keep step with the frenzied pace of digital news production, Alex and Sarah lean on quick and efficient text production and processing activities. For example, Alex's account of his hurried workday shows how he repurposes and spreads a common text, such as an interview, to supply content to multiple platforms on an hourly basis. Sarah, who worked in a setting at which Alex's text might arrive, continuously processes texts into online news to keep the news agency's homepage "fresh" – an activity that she would repeat at least twenty-five times throughout her shift.

The commercialization of online news not only shapes the pace at which reporters work to produce and process texts, the relations of commercialization also coordinate the content of texts that they generate. Both Alex and Sarah described how their work practices are shaped by their understanding of what sort of news story will attract a high volume of readers online. For instance, Alex explained that he models his writing for digital news on news stories that, according to data that his editors circulate, are most successful in terms of how often they are viewed, liked, and shared online. Meanwhile, Sarah described how her evaluation of news content and decisions about the structure of texts that she processes onto the *Urban News* homepage are informed by the degree to which online readers are consuming the stories on other news websites and on social media. This type of newswork that Alex and Sarah do to produce news texts that masses of online readers will consume is a central part of their work practices within the business model of convergence journalism. For decades, newspapers relied heavily on audience and advertisers to generate revenue. Today, as readers' print subscriptions and print advertisements wane dramatically, statistical data that quantifies how online visitors view, click, "like", and share an online news story is vital to news organizations as this data is monetized by attracting advertisers to news sites (Benbunan-Fich and Fich 2004; Napoli 2010; Vu 2014).

Journalists and journalism scholars alike have expressed serious concerns about how the commercialization of digital news, linked to convergence journalism, constrains reporters' work and threatens the quality of journalism. A specific point of unease has to do with working conditions that set reporters up to produce news texts as quickly as possible and with an eye towards the news texts' popularity online. As the argument goes, news production practices that are geared toward rapidly producing widely-read articles favor the publication of simple, uncontentious, and easy to obtain news stories, as opposed to long-form, nuanced, and more expensive journalistic endeavors (Davies 2008; Karlsson 2011; Saridou et al. 2017:1009). One can recognize, for instance, that the constant speed at which Alex is expected to produce news texts, and the pace at which Sarah is supposed to process and "refresh" news texts, limit opportunities to assess or reflect on the quality of news content. The threats that the commercialization of digital news poses to journalistic integrity were impressed upon me during an interview I conducted with a veteran reporter named Lisa. Lisa has worked at *News Centre* (the same news agency as Alex) for over 20 years. She described her concerns about the pace of online news:

> …stories have a shelf-life of not even a day, or a day and it's over, people have lost interest. So, whether it ended up being true or false or misrepresented by us, or just a complete misrepresentation of any context to do with what's happening, can be completely irrelevant…because now we're on to a story about, you know, whatever the next thing is.

What this passage starts to show is that while convergence may serve as a strategy for news organizations to commercialize their product in response to the uncertain economic conditions that they face, it is also an approach that raises a host of uncertainties for journalistic integrity and robust reporting. It is difficult to conceptualize how reporters could possibly consistently produce nuanced and complex accounts of issues within newsrooms that hook their work into the frenzied pace of online, digital news production. Lisa also grappled with how to square her understanding of the principals of journalism with the organizational demand for reporters to produce news content that will be read and shared widely online. She explained:

> we're constantly being told with our online stories which ones are the most popular. But also… you can write two headlines for your story, and the [software] system will push them out there and then you can see which headline is attracting more clicks so that at a certain point you can just bail on the more boring headline and go to the salacious headline that's working better… I think it's the whole idea of news judgement. Are you trying to shape or broaden or strengthen democracy or just sell people something? That's the worry I guess.

In this segment Lisa helps to surface how processes of commercialization coordinate newswork that contribute to the production and reproduction of the standard genre of sensational crime story about HIV criminalization. Headlines understood to be "working better" are those that draw the highest volume of readers to the story, often, as Lisa suggests, by being shocking or provocative in tone. In the case of HIV and the criminal law, headlines that alert readers to dangerous, threatening, hyper-sexualized outsiders are more likely to grab the readers' attention, than those that treat the issue as a complex and nuanced public health issue. As long as news organizations rely on web traffic to attract advertising revenues, this pattern of salacious reporting on HIV criminalization is likely to continue.

2.3.3. Generalist Reporting

Along with the commercialization of digital news, a second relation of convergence journalism that shapes reporters' everyday newswork is the trend toward generalist reporting. Convergence management structures often position reporters in news organizations as "generalists." One of the easiest ways for news publishers to save money is to do away with the beat structure, in which a reporter specializes in a particular news topic, and instead pay one reporter (often young journalists) as a generalist reporter to do several jobs (Coxon 2013). Within converged newsrooms, generalist reporters are expected to be flexible and adaptable in terms of the topics that they report on and to be proficient at multiskilling. Generalist reporters regularly carry out multiple tasks at once and combine distinct news-gathering and story-telling techniques that were once separate in analog environments (Cawley 2008; Lawson-Borders 2006; Mitchelstein and Boczkowski 2009:568; Ursell 2001). The shift toward generalist reporting in converged news agencies alters traditional newsroom structures, operations, and divisions of labour (Chadha and Wells 2016:2; Saltzis and Dickinson 2008).

The social relations of generalist reporting inform how the reporters I spoke to understand their everyday work. For example, Alex explained that in his newsroom,

> You're a bit of a generalist, yeah. And as you go along you can sort of develop more of a specific beat. But I mean, our newsroom… is sort of changing…I think they're wanting to get rid of beats, like we lost our sports reporter and they're not replacing him with a sports reporter they're replacing him by a generalist reporter, we lost our arts reporter and they're not replacing him with an arts reporter they're replacing him with a generalist reporter as well. So, I don't know. I don't know how I feel about that.

Alex's account of his standard workday as a generalist reporter, included in the previous section of this chapter, demonstrates the extent to which his work practices are hooked into the shifting organizational structure of converged newsrooms. One of the most notable aspects of Alex's work as a generalist is the wide variety of news topics he covers. The news stories he produces span diverse topics such as business, public health, education, and francophone affairs. Alex is also a multi-skilled reporter. His description of his everyday newswork details how he utilizes various digital technologies to source, construct, and disseminate news in both French and English. As news agencies cut spending on specialist reporters and employ fewer generalist reporters, those, like Alex, who remain in the newsroom are required to do more (produce more content, more often, across more platforms, about more topics) with less (time, resources, and space to do in-depth reporting on a specific topic). In order to continuously produce news content on a range of topics across multiple news platforms, Alex's writing for digital news is focused on repurposing and transferring a common source text to multiple sites within his news agency.

The trend toward generalist reporting shaped Sarah's everyday text-based work as a web editor as well. She explained that due to staff layoffs at her news organization, her work involved processing news texts about diverse topics that pertained to varied geographic regions. Sarah described that she edited the homepage,

> for all markets across Canada, so nine cities…we were a really small team, so we're running nine different homepages for all the different cities and on any given day, because there were a few layoffs, there were only two of us running the site. So how it would kind of end up working towards the end is that there was one person whose job was to do the homepages, and the other person was just feeding in that content, editing and putting the stories up.

This passage helps to show how Sarah's work comes to center on activities that consist of processing texts as quickly and efficiently as possible. The laying-off of editors who might specialize in a particular geographic region means that Sarah and her remaining colleagues are left to find ways to edit the homepages for nine different websites simultaneously. In such a context, the editorial practices that Sarah has time to complete are reduced to, as she described, "copy and pasting it pretty much," and she devoted less time to fact checking or more in-depth editing work.

Journalism scholars have expressed concerns about how this demand for flexible, multi-skilled, generalist reporting within converged newsrooms blurs the distinction between technicians and journalists and also has the potential to distract journalists from their primary task of news gathering and coverage (Chadha and Wells 2016: 2). I came to understand how these types of concerns about generalist reporting practices materialize in the content of news stories about HIV criminalization during an interview I conducted with a reporter named Allen.

Allen has worked at a newspaper, that I will refer to as *The Pine City Guardian*, for over thirty-five years. Much of the paper's content focuses on local issues, but also includes syndicated national and international news content from news agencies that are owned by the same media corporation, that I will call *Canadian Media*. Over Allen's tenure with *The Pine City Guardian*, the field of journalism and his work setting have undergone profound changes. Allen has an extensive background and training as a photographer and for most of his career at *The Pine City Guardian*, he worked exclusively as a photo-journalist. Recently, however, Allen has had to confront an increasing pressure to be a flexible, multi-skilled, generalist reporter who produces news content about diverse news topics across a number of news platforms. As Allen describes,

> I had a nice portfolio in 1982 at *The Pine City Guardian*. Pretty much stuck to just photography for I'd say 20 years until I started getting into a little bit of writing, just writing simple stories to go with my photos and then over the last number of years, because of the decrease in reporters, it seems like everyone became multimedia journalists, which we call ourselves now. So, there are trained reporters who learn how to take pictures and trained photographers who learn how to write stories, so we kind of mix together and cover as much as we can. I'd say for at least the last 10 years I guess I've been doing, now I do more writing than photography.

The social relations of convergence journalism echo throughout Allen's description of his newswork. Allen understands his transition from working exclusively as a photographer to taking on the role of a "multimedia journalist" to be tied to the restructuring of his news organization. As his organization reduces resource spending and employs fewer reporters, Allen is expected to cover diverse topics and to combine once separate news-gathering and story-telling techniques of photo-journalism and reporting. For Allen, this means expanding his skill-set and becoming a proficient reporter in addition to an experienced photographer.

Allen's position as a generalist, multimedia journalist also means that he covers diverse news topics. Occasionally this includes covering stories about crime and the Canadian correctional system. One of the most notable cases that Allen has reported on is an HIV non-disclosure case.[7] In 2006, a 30-year-old male, who I will call Lewis, was convicted on multiple counts of aggravated sexual assault for not disclosing his HIV-positive status to sexual partners. He was sentenced to 20 years in prison. The charges against Lewis were laid in Elm Town. Allen reported on the man's parole hearings that took place in 2013, 2015, and 2016 in five news articles that ran in *The Pine City Guardian* and *The Elm Town Chronicle*.

Allen's news articles about the parole hearings display some of the common, troubling features of mainstream news coverage of HIV criminalization that I identified at the outset of this chapter. For example, Allen's reports on the parole hearings function to reduce the issue of HIV criminalization from a complex social, legal, and health issue to a straightforward crime story. The primary way that reportage produces the story as a criminal justice story from the outset, is by structuring both the content and sequencing of news stories in relation to the institutional proceedings of the criminal justice system. Allen's reporting only brings Lewis and his story into public discourse at moments when his case proceeds through a standard stage of the criminal justice processing of a case – a parole hearing. Within news reports that are coordinated by the institutional relevancies of the criminal justice system, readers repeatedly read about Lewis exclusively as a criminal and about the crimes he committed. A second way that Allen's coverage of the parole hearings works to produce HIV criminalization as a straightforward crime story is by relying heavily on language associated with the criminal justice system in his articles. Each of his stories about a parole hearing follows a similar structure: (1) the story begins by affirming Lewis' status as a "notorious sex offender" or "convicted sex offender; (2) the charges that Lewis faces are restated; (3) a description of the most recent parole hearing follows; and (4) the article concludes by listing the next steps in the criminal-justice system processing of his case. This style of reporting serves to not only produce HIV non-disclosure as a crime story, it also objectifies Lewis as a criminal subject. Exploring the everyday newswork practices that go into producing this sort of news coverage, and the social worlds in which they occur, illuminate how the institutional relations of generalist reporting tied to convergence journalism produce and reproduce the sensational genre of crime stories about HIV criminalization.

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[7] In order to protect the anonymity of the defendant in this case and the reporter that covered it, I have altered the year of the charge and the parole hearings, the name and age of the defendant, and the approximate length of his sentence.

As a generalist reporter, Allen meets the demand to quickly and efficiently produce news content on a range of news topics largely by processing texts produced by expert authorities. For example, he explained that his work covering crime stories commonly begins by scanning police press releases to identify relevant stories to pursue:

> With the police, I just usually do the stuff they send out, they send a daily update of what's happening on their side, the police side, and usually I take a look at that and re-write those. I check, the police has a portal that I go to that's for the media that has all their releases, I just look for ones that are in this area…they write a very dry thing and I go through it and I try to, not jazz it up, but make it a little more readable for the newspaper.

I look more closely at how reporters' work hooks into police communications work in the next chapter. For now, I want to foreground that Allen's work to identify news stories is based largely in locating readily available, online, digital sources. In the context of convergence journalism, it is especially significant that Allen's newswork process is primarily hooked into easily accessible texts from criminal justice authorities because the social conditions of convergence journalism do not allow the reporter to conduct further research or to consider multiple sources. In addition to police press releases, Allen described that his understanding of HIV criminalization was informed by an online video published by the Union of Canadian Correctional Officers:

> …if you look up Union of Canadian Correctional Officers on Youtube, they have bunch of videos, it might help you a bit, they have some reenactments of things that happened to prison guards, there's one reenactment where a guard is doing a search of a cell, and this is all true stuff, in Canada's prisons where the inmate has a tainted needle and he put it inside a book so when the officer is going through all the books he gets pricked by the needle, a tainted needle, so stuff like that is interesting as well.

The video that Allen refers to is entitled "Bloody Cells: An Organic Threat," and it streams on the Union of Canadian Correctional Officers' webpage. As the title starts to suggest, the video is perhaps one of the most stigmatizing representations of HIV I have ever come across. The 24-minute video is a collection of dramatic reenactments that depict situations in which correctional officers in Canadian prisons have allegedly been exposed to HIV by people who are incarcerated. Each reenactment portrays the person living with HIV as a malevolent, vicious, and violent "disease carrier" intent on "infecting new victims," "contaminating" guards. The events in the video center mostly on instances in which a person living with HIV in prison is alleged to have either bitten or spit on a correctional officer – the video does not mention that HIV cannot be transmitted through spit or that the possibility of transmission occurring through biting is negligible (Barre-Sinoussi et al. 2018). The dramatic reenactments are supplemented by interviews with the correctional officers whose experiences are depicted in the video. These interviews work to exaggerate and amplify fears about HIV transmission. For example, one guard who was spit on by a person living with HIV in prison recalls that his immediate thought was, "now I'm HIV positive. I have kids, a girlfriend, a family life...fuck." Later in the video it becomes apparent that the officer did not contract HIV during the incident. However, the fear and anxiety expressed in the video about people who are incarcerated and live with HIV seems to have less to do with the actual likelihood of HIV transmission, and more to do with correctional officers' proximity to deviant "others" who live with HIV. In one of the most stigmatizing moments of the film, a psychologist states that the concern about spitting and biting cases in prison is related to the damaging psychological effect wherein, "you've been touched. The inmate's essence has seeped into your core." The video clearly circulates a discriminatory discourse of people living with HIV as it draws a stark binary between dangerous, senseless, volatile criminals who live with HIV, intent on "contaminating" other people, and criminal justice authorities who represent order, safety and security against the threat of HIV.

There are important messages to glean from a surface analysis of the video that have to do with the ongoing struggle for the implementation of harm reduction programs in Canadian prisons, the experiences of people who live with HIV and are incarcerated, and HIV stigma more broadly, however, those discussions are beyond the scope of this dissertation. I include the description of "Bloody Cells" here because Allen's work with this text provides an entry point for better understanding how the social relations of generalist reporting, linked with convergence journalism, facilitate the dissemination of objectifying, sensational news reports of HIV criminalization.

Allen's work practices to base his newswork upon readily accessible digital texts make sense in the converged structure that he works in as a generalist reporter. These desk-top activities make it possible for him to meet organizational demand to cover diverse news topics and to use multiple story telling techniques. For example, when I asked Allen about how he selects textual information upon which to base news stories he replied: "pretty much I'll use everything they [the police] send me, that the editor decides on."

Allen’s work to process texts, such as police press releases and “Bloody Cells,” is noteworthy because it brings into view the sort of talk and text that are most readily available to reporters whose work practices are organized by the relations of convergence journalism. One can imagine that Allen could have based his reporting on a different type of video, a documentary produced by a community-based HIV advocacy organization for instance. However, Allen’s work practices are mainly hooked into texts that are produced by criminal justice authorities and function to maintain a status quo, as opposed to texts from community-based HIV activist groups or legal advocates that introduce complex critiques of HIV criminalization or put forward counter discourses. This structure makes it challenging for reporters to resist reproducing uncritical societal views of people living with HIV and criminality. When reporters work to identify sources of news is limited to a desktop activity, reporters’ newswork is often narrowed to relying on sources that have privileged access to the press. In such a context, news media may end up acting as passive conveyors of dominant sources’ views and agenda. In the case of HIV criminalization, this likely means the (re)production of stigmatizing, objectifying discourses.

In this chapter I have sought to show how the relations of convergence journalism coordinate reporters’ newswork as a text processing activity and make it challenging for reporters to disrupt patterns of stigmatizing, objectifying accounts of HIV criminalization. However, before concluding, it is also worth noting that the relations of convergence journalism coordinate how these sorts of news reports are circulated widely. As noted in the first part of this chapter, convergence journalism not only comes to bear on the everyday work practices of journalists or the structure of newsrooms, it also shapes the corporate structure of news organizations. Today, the power to control the media industry is concentrated in the hands of a relatively small number of large media organizations. For example, Postmedia now owns 15 of the 21 largest English-language newspapers in Canada (Edge 2016). From a market perspective convergence enables news agencies to share information and resources, and facilitates cost effective news production by coordinating the distribution of content across multiple platforms (Saridou et al. 2017:1008). These relations of convergence shape how news articles about Lewis' parole hearings were produced and disseminated. As Allen describes:

> Lewis is not really our interest [in Elm City], I covered him because *The Elm Town Chronicle* started covering him. They would send a person here, when *The Elm Town Chronicle* and us were in different chains, they would send their own person, but once we were in the same chain, when *Canadian Media* bought *The Pine City Guardian* and many other papers a few years ago…I write for them on this one issue because they don't have the resources to send someone all the way from Elm Town…So I got a story that goes in *The Pine City Guardian* and *The Elm Town Chronicle* … noticed I was writing as well, so to save funds, to save resources they got me to cover for them as well.

Allen's account of how he came to cover Lewis' parole hearings contributes to an understanding of how the relations of convergence coordinate the widespread dissemination of this stigmatizing news coverage. Lewis' case is mostly newsworthy to readers in Elm Town (where the criminal charges occurred) however, news stories appear in *The Elm Town Chronicle* and *The Pine City Guardian* because this coordinated publication of the articles enables both news agencies to meet the demands that organizations face in the context of convergence journalism. For example, it is more cost effective to have Allen cover the hearings in Pine City for two papers owned by the same conglomerate, and the news content that he produces enables both papers to meet the constant demand for online news. There is nothing particularly salient to link Elm Town and Pine City geographically, culturally, or historically that would warrant news reports of Lewis' parole hearings to appear in newspapers in both regions. However, this case exemplifies how the social relations of convergence journalism enhance the reach of the objectifying discourse of

HIV criminalization by writing over common understandings of newsworthiness and prioritizing the demand to disseminate news content as efficiently as possible.

2.4. Conclusion

This chapter adds to understandings of news media coverage of HIV criminalization in Canada in three ways. First, it reinforces the findings of discourse analyses of media representations of HIV criminalization that have established that news reports on this topic are structured by a stable and consistent genre of crime reporting. As the article that I display in the first section of this chapter illustrates, this genre of crime reporting on HIV non-disclosure cases regularly objectifies and stigmatizes people living with HIV, inflates fears about HIV risks, links representations of racialized difference and immigration status with moral blameworthiness, and constructs African, Carribean, and Black men in particular, as threatening “Others.”

Second, by moving beyond an analysis of the content of news texts, and empirically investigating the work practices that reporters execute to produce a news article, this chapter shows that writing for digital news is primarily an exercise in producing, processing, and transferring texts. Reporters’ descriptions of their everyday newswork also show that their work activities are closely tied to the market relevancies of their news agencies. In particular, convergence management structures hook reporters’ work into processes of commercialization and generalized reporting that shape, in profound ways, the pace at which reporters are expected to produce and process news texts and the content of these news texts.

Third, these findings may be useful to community-based advocates looking to intervene in stigmatizing and objectifying news media coverage of HIV criminalization. Most immediately, this chapter shows that HIV criminalization shapes and is shaped by people in a wide range of social settings, including the mainstream press. If advocates wish to alter the genre of crime reporting on this topic, one approach is to reorganize the social relations in which reporters work. Such efforts may center on projects to defend journalistic integrity and to resist the structures of convergence journalism that reduce reporting to convenient, quick, copy and paste style text processing. This might involve investing in news organizations and alternative presses that practice slower, long-form journalism, or for community-based organizations to expand their efforts to produce their own messaging through independent publishing, social media campaigns, or in-person community forums. Another approach for advocates disillusioned with how HIV criminalization is typically portrayed in the mainstream press, is to work within the structures of convergence journalism with an understanding that reporters' writing for digital news is primarily an exercise in quickly and efficiently producing and processing texts. Interventions that take on this approach may concentrate on producing texts that can compete with those published by criminal justice authorities that are often most readily available to reporters. This makes it more likely for advocates' voices to be included in news texts that hurried reporters produce. In chapter four I explore how community-based HIV activists work both within and against the structures of mainstream media to resist stigmatizing and objectifying accounts of HIV criminalization, and to introduce counter discourses.

As I came to understand reporters' writing for digital news as an exercise in producing, processing, and transferring texts, I was struck by the extent to which reporters work with one type of text in particular: police press releases. For example, recall the way that Allen's newswork activities are primarily hooked into texts that police produce. In the next chapter, I focus on how reporters' newswork is coordinated with the work of police communications units that publish press releases. I turn my attention to that empirical site, because news stories that are based on police press releases are a notorious source of critique among community-based HIV advocates. These types of crime stories are viewed as particularly stigmatizing, and are therefore deserving of closer attention.

CHAPTER THREE:

3. NEWS DISCOURSE OF HIV CRIMINALIZATION AND THE SOCIAL RELATIONS OF POLICE COMMUNICATIONS

The previous chapter can be understood as an invitation for readers to contemplate the news in ways that are not typically available in studies of news content and representation. I wanted to bring readers into the newsroom, and to make the social world of news production visible by illuminating the everyday work that reporters do to research, develop, write, and circulate news stories. The institutional ethnographic study of reporters' newswork showed that writing for digital news is a highly text-based activity that is coordinated by the relations of convergence journalism. The conditions of newswork in convergence journalism are likely to produce sensational accounts of topics such as HIV criminalization because they set reporters up to rely on existing texts that emphasize sensational and superficial aspects of HIV non-disclosure cases. Such a vantage point into how reporters' newswork is socially organized broadens understandings of how the skewed character of news coverage of HIV criminalization comes to be.

In this chapter I focus on news stories that rely on police press releases. These stories inaugurate criminal justice time reporting and are the first reports to emerge in what often becomes a trajectory of coverage of a given case.

Police press releases are an integral aspect of the institutional work of policing. From the very outset of the modern policing apparatus, policing work has been accomplished in part through media technologies that allow the force to "police at a distance" (Reeves and Packer 2013:360). Since the 1770s, police forces have distributed texts such as mug shots, "wanted posters," printed newspapers, handbills, and professional police gazettes to broadly communicate crimes, stolen goods, and potential threats (Reeves and Packer 2013:364). These practices allowed police to extend the reach of their surveillance, while remaining relatively inconspicuous (370). As Reeves and Packer describe, “police media were used to publicize suspects’ identities, diffusing police responsibilities to the public and deterring crime through the insecurity of categorical suspicion and ubiquitous surveillance” (369).

Today, police press releases are a central part of how HIV non-disclosure is policed. Police forces regularly publish the name and image of an individual facing criminal charges related to HIV non-disclosure to attract attention to these cases with a view to strengthening the charges they are making. Police press releases about HIV non-disclosure cases enlist the public in policing activities, for example, by trying to identify further complainants and encouraging people to come forward to police with information that they may have about the individual facing charges.

There is a vast collection of journalism scholarship that attends to the ways that reporters’ work is shaped by their relationship to a network of sources that allows them routine access to elite institutions (such as government, school boards, trade unions, and businesses) that define what counts as news and newsworthiness (Cohen and Young 1981; Van Dijk 1988:30; Fishman 1999b; Gans 1979). It is important to note that police press releases have been central to the institutional relations of news making since the analog era (Ericson, Baranek, and Chan 1989, 1991; Lewis, Williams, and Franklin 2008; Reeves and Packer 2013). However, as the continuous news cycle in the age of digital news production has intensified the scope and pace of reporters’ work, journalists have come to rely extensively on public relations texts as sources of news (Lewis et al. 2008; Winters et al. 2019). Research shows that in the contemporary context of digital news production material from public relations materials are likely to end up in news stories (Sumner et al. 2014). For example, a recent study of medical university press releases and corresponding news stories warns that important scientific measures are omitted "to a very large extent" in news stories based on public relations materials, and that readers may be misled by such incomplete and partly inaccurate representations (Winters et al. 2019).

Here, I add to this trajectory of research and take up reporters' descriptions of how they work with police press releases. This chapter positions digital police press releases as news sources that generate public knowledge of HIV non-disclosure as a crime. I concentrate on news stories that are based on police press releases, and published early in the trajectory of criminal justice time reporting, because this genre of news story has been a real concern among HIV advocates. Advocates and researchers have highlighted ways that the circulation of police press releases in the mainstream press cause a variety of harms to people living with HIV and LGBTQ groups, and have called on journalists to refrain from publishing the names and images of individuals charged with not disclosing their HIV-positive status (Bell 2017; Kirkup 2015; O'Byrne 2011).

My central argument in this chapter is that the professional worlds of police communications and journalism are brought into close relationship with one another through reporters' work with police news releases. As reporters strategically select parts of police news releases and recontextualize them as news, they accommodate the flow of police information and reasoning into the mainstream press.[8] The way in which work in police communications departments connects to the work of news production is fundamental to the social organization of knowledge about HIV criminalization more broadly as it allows the police's formulation of crime, danger, risk, and security to be active in mainstream news.

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[8] While reporters' work with police press releases pulls the social relations of police communications into news production processes, it is also important to recognize that when a reporter activates a police press release, they are being pulled into the relations of policing. This can occur as a news reader reads an article that circulates a police news release, and then comes forward to police as a potential victim, or with information about the person accused of a crime. It is challenging to identify terminology that accurately describes the relationship, and many directions of flow between reporters' work practices and work that happens in police

My empirical account of the coordination of newswork and police communications work is organized into four sections. First, I display an example of a police news release and show how a reporter transfers the text into a news article. Reporters' descriptions of their work settings in this first section, start to suggest reasons that police texts are such a common source of news stories in contemporary newsrooms. In the second section of this chapter, "Radio Silence and Terse Cop Speak," I draw on interviews with reporters to show how police texts enter into their everyday newswork routines and describe particular ways that reporters activate these texts. The third section, "Those are our Facts," is an account of the work that police corporate communication departments do to produce texts that distribute information to news organizations. My interview with a police professional, named David, who works in a police corporate communications department helps to show how newswork practices and police work practices are brought together through shared understandings of the facts of a case, and constructions of risk and public safety. Finally, in the fourth section, I reflect on the implications that the coordination of police communications work and newswork has on public knowledge of HIV criminalization and common understandings of powerful concepts such as public safety,

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communications departments. Often, institutional ethnographers will describe that one's work is "hooked into", "geared into", "entered into", or "pulled into" the social relations of work done in other sites. However, this language can suggest a unidirectional relationship between the work that is done in one site and the work done in other sites. In an effort to build a more relational approach to studying the relationship between the work done in newsrooms and police communications departments, I have used phrasing such as "coordinated with," and "connected to" throughout this chapter.

risk, and security. Before I present reporters' accounts of their work with police news releases, I provide context on the rise of police communications departments, and outline the approach to text analysis that I employ throughout this chapter.

3.1. Police Communications Units and Police News Releases

Criminal justice scholars have acknowledged that studies of policing often overlook the great deal of work that police forces do to control information and to manage their image. In this chapter, I add to studies that call attention to forms of police work that center on patrolling facts and reproducing the symbolic order and legitimacy of police (Chermak 1995; Ericson et al. 1989, 1991). Historical analyses of police communications and public relations activities in the United States situate the start of these practices as responses to public outcries about forceful police tactics utilized during civil rights protests and mass urban unrest of the 1960s (Motschall and Cao 2002:154). It was during this period that police departments established press offices or public information units to facilitate their interactions with mainstream media (154). Over the years, police public relations work developed into a more formalized and professionalized part of police organizations. Police forces began to recruit professional communications experts and shifted away from reacting and responding to media requests, and towards more proactive communications activities, such as implementing media policies (Mawby 1999:272).

Today, units within police departments that were once commonly referred to as the "Press Office" or "Press and Public Relations" are most often called "Corporate Communications" departments. Criminologist Tom Mawby (2010) suggests that "the use of the name 'corporate communications' is not simply re-labelling; it denotes the strategic direction in which police communications is moving and supported by an increase in communications budgets and the size of departments" (Mawby 2010:129). Mawby goes on to highlight that police forces are committing greater resources to their public relations and communication activities at a time when media organizations are reducing their news gathering resources. This raises important questions about contemporary news organizations' capacity to report on policing issues and, ultimately, to hold the police to account (131).

Albert Meijer and Marcel Thaens' (2013) study of contemporary police communications departments show that much of contemporary police communications work has moved online. Their research devotes particular attention to the Toronto Police Services (TPS), the first Canadian police department to implement a social media strategy designed to interact with the public and the media, in 2007. The authors explain that the police force's use of social media began as part of a youth outreach program implemented to encourage students with information about criminal activities to call Crime Stoppers[9] (Meijer and Thaen 2013:347). A respondent at TPS, interviewed by Meijer and Thaens, explained that the basic message of TPS's early twitter campaign was: "the police are your friend. Report crime!" (347). Toronto Police officers also started to use social media as a way to reach young people in urban areas, a group that TPS has traditionally found hard to reach (347). Police officers adopted Twitter handles, "meant to be meaningful to this group [such as]…@GraffitiBMXcop (347).

Meijer and Thaens report that the contemporary TPS communications strategy hinges on two priorities. First, officers utilize social media as a tool to humanize the police. For example, officers will sometimes use humor to connect with the public. As one of Meijer and Thaens' respondents explained, "people would say, 'oh my God. I am being followed by the Toronto

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[9] Toronto Crime Stoppers describes their program as: "a partnership between the police, the media and the community that enables concerned members of the public to anonymously provide information on the identity of a criminal or incidents of criminal activity" (222tips.com/about).

Police [on Twitter]. I tweeted: I am behind you and checking your signals" (348). Second, Meijer and Thaens describe that TPS officers understand social media as a device that enables them to control their messaging. As another TPS officer explained to Meijer and Thaens, "the internet creates the ability to go directly to target audiences and not have it filtered by the media. It is faster, more efficient" (348). This passage suggests that police communications work has, in some cases, expanded beyond activities that facilitate interaction with the press, to include processes designed to bypass the press altogether.

One of the primary ways that police forces communicate with the public is by circulating news releases on their website, over social media, and directly to people's inboxes via email subscriptions. There are a host of reasons that a police department might publish a news release, for instance, they typically circulate news releases about community events that they are hosting, community programs and initiatives that they are leading, and major arrests that they have made. In this chapter, I focus on a particular type of news release that reporters consistently referenced as they described their newswork activities; news releases that notify the public about an individual who is facing criminal charges and who police deem to be a threat to public safety. These press releases are an important part of the institutional relations of policing. These texts enlist the public in policing by engaging readers in the police's efforts to deal with investigations and situations that they deem to be emergencies (Ericson et al. 1989:219). According to Ericson and colleagues, police press releases, such as those that are published about a sexual assault, "are a valued means of mobilizing public awareness about emergency situations to be avoided and precautions to be taken" (219). As earlier mentioned, these types of press releases also expedite police investigations of crimes by attracting witnesses, or in the case of an alleged HIV non-disclosure, attracting more complainants to build a case.

The journalists I interviewed described that they most often work with police press releases in the form of electronic texts. Some reporters subscribe to police listservs and have news releases emailed to their inbox regularly. Other reporters explained that they scan police forces' social media sites for url links to news releases – such as the one in figure 3.2 on page 95.

Digital police news release texts feature bold, eye-catching, headings that typically include the brand markings (such as the police department's name, logo, and slogan) of the police force issuing the news release. The heading also expresses the alleged criminal offense as an alert, for example, a "sexual assault alert." In addition, news releases list phone numbers that one can call to provide police investigators with information, the police division that is responsible for the case (sex crimes, for example), the name of the detective constable overseeing the case, and the case number.

The body of the news release text includes information about the person facing criminal charges, and details of the crime that they have allegedly committed. In Ontario, subsection 41 (1.1) of the *Police Services Act* empowers police to disclose personal information about an individual who has been charged with, convicted, or found guilty of an offence under the *Criminal Code,* the *Controlled Drugs and Substances Act,* or any other federal or provincial act. Subsection 3 (1) of Ontario Regulation 265/98 (Disclosure of Personal Information) details that police services are permitted to disclose the individual's name, date of birth, and address. They may also disclose the offense that they are charged with, the sentence that has been imposed, the outcome of significant judicial proceedings, the procedural stage of the criminal justice process to which the prosecution has progressed, and the date of release or impending release of the individual from custody (Kirkup 2015:142).

3.2. Text Analysis and Studies in the Social Organization of Knowledge

As outlined in the introductory chapter, I relate to this dissertation as a study of social organization. A key feature of Studies in the Social Organization of Knowledge (SSOK) is a close attention to the central role that texts play in coordinating ruling relations (Smith 1993). Texts and documents, such as those that journalists activate and produce in their work processes, facilitate ruling relations because they make it possible for the same set of words, numbers, or images to appear in multiple local sites. In so doing they standardize, regulate, and authorize people's activities (Smith 2001:160). Dorothy Smith understands texts as "key devices in hooking people's activities in particular local settings and at particular times into the transcending organization of ruling relations" (Smith 2001:164). Thus, for Smith, it is not enough to use texts as sources of information about organizations. Rather, they must be studied ethnographically "as they enter into people's local practices of writing, drawing, reading, looking and so on. They must be examined as they co-ordinate people's activities" (Smith 2001:160). As an institutional ethnographer, I treat police news releases as texts that bridge the local sites of reporters' everyday embodied activities and translocal, abstracted ruling relations (Weir and Mykhalovskiy 2010:22). Conceptualizing texts, such a police news releases, as coordinators of ruling relations makes it possible to illuminate the ways that reporters are entered into ongoing social relations when they work with police documents (Smith 1993:6). Such an approach to sociological inquiry offers a strategy for making visible how the activities of journalists are related to other forms of ruling that shape the experiences of criminalized groups, including people who live with HIV in Canada.

3.3. Studies of Recontextualization and Professional Writing Practices

My study of how police press releases operate as texts that coordinate ruling relations is informed by analyses of recontexualization. Broadly, accounts of recontexualization call attention to how parts of discourse from one context are selected and used as resources in creating new meaning in a different context (Koskela 2010; Solin 2004). Per Linell (1998) defines recontextualization as,

> the dynamic transfer-and-transformation of something from one discourse/text-in-context…to another. Recontextualization involves the extrication of some part or aspect from a text or discourse, or from a genre of texts of discourses, and the fitting of this part or aspect into another context, i.e., another text or discourse and its use and environment (Linell 1998:145).

Processes of recontextualization are important to investigate because they involve many kinds of experts, professional practices, and diverse communicative activities that label and define problems and construct biographies of people (Linell 1998:148). Linell suggests that through instances in which labellings, problem definitions, and biographical fragments of people are recontextualized, "we can observe a mixing, blending, or blurring of different voices and interests in the discourse of particular categories of professionals, in specific genres of discourses or within particular texts. Elements from different discourses and discourse types often partly merge, partly stay on to compete with each other" (Linell 1998:150). Thus, attending to recontextualization shows how communicative content is handled within and across professions and how claims that are produced within one domain travel across and are taken up in other domains (Solin 2004:267). In particular, analyses of recontextualization provide a vantage point to observe how professionals strategically select, endorse, edit, subdue, or silence parts or aspects of discourses when information is recontextualized from one professional's perspective to another's (Linell 1998:150 -151, 153; Solin 2004:271).

The study of recontextualization is especially useful for my present inquiry into the relationship between police communications practices and newswork activities. This is because accounts of recontextualization are closely attuned to ways that professional writing practices can connect work in one setting to work that occurs in a different setting.

(Solin 2004:267). Anna Solin recognizes,

> members of stable discourse communities are likely to be aware of conventionalized chains to the extent of being able to predict what kind of transformations will occur along them…writers of press releases are likely to be able to anticipate the kinds of changes which journalists will make to their texts, and perhaps even what kinds of wordings are likely to be copied as such…text producers often anticipate the way in which their texts are likely to be taken up (2004: 273).

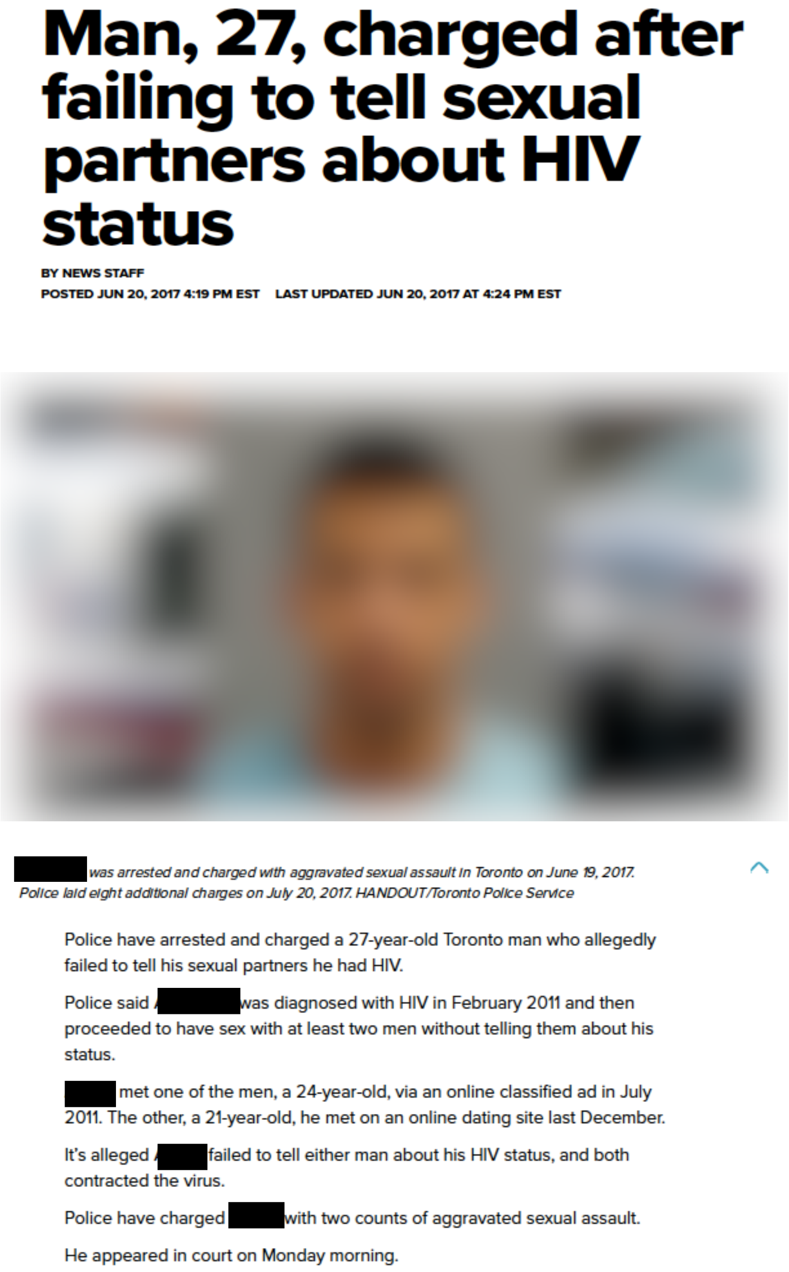
Here, I take up the study of recontextualization to make visible how the police's accounts of crime, danger, risk, and security come to circulate widely in news discourse. Police press releases that publish photographs and descriptions of suspects function as the contemporary equivalent to the "wanted poster" and enlist the public's support to accomplish police work such as identifying witnesses and building a case against a person accused of committing crimes (Ericson et al. 1989:219). Here, I concentrate on ways that reporters activate these texts to produce crime genre stories about HIV non-disclosure (as defined in the previous chapter).

In this chapter, I am especially interested in extending the work of institutional ethnographers who have produced accounts of recontextualization that make visible the social organization of contemporary forms of ruling. For example, Chris Sanders' (2015) ethnographic study of HIV criminalization looks closely at public health nurses' documentary styles. His research shows how a record produced in a public health counseling setting comes to be written in ways that are intended for readers who work in criminal justice settings. His account displays how nurses' documentary practices and styles are designed to either accommodate or disrupt the flow of information from case files to criminal trial proceedings. Elsewhere, Eric Mykhalovskiy has shown that an important feature of the social organization of HIV criminalization is the intersection of public health and criminal law regulation. The context of HIV criminalization, includes "the movement of public health knowledge into court proceedings where it is recontextualized and comes to coordinate relations of criminal law decision making and punishment" (Mykhalovskiy 2011:674).

Together, this trajectory of institutional ethnographic research, that attends to processes of recontextualization, brings into view the centrality of textual practices in large-scale forms of organization that occur across professional boundaries (Mykhalovskiy 2003:336; Sanders 2015:401). This literature provides the foundation for my analysis of how a document produced as part of the institutional relations of policing enters mainstream news discourse. This study aims to show the various work activities that facilitate the flow of police information and forms of reasoning to the everyday worlds of news readers.

3.4. Police Texts as News Texts

The two texts included below (Figure 3.1Figure 3.2) provide a useful starting point for an institutional ethnographic exploration into how reporters work with police news releases. In this first section of the chapter, I want to show how the social conditions of contemporary news organizations, as described in chapter two, facilitate reporters' dependence on police news releases. The first text is a short news report published in the days following the arrest of a man for criminal charges related to not disclosing his HIV-positive status to sex partners. The news article publicizes the man's name, age, photo, HIV-positive status, the date at which he was diagnosed with HIV, and details the criminal charges that he faces. The article also describes how he met his sex partners, identifies their gender, age, and their alleged HIV-positive status.



Man, 27, charged after failing to tell sexual partners about HIV status

BY NEWS STAFF

POSTED JUN 20, 2017 4:19 PM EST LAST UPDATED JUN 20, 2017 AT 4:24 PM EST

[redacted] was arrested and charged with aggravated sexual assault in Toronto on June 19, 2017. Police laid eight additional charges on July 20, 2017. HANDOUT/Toronto Police Service

Police have arrested and charged a 27-year-old Toronto man who allegedly failed to tell his sexual partners he had HIV.

Police said [redacted] was diagnosed with HIV in February 2011 and then proceeded to have sex with at least two men without telling them about his status.

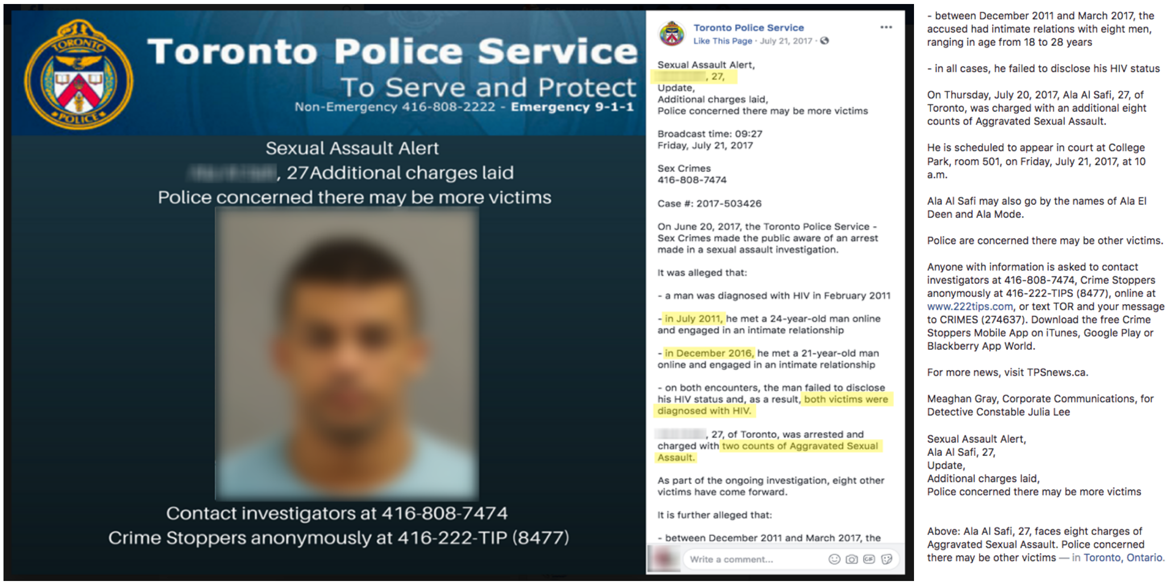
[redacted] met one of the men, a 24-year-old, via an online classified ad in July 2011. The other, a 21-year-old, he met on an online dating site last December.

It's alleged [redacted] failed to tell either man about his HIV status, and both contracted the virus.

Police have charged [redacted] with two counts of aggravated sexual assault.

He appeared in court on Monday morning.

Figure 3.1. News article text that is based on police news release text.



Toronto Police Service
To Serve and Protect
Non-Emergency 416-808-2222 - Emergency 9-1-1

Sexual Assault Alert
[redacted], 27Additional charges laid
Police concerned there may be more victims

Contact investigators at 416-808-7474
Crime Stoppers anonymously at 416-222-TIP (8477)

Sexual Assault Alert,
[redacted], 27,
Update,
Additional charges laid,
Police concerned there may be more victims

Broadcast time: 09:27
Friday, July 21, 2017

Sex Crimes
416-808-7474

Case #: 2017-503426

On June 20, 2017, the Toronto Police Service - Sex Crimes made the public aware of an arrest made in a sexual assault investigation.

It was alleged that:

- a man was diagnosed with HIV in February 2011

- in July 2011, he met a 24-year-old man online and engaged in an intimate relationship

- in December 2016, he met a 21-year-old man online and engaged in an intimate relationship

- on both encounters, the man failed to disclose his HIV status and, as a result, both victims were diagnosed with HIV.

[redacted], 27, of Toronto, was arrested and charged with two counts of Aggravated Sexual Assault.

As part of the ongoing investigation, eight other victims have come forward.

It is further alleged that:

- between December 2011 and March 2017, the accused had intimate relations with eight men, ranging in age from 18 to 28 years

- in all cases, he failed to disclose his HIV status

On Thursday, July 20, 2017, Ala Al Safi, 27, of Toronto, was charged with an additional eight counts of Aggravated Sexual Assault.

He is scheduled to appear in court at College Park, room 501, on Friday, July 21, 2017, at 10 a.m.

Ala Al Safi may also go by the names of Ala El Deen and Ala Mode.

Police are concerned there may be other victims.

Anyone with information is asked to contact investigators at 416-808-7474, Crime Stoppers anonymously at 416-222-TIPS (8477), online at www.222tips.com, or text TOR and your message to CRIMES (274637). Download the free Crime Stoppers Mobile App on iTunes, Google Play or Blackberry App World.

For more news, visit TPSnews.ca.

Meaghan Gray, Corporate Communications, for Detective Constable Julia Lee

Sexual Assault Alert,
Ala Al Safi, 27,
Update,
Additional charges laid,
Police concerned there may be more victims

Above: Ala Al Safi, 27, faces eight charges of Aggravated Sexual Assault. Police concerned there may be other victims — in Toronto, Ontario.

Figure 3.2. Police news release text.

It is important to keep in mind that HIV non-disclosure is a particular type of criminal offense. Criminal charges related to an alleged HIV non-disclosure are typically brought forward to police by one's sex partner following an act that occurred in a private setting. Unlike other crimes, such as a robbery or act of mischief, there is no event for reporters to witness first-hand, or witnesses for reporters to interview in order to gather content for a news report. In such a context, a news article about an HIV non-disclosure case, like the one included above, prompts questions about how reporters come to know about such cases.

A close reading of the news article starts to direct attention to ways that reporters rely on text and talk from police communications departments in order to produce accounts of crime. For example, while the topic of the news report is the man facing criminal charges, it is telling that the subject of almost half of the sentences is the police: "police have arrested;" "police said;" "police have charged." The reporter's work with the police press release effectively translates the text that police published to build a case against this individual into a news story about what police have said and the actions that police have carried out.

The extent to which the police mediate messages about the arrest that circulate in the press, comes into view even more clearly when one pairs the highlighted text of the news article in figure 3.1, with the highlighted text of the police news release in figure 3.2. The significant portions of the news release text that have been transferred into the news article suggest that in this case, the reporter's work to produce the news article consisted mostly of copying the text that police published. One reporter, named Leah, who covers breaking news understands news articles that rest heavily on police texts as an unfortunate, but inevitable part of newswork in the context of contemporary newsrooms:

> you'll see arrest stories that are really straightforward, just written from press releases, those kinds of stories are really easy to do. In an ideal world, you would never just write from a press release and let it stop there, you would always want to go out and talk to people in community and talk to people involved, you would want to have context and all that stuff, but the reality is that doesn't always happen.

What Leah's account starts to show is that the working conditions of news organizations in which journalists report on crime limit their capacity to produce news stories with contextual depth or that incorporate diverse voices and perspectives beyond the police texts that are readily available to reporters. Leah explained that as a journalist, she would prefer to dig deeper than police news releases as sources for news stories, but news organizations' demand for constant news content sets up reporters to engage in work practices that will produce news articles as quickly as possible. As she described:

> it's someone's job to write those quick [crime] stories and get them out there. Often those people writing those stories are young and inexperienced or just may not have thought of it. Like I just think about when I started doing this, I didn't know all of the stuff that I know now. Now when I'm reporting on something I'll go, okay I remember this, this and this case, I know the history of this, so I can put something into context or I can challenge something and say, no, that's not how that normally happens. All of that stuff, people writing those stories probably haven't thought about, what are the ramifications of this story? What has the

> Supreme Court said about this? How does this all fit together? They're just writing like five inch "police have arrested so and so and want people to know such and such." There's no thought that goes into it. It's like content generation.

In this segment, Leah underlines how the two relations of convergence journalism that became clear in the second chapter structure the newswork of reporters who cover crime and breaking news. First, her account indicates that the work practices of reporters who cover crime and breaking news are hooked into processes of commercialization. The reporter's "job to write those quick stories and get them out there" meets an institutional demand for a consistent stream of news content generation that will attract online news consumers.

The second relation of convergence journalism that is visible in Leah's account has to do with generalist reporting. Leah describes the particular challenges that arise when generalist reporters who lack experience and expertise covering complex criminal legal issues report on crime stories: important historical and legal contexts fall away, and reporters end up relying on texts that police produce in order to generate news content. Leah's account of reporters' work with police news releases is valuable, because it shows how the structure of news organizations position reporters to lean on police documents in order to do their job. However, as I interviewed reporters who had worked with police news releases to produce news stories about HIV criminalization, I started to recognize ways that journalists' newswork is coordinated with social relations that extend outside of the newsroom as well.

Before I introduce reporters' accounts of their work with police press releases, it is important to specify that in this chapter I am focusing on just one moment in the potential sequence of news stories about criminal HIV non-disclosure cases – the point at which criminal charges are laid (this is also the stage at which police press releases are issued). Sometimes, when criminal charges are laid, HIV non-disclosure cases are covered in a single, brief news story based on details included in a news release (such as figures 3.1 and 3.2). However, in other instances, when a criminal HIV non-disclosure case goes to trial, there is a subsequent trajectory of news stories that may include forms of journalism that rely less on police texts. For example, in high profile criminal HIV non-disclosure cases, journalists may attend the trial and conduct interviews in order to produce first-hand accounts of the court proceedings. The initial news stories that are the focus of this chapter often set the tone for subsequent reporting about criminal HIV non-disclosure cases.

3.5. Radio Silence and Terse Cop Speak: Reporters' Work with Police Press Releases

Having described the context of police communications work and shown how police texts appear in news articles, I now turn to more closely examine how reporters work with police texts, and call attention to ways that newswork is coordinated with the social relations of police communications work. In interviews with reporters, I learned about how the documents that police publish enter into reporters' everyday work activities, shape the texts that reporters produce, and inform their understanding of newsworthiness.

I started to recognize ways that reporters' newswork is connected to police communications work during an interview with a reporter named Laura who works at the *Daily Gazette.* I reached out to Laura to request an interview in the days after a news story she wrote about a man who faced criminal charges for not disclosing his HIV-positive status to sex partners circulated online. I wanted to talk with Laura to gain a better sense of how she came to cover this story and to know more about the steps she took to develop the article. At the time I interviewed Laura, she was working as a summer intern at the *Daily Gazette* while she completed her journalism degree. Most of her daily work as an intern consisted of monitoring and covering breaking news stories over an eight-hour shift. Laura typically worked from 8:00am until 4:00pm and occasionally from 4:00pm until midnight. She generously agreed to be interviewed one morning after she had worked a rare over-night shift that had ended at 8:00am, only a couple of hours before we met.

Laura's account of her newswork was fundamental for my understanding of how breaking news happens, because her description of her typical work day offered a glimpse into her news agency's radio room. Radio rooms are the site in newsrooms in which reporters identify and track breaking news stories. According to Laura, they are also the setting where texts from police enter into reporters' newswork:

> So, in breaking news there's what's called the radio room. Originally there was a bunch of police radios and paramedic radios…but they stopped working, I think it was about two years ago when the police decided that the media wasn't allowed to listen to these radios anymore and now it's not legal or something, I don't actually know, but they don't work anymore. So, we have all these radios that don't really work, so we can't really listen, you used to be able to hear every single call, so now we can't do that so now we really rely on police, their tweets and what they give out to us.

In this description, Laura historicizes her newswork and situates her work practices within the changing conditions of breaking news reporting. Since the early 2000s, police forces have switched to digital radios and encrypted their signals, citing the safety of police officers, public safety, and citizen privacy as reasons to block outside parties from listening in (Hong, 2015). Before police encrypted their signals, reporters might, for example, hear of a robbery in progress, and then develop a news report of the robbery based on the communications they heard police having over the radio. As Laura's comments make clear, now that police radios have gone silent, her newswork depends on reading texts that police communications divisions distribute online. When Laura reads tweets and news releases from police, these texts instigate the reporter's newswork practices in particular ways:

> So, you're monitoring breaking news sources, so it's mostly monitoring breaking news from police so if there's something going on … police will tweet it, they do a good job of updating their tweets and letting the public know what's going on and then we follow up with… Police, sometimes paramedics, fire fighters, sometimes there's witnesses who post things on social media, "I saw this fire", "I saw this car crash." We monitor social media for updates like that. You update an article that you write that's posted online, that's also what I do. Sometimes it's relating, rewriting press releases from police, trying to find people on social media that police haven't identified.

This quote suggests that police texts shape how an event comes to be known to reporters as a crime story. For example, it is striking that Laura's conception of "if there's something going on" is based on messages that police produce and circulate on Twitter. It is also noteworthy that in this description, the reporter seems to understand that police are responsible for an activity that is typically associated with journalism: "letting the public know what's going on." Reading this segment for how this speaker's work is socially organized involves attending to the forms of activity that are represented in her talk and to the relations that make that activity possible (Mykhalovskiy and McCoy 2002:29). Thus, consider the range of newswork practices that occur as Laura activates a police tweet: Her reading of the police's account of a news event directs her to conduct follow up interviews with first responders and to monitor social media for posts by individuals who witnessed the event that police reported. The police tweet also incites Laura to write. Laura describes that once a news release is published by police, she may rewrite it, post the article online, and then update the article as more information is made available.

The reporter's comments start to demonstrate how police texts act not only as a way of knowing about a news event, but almost as a standardized set of instructions for how to report a story as a crime story. The details included in the news releases direct Laura to newsworthy events and provide the reporter with a textual foundation upon which she crafts a news story. The way that Laura understands the police texts through the language of instruction was made visible when she stated, “now it’s more like police tells you what the story is, like you don’t really have that much of a decision anymore.” Another reporter named Diana, echoed this understanding of police news releases as a sort of instructive document. She confirmed that reporters

> definitely react to press releases, but I wouldn’t feel like I was really doing my job properly if that was the only way I was developing stories, because that’s only the stories that the [police] administration want you to know, and there’s often other more interesting ones, or more nuanced ones.

As the news release in figure 3.2 shows, police texts announce to the public and the press that they have criminally charged an individual, and provide reporters with the details of an event that they then assemble into a news story. It is not as though the reporter is out in the world independently gathering facts. Instead, the reporter’s work centers on reading and writing practices that build news from the textual foundation of police documents. This suggests that police texts are instrumental to courses of action that produce news accounts about HIV criminalization as crime stories.

My interview with Laura about her work to construct a news report about a criminal HIV non-disclosure case brought into view particular ways that forms of policing knowledge are pulled into journalists’ writing. It also offered valuable insight into how the standard genre of crime reporting, that consistently structures news accounts of HIV criminalization, is shaped. Laura provided a detailed account of the steps that she took to produce a news article about a man who faced charges related to not disclosing his HIV-positive status to sex partners.

> I got an email from Police, it was a press release. I get emails for every press release they send out. I read it, HIV non-disclosure incident in downtown core. Usually if it’s in the downtown core, we usually write about things that happen in the downtown core, I forwarded it to my editor and said “do you want to write about this? We wrote about this person back in 2014 or 2015 when the first charges were brought forward.” My editor got back to me and said, “yes do a follow up.” It’s always responsible for us to do a follow up on

> stories to keep updated. After that I wanted to get more information from Police so I called them…whoever was on shift at Police wasn't answering me, sometimes they're really busy. It wasn't like I really needed to talk to anyone because they issued a press release, I called them a few times and they didn't get back to me, so I just wrote it up. Pretty much re-worded the press release to make it coherent, straightforward…yeah you upload the photo that…also goes in the press release, and then we just send it off to the online editors and the editor, the senior editor, whoever is on during that shift, for them to read it over, and then it goes online, that's pretty much it.

This quote offers a glimpse into the everyday work activities of a breaking news reporter and makes visible three ways that the speaker's newswork is coordinated with policing work. First, the police's account of the event makes it possible for the reporter to produce a news article that is structured as a standard crime story. The article that Laura wrote includes mug-shot style of the accused, and much like the example in figures 3.1 and 3.2, relies heavily on details included in the police news release including the approximate geographic area in which police allege the crime was committed, the approximate date at which police allege it took place, and details regarding the next steps in the criminal-legal processing of this case.

Laura's earlier remarks, about how she understands that the police tell her what the story is, resonate in this passage. The reporter is made aware of this case through a police news release and the content and form of the police text shapes her understanding of the event as a type of crime. Other journalists who I interviewed also helped me to appreciate how police press releases can filter a reporter's perspective on an issue. For example, one experienced journalist described that when she first started working in a newsroom as an intern years ago, her

> job was to create a constant flow of copy for the website…like just little cop reads. Those were heavily reliant on press releases from the cops…they're 200 words long, not a lot of room for nuance or context at all…HIV non-disclosure was always covered as a crime if the police think it's a crime…the cops say this is a crime, and you say oh god this is a crime, crime is bad, this person is a bad person.

In this passage, and in Laura's account above, the police texts that enter into reporters' work routines provide the raw material for journalists to write about "HIV non-disclosure incidents" as a type of crime story about a "bad person." The police texts include the name and image of a person facing a criminal charge, a specific location at which the alleged criminal activities occurred, and other details that a reporter can efficiently transfer into news content in the form of a "little cop read." Thus, police news releases operate, on one level, as an important source of information for reporters.

A second important aspect of Laura's account of her newswork is that it begins to show that police texts also enter into reporters' newswork practices in a much more complex way than acting simply as sources of information. Rather, Laura's description of her work with the police text provides a way to understand police news releases as coordinators of inter-professional relations in which journalists incorporate the police's understanding of public safety and crime into their newswork. Laura's newswork, in the passage above, centered on writing activities that recontextualize the police text as a news article. The police published the news release as part of an effort to build a case against the individual they had charged, however, Laura repurposes the document by extracting aspects of the text and fitting them into her newswork routines. As she imports the police news release into her professional setting she strategically selects and endorses parts of the text that fit journalists' professional perspective (Linell 1998; Solin 2014). For example, she related the police text to news articles that her news organization has published about this individual in the past, and connected segments of the police text to journalistic standards of the "public interest."[10] Laura described that the police text met standard journalistic criteria of public interest because:

> the location [in which the criminal charge was laid] is of public interest because the incidences happened with a number of women in the downtown core, there were multiple victims, so that is a consideration that should be written about in the public interest, we had written about the case before, so making sure the story is up to date, and it's a sexual assault, it wasn't consensual, so it's something that should be written about.

Her work activities to recontextualize the police document as a news story exemplify how the discourse of particular categories of professionals blend together when communicative content is handled across professions (Linell 1998:150).

The third significant feature of the reporter's account of her work with the police text has to do with how the document coordinates newswork and police communications work in a particular way. Police news releases, such as the one included in figure 3.2, typically direct readers to contact an individual in the corporate communications division of the police force to access more information about the case. This aspect of the document is noteworthy, because it is another way that reporters' newswork reproduces the institutional relations of police communications work. Shawn, a reporter who regularly works with police news releases explained how contacting police officers listed on police press releases for information often disrupts the specificity of his journalistic voice:

> Most of the media will just go straight to the spokesperson but that makes me a little uneasy because… basically the spokesperson gets to do my job for me where they ask the questions they think are relevant to the lead investigator, they compress them into a set of talking points that I'm sure have been vetted up and

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[10] Laura drew on particular guidelines listed on her news organization's website as a text-based source of her understanding of what it means for a news story's publication to be in the "public interest." I have not included the text here so as to protect the anonymity of the participant and her news organization.

> down. Their worry is that anything they tell me could, if charges are being laid, could compromise the investigation in some way. So they're very careful. This means you usually get this terse, cop speak.

This account offers an interesting example of how police communications work enters into the realm of newswork. Shawn's practice of activating the contact information on the police document inserts him into the organizational structure of police in which a spokesperson supplants Shawn's reporting work. It is unsurprising that interviews that are filtered by a police spokesperson reproduce the restrictive "cop speak" of police news releases. Reporters I interviewed often described that police spokespeople are challenging to reach, and that they are often left to rely on the text of news releases anyway. This was the case in Laura's article about the HIV non-disclosure case in which she described that "whoever was on shift at Police wasn't answering me" and so she "pretty much re-worded the press release." In so doing, Laura's actions exemplify how reporters' activities discursively facilitate the relations of police, by making it possible for police texts to cross professional boundaries, coordinate crime reporting, and to appear in multiple local sites at which news articles circulate in print and online.

3.6. "Those are our Facts:" The Coordination of Newswork and Police Work

Reporters' accounts of their newswork made clear that police texts act as important sources of information about news, shape journalists' conceptions of newsworthiness, and structure how accounts of news events are written and published. To more fully understand how news reports of HIV criminalization happen, I wanted to know more about how the police texts that reporters depend on are produced and circulated. A thorough understanding of how news reports on HIV criminalization happen requires that one attend not only to the work that journalists do to process texts into news reports, but also the work of those who create the texts that journalists activate.

Learning more about how the police produce and distribute texts to journalists proved to be a challenging and somewhat awkward experience.

3.6.1. The Institutional Ethnographer as "VISITOR"

Scrolling through the pictures on my phone recently, I happened upon a photo that I forgot I had taken of myself an hour or so before I interviewed David, a supervisor in the corporate communications division of Regional Police Services (RPS). As a general rule, I'm not one for taking selfie pictures. But, peering at my reflection in the mirror above the sink in the police station's washroom, I couldn't help but snap one of me wearing a very brightly coloured, and quite official looking, visitor's badge. The moment felt like it was worth commemorating. I probably didn't require a badge around my neck that read "VISITOR" in large block letters to inform others at the police station that "I don't work here". It was not just that I was one of the few people who was wearing a backpack instead of a police uniform, it had more to do with how I felt as though I somehow "lost" in every interaction I had with an officer that day; officers who spoke louder than I did and seemed much more confident, assertive, and self-assured than I felt in that space. I did however, take something close to pride in that visitor's badge, because it might as well have been a medal in recognition of ethnographic persistence. It took me several months to arrange the interview with David. In the months leading to our meeting, I exchanged no less than eleven emails and four phone calls with various people who work in the corporate communications department at RPS. I was finally able to confirm an interview by evoking the language of institutional ethnographic interviews to express that I was simply looking to have a conversation with someone in the department about what they do everyday, and wanted to learn more about how police news releases are produced. Finally, a representative of the RPS corporate communications division arranged my interview with David, the director of the division, on the condition that I send RPS the list of the questions that I planned to ask during the interview, and "because you're not looking for perceptions or opinions, only facts." The conversation that I had with David brought into clearer view the extent to which the police understand themselves to be in the business of disseminating facts.

My social position as a white graduate student afforded me the privilege of navigating the police station and interacting with police officers on their home turf with ethnographic curiosity, with a sense of adventure, accompanied by moments of feeling intimidated and annoyed, but not unsafe. It is likely that my whiteness, maleness, and class position make me a less startling type of "VISITOR" in this space of law enforcement. Around the time of my interview at the police station, I had attended a community event to mark the launch of Robyn Maynard's disquieting book, *Policing Black Lives.* I wondered how the officers I walked by and spoke with at the station would respond to the types questions posed during the question and answer portion of the book launch. Questions that were obviously more embodied and urgent than those I listed in the email I sent to RPS for approval. Questions along the lines of, "as a social support worker, I work with women who are being tortured, brutalized by police, called the "N word," called "bitch," what strategies do those of you on the panel have for assisting women in this position?" and, "If I'm stopped by police and carded, can I refuse to give my ID?" to which panelists responded that they advise those in the audience to "do what you have to do to survive the encounter."

Once I finally made it into David's office, the steps towards the interview did not immediately become easier. David invited me to sit at a round table that was empty, save for the interview questions I had sent RPS placed neatly in front of his seat. I started by handing David my informed consent document as confidently as I could. I was used to this portion of interviews being rather brief and informal, but David very carefully and deliberately examined the document line-by-line. I then commenced the interview by promptly fumbling the first question: "so maybe you can start by telling me about what corporate services…", David interrupted and impatiently corrected me, "corporate *communications."* "Right, sorry, corporate communications, what is involved in that department's work?"

3.6.2. Facts as Coordinators of Police Work and Newswork

My interview with David helped me to better understand the process through which news releases are produced and inserted into the work sequences of reporters. As he described, the catalyst for the production of a news release,

> can come from a division, it can come from a homicide squad, the holdup squad, sex crimes, fraud, it can come from anywhere. So, it's either a phone call asking about a news release, or it can be a news release that comes to us, one of my media relations officers will look at what they've given us and put it in our template. We have templates for, there aren't that many types of news releases, so we've had for years, templates so that you don't have to reinvent the wheel every time. The media also knows exactly what they're getting. They know what information will be there, how it's laid out etcetera. [A police officer will] put together a news release and then in most cases it will come to me to be reviewed and authorized. I mean technology has changed, it's now, news releases are posted on our website and then automatically posted to our main twitter account and to our main facebook account.

In this passage, David explains that his department's production of a news release can be instigated either by a request from a particular division of the police force, or by an officer who works in the corporate communications division. David's remarks suggest that constructing press releases involves selecting details that help police to do investigative work (such as identifying new complainants) and fitting them into standard templates[11] that the corporate communications division uses to format their accounts. The final step is to circulate the news release on social media platforms. David's remarks imply that news releases are not simply intended to enlist the public in policing, they are produced in a form that anticipates and aligns with the information that reporters require to make news stories. To help me gain a better sense of what a standard news release template looks like, David placed a template that would be used in the event of a missing person on the table in front of me and described how police use the document. This exercise offered important insight into how a template structures the way that facts pertaining to a missing person case are organized into a news release:

> The point is that, and the argument that I use is that it saves time, you have consistency, but also for the media, use the example, if you go into Burger King, a whopper will be the same thing here or anywhere else or a Holiday Inn, it's no surprises. So, a missing person says, the template says missing in brackets, man, woman, whatever, location, name, age, requesting assistance locating a missing, fill-in the whatever the person is, name, age, last seen, when they were last seen, where, map reference, description, sometimes there is a concern for safety for more reasons than others, anyone with information, for more news and you fill it in. So, every missing man is going to look like that.

The document provides a standard text that is used to publicize the event of a missing person. While some segments of the document, such as, "police are seeking the public's assistance with locating…" are common to all press releases about missing persons, other segments are left blank so that officers can include specific information about the case such as the missing person's name, age, sex, the location at which they were last seen, the time at which they were last seen, and a description of the person's appearance.

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[11] I emailed David following our interview to request to see a blank template that the corporate communications division would use, but was unable to obtain one. He responded: I'm not able to provide you with a blank template. Can I suggest you look at the 30 days' worth of releases on our website and you will be able to see for yourself how releases are put together?"

David's account of the template helped to make clear how the textual mechanics of the police news release operate to organize and standardize how the facts of a case are made available to reporters. In the segment above, David represents the news release as a standardized resource that facilitates journalists' access to pertinent information upon which they can craft a news text. He understands the standardized news releases as texts that make reporters' work more efficient:

> I mean they, it strikes me as common sense and it was to them too, if I give you something in a standard form that makes it easier for you to do your job you will respond positively. If you're getting a dog's breakfast of stuff, I mean it's the basic human reaction, if I make your job easier to do you will respond positively.

As David anticipated, many reporters, whose experiences are included in this dissertation, do relate to news releases as documents that make their work more efficient. Reporters consistently explained that they rely on police texts as a news source that they can efficiently transfer into widely spreadable news content at the rapid pace converged news organizations require. News releases also act to coordinate journalists' understanding of the facts of a case. Reporters described that they use police news releases as the foundational account of, to put it simply, what happened. For example, a breaking news reporter named Jessica (who works in the same radio room as Laura) explained that her work involves translating the facts that structure a news release into news articles: "we're reporting facts, so if the police put it in a very boring, robotic, you know this happened at this time, we have to go by that, those are our facts, we can't pull anything or assume anything." As the reporter's remarks imply, the facts that police distribute often become the facts that reporters circulate in news articles. Jessica's comments also start to show that reporters can struggle with the way news releases constrict and narrow their activities to report and write news. In this instance, the reporter finds that news releases constrain her writing and make it a more robotic, less interesting practice. For Jessica, there is less journalism writing and newswork to do in a context in which the facts that police distribute become "our facts."

The reporter's remarks confirm studies of journalism that assert that "news production is a perpetual process of authorizing facts through official sources" (Ericson 1988:86). Because journalists rarely have the time, resources, or access to establish facts independently, they determine facticity by using credible sources who make statements that can be quoted as fact without further investigation (Broersma 2010; Ericson 1988:85; Ericson et al. 1989; Fishman 1999b; Schlesinger 1987). Journalists typically recognize police as the type of credible source they can quote in order to establish a factual account of an event.

In this case, Jessica seems to grapple with the tension between what has been referred to as the "objectivity norm" in journalism and her desire to convey her unique, journalistic voice in her news writing (Broersma 2010). As Marcel Broersma explains, "the objectivity norm prescribes neutrality and only the transmission of facts…Reporters have to write in a detached tone …it has become a central concept in journalism's collective discourse" (Broersma 2010:28). Jessica's remarks about "reporting facts" that police publish in a "boring, robotic" tone suggest that she is hesitant to muddy the facticity of her news account by "making a story" out of it. Her perspective echoes ethnographic studies of news production that focus on journalists who believe that "the facts should speak for themselves" and dislike the practices of "jazzing them [factual accounts of news] up" because it would violate the practice of truth telling (Boseman and Meijer 2018). For Jessica, transferring police talk into a news article is a way to achieve facticity.

Other reporters recounted similar experiences as Jessica to describe how the realms of police communications work and newswork can mesh in the process of producing a news story.

Consider, for example, how a veteran reporter named Joan explained the delicate balance that she believes reporters must strike in their relationship with police:

> So, once you are embedded you are on their [the police's] side, you're suddenly telling the stories as they [the police] see them, as they want you to tell them…I think mostly you're not even aware that's happened, you still would feel like you're covering the story the way that you have always, but you wouldn't start to see that you were picking up the police perspective, the police viewpoint from being too close to them. So, you really need to somehow be at arm's length from the police when you're covering police stories. You need to listen to them, be respectful, and then do all your own checks around, what does the victim say? What does the perpetrator say? What's the context of this? What does the court say? You need to chase down all the things because police are ultimately, I mean sure they can say there was a collision at this corner at this time of night. That's a fact, there was a collision at this corner at this time of night. Everything else? Is really, quickly gets into conjecture and you can, you have to be really, really careful that the police opinion of that accident and words that they use to describe the people involved in it, are not becoming part of your story.

In this passage, the reporter's remarks demonstrate another way that police communications work and newswork come together to produce factual accounts of an event. Whereas Jessica tries to maintain an objective stance and relies on police as the type of credible, authoritative source whose statements can be quoted to establish facts (Ericson 1988), Joan describes how she recontextualizes the police account of an event and turns it into a news story. Instead of opposing stories and facts, Joan considers storytelling as a tool to articulate the facts of a case more truthfully (Boseman and Meijer 2018: 1002). The speaker's remarks are interesting because they reveal that the information that police distribute to reporters not only provides a source of news stories, it also makes other actions within the realm of journalism possible. For example, the work that police do to distribute the factual information that "there was a collision at this corner at this time of night," makes it possible for journalists to do the work of investigating, identifying other sources, and providing contextual depth to news stories about the event.

3.7. Constructions of Public Safety as Coordinators of Police Work and Newswork

Up to this point, the coordination of police communications work and newswork may seem relatively uncomplicated. David, Jessica, and Joan describe a sequence of activities in which an event occurs, police distribute information about that event, and reporters take on the facts provided in the police's account, but may also add additional depth, context, and perspective to a news story. However, reading interview transcripts for social organization shows that reporters' work with police press releases not only recontextualizes the polices' factual account of an event as news, it also recontextualizes police knowledge and forms of reasoning that construct and attach meaning to people. Consider David's explanation of the criteria that his department follows for producing a news release:

> Well there has to be a reason. Last year we probably did…a fraction of the people we arrest, we don't do them all, there has to be a reason, there has to be we're looking for someone, we have a description, we have a picture, this person has escaped custody and poses a threat to the community, this person is attacking women in their 40s in this part of the city. There has to be some investigative value to it… if it's a threat to public safety it goes out right away, even if it's the middle of the night. Because we have an obligation, if there's a threat to public safety to get that information out as quickly as we can.

In this passage, the speaker describes how press releases facilitate the work of policing and solicit the public's assistance in investigating crimes. David also understands the circulation of news releases as part of the police's broader mandate to protect public safety. David's remarks show that police news releases do more than simply organize facts about a crime into a standard template (this crime, occurred at this time, at this place) police news releases also work to produce the person named in the text as a public safety threat. This construction of a person as a public safety threat is accomplished in news releases by pairing one's name, photo, personal information and descriptions of criminal charges they face, with language that underscores the danger that one poses to others. For example, in the news release that pertains to the man facing charges related to not disclosing his HIV-positive status to sex partners in figure 3.2, the text emphasizes that "police are concerned there may be more victims." This sort of language, not only constructs the person facing charges as a threatening figure, it also acts as a signal to reporters who are sifting through various news releases throughout their workday, that this particular item is newsworthy. For example, as Jessica described how she identifies a newsworthy story when working in the radio room she explained:

> I think you develop a pretty good intuition for it through the years. But police will also put out press releases, for example, if they're looking for someone involved in a crime, they'll say, they might say very clearly that there is a huge public safety element. They won't say it in those words, they won't spell it out but it's pretty understood if you read between the lines. Or they'll say that the police are concerned that there may be more victims, police are warning people that this person is armed, do not approach. Language like that is a really good indicator for us.

In this passage, Jessica's assessment of newsworthiness is coordinated by the language that police employ to produce an individual as a public safety threat. Her work as a reporter is connected to the work of police as she takes up and circulates descriptions of individuals that police construct as threatening figures. The implications of this type of coordination of police communications work and newswork become weightier as one considers that police understand news releases as powerful policing instruments that can be used to surveil, monitor, and regulate those they deem threats to public safety. David recounted:

> We started a thing a few years ago and I'd love to tell you that we knew this was going to happen, but we now see regularly criminals surrendering shortly after we put their pictures up. And if you think about, if our main account we reach thousands of people, but if a news organization with 1.75 million retweets, it

> means everyone in the city is going to get it. And I would love to be there when someone sees their face come up on their phone. Our record in homicides is one hour, we had a man whose lawyer said don't do anything until police start looking for you. We put his picture out and three hours later he's at the front counter saying I'm your guy. That's amazing, I never thought that would happen and that's the most satisfying, out of all the stuff that we do, that's the most satisfying because no one expects us to be able to get homicide investigation to surrender, and these things are very expensive and very time consuming.

In the second chapter of this dissertation, it was evident that news organizations rely on the production of online news as a strategy for efficiently generating news content amidst precarious economic conditions and leaner staff. David's vision of how police news releases latch onto the platforms that news organizations use to disseminate news suggests that police also employ online news as an instrument for more efficient policing. The speaker views news releases as a device that can work to compel those whom police construct as public safety threats to surrender to police custody. For David, news releases seem to be more than documents that publicize the facts of a case, they are an instrument of cost-effective and time-efficient policing. Thus, when reporters rely on police news releases, and structure their newswork upon these texts, their activities are closely related to other forms of ruling that shape the experiences of those who are criminalized, including people who live with HIV and face charges related to not disclosing their HIV-positive status.

Consider Jessica's account of her newswork to produce a news story about a man facing criminal charges for not disclosing his HIV-positive status to sex partners:

> So, this is written straight from a press release…there are issues of stigma for using photos of people with HIV, but this guy has sexually assaulted (allegedly) a number of people so I feel like public safety outweighs his personal privacy at this point…there had been a lot of victims so if people didn't know his name when they had relations with him they might be helped by a photo.

The reporter’s comments show how the criteria of public safety set out by police structure her news story about HIV criminalization. In this case, the name, photo, and HIV-positive status of this individual were disseminated in the mainstream press because the reporter wrote the story “straight from a press release.” Furthermore, her understanding of the case’s newsworthiness is coordinated by policing concepts such as “public safety” and motivated in part by an effort to enhance the public surveillance of this individual in order to encourage people to come forward and lay additional criminal charges. In the previous section, Jessica remarked that she understands her work as a reporter to consist of “reporting facts” that police distribute. When she described that the police’s facts are “our facts”, she evoked “our” as a first person possessive pronoun to explain how she and her journalist colleagues take up and use the facts that police distribute. However, it is important to keep in mind, that when reporters circulate the police’s construction of individuals as public safety threats “straight from a press release,” those constructions become “ours” in a much broader sense as well. Large segments of the population do not have first-hand experiences of crime or HIV. Thus, their understanding of the connection between HIV, crime, public safety, and risk is heavily informed by mediated information (Henry and Tator 2002; Khan 2014; Mykhalovskiy et al. 2016). The concern, of course, is that news reports based heavily on police texts instruct readers to relate to people living with HIV as threatening, security risks in need of regulation and control.

3.8. Discussion: The Mainstream Press and the Expansion of the Police Mission Creep

Thus far, I have drawn on interviews to show how reporters’ everyday newswork is coordinated with the everyday work of police corporate communications units. Reporters’ accounts of their activities to produce a news article reveal that they rely heavily on messages that police circulate for sources of news, and as foundations of their news texts. At the same time, David’s description of police communications practices brings into view the extent to which police rely on reporters to extend the reach of their messages about risk and public safety, and understand news reports as technologies of policing. In the final section of this chapter, I want to situate the coordinated work practices of reporters and police within broader social relations that shape the everyday experiences of people constructed as threats to public safety, including those living with HIV in Canada.

Scholars who explore processes of crime reporting and police communications often promote ways of thinking about the relationship between the press and the police as two opposing sides locked in a sort of power struggle. More specifically, analyses often examine the extent to which one party is capable of determining the conduct of the other. For instance, there is a collection of scholarship that argues that the police dominate interaction with news media and fundamentally define how the media act (Chermak 1995:23; Grabosky and Wilson 1989). From this perspective, the police exercise their authority to control what is presented in the news, and the press serve simply as "conduits" for police ideology (Chermak 1995:23; Chibnall 1977; Fishman 1999b; Grabosky and Wilson 1989; Hall et al. 1978). Researchers attribute the asymmetrical character of the relationship between the press and the police largely to the influence of police spokespeople who act as gatekeepers, controlling the information that journalists require to do their work (Chermak 1995; Chermak and Weiss 2005; Surette and Richard 1995). For example, Steve Chibnall (1977) argues, "the journalist is always in an inferior negotiating position – the reporter who cannot get information is out of a job, whereas the policeman [sic] who retains it is not" (155).

Meanwhile, there is also a corpus of research that foregrounds ways that media determine the conduct of police (Chermak 1995:24; Ericson et al. 1989). For example, recent scholarship highlights how online social media has exposed police misconduct in ways that can compel police forces to alter their practices (Brown 2016; Nix and Pickett 2017). Researchers also show that the press shapes how police communicate with the public. For example, studies demonstrate that police sources typically communicate information in a way that is consistent with media formats, logic, and editing (Chermak 1995:24). This trend resonates with David's understanding of police news releases as templated documents designed to enter into reporters' work routines in a way that makes their newswork more efficient. Researchers suggest that police are willing to bend to meet the demands of the press, because police acknowledge that news media are an important site in which to do "legitimation" work (Chermak and Weiss 2005:503; Ericson et al. 1989).

Certainly, one could relate to the interview data included in this chapter as evidence of a sort of power struggle between the press and police. For example, there were instances in which reporters were perturbed by ways that police usurped the work of determining what events count as newsworthy, and selecting the facts that are made available to the public. At the same time, David expressed frustration with reporters who rejected the standardized way that police forces organize an account of a newsworthy event. However, my concern with conceptualizing the relationship between police and the press as a stark binary, or as a sort of power struggle, is that such an understanding writes over the ways that the activities of police and reporters are coordinated to circulate messages that construct certain individuals as public safety threats.

Thus, in this chapter, my intent has been to encourage a more relational approach to studying how police messages come to circulate in the mainstream press. I wanted to provide an alternative to representations of police work and newswork as opposing binaries that vie to dominate one another. Instead, I sought to extend ways of thinking about police and the press that make it possible to recognize how the coordination of police communications work and newswork is hooked into broader relations of ruling that shape the experiences of people who are constructed as threats to public safety.

An understanding of how various institutions come to be geared into relations of policing through their reliance on information that police produce and distribute, is brought into clearer view through Richard Ericson's conception of the police as "knowledge brokers." Ericson's study of policing practices identifies that officers actually spend relatively little time directly protecting people and property against criminal threats. He argues that it is most accurate to conceptualize police as "knowledge brokers, expert advisors and security managers to other institutions. It is knowledge for security that constitutes their trade. The police officer produces and distributes knowledge for the risk management activities of security operatives in other institutions" (Ericson 1994:151). Ericson prompts readers to understand the production and circulation of knowledge about risk as the primary activity of police.

This perspective informs how I conceptualize police amidst an array of institutions. Here, it is not enough to study how police respond to a particular event and produce knowledge about it. Instead, Ericson directs attention to how police distribute information across various institutional boundaries (Ericson 1994:160). For example, Ericson describes how an officer's work to respond to an automobile accident consists mostly of activities to fill out forms that distribute knowledge to various institutions such as criminal courts, insurance adjusters, medical professionals, the motor vehicle registry, and persons involved in profiling risk in a way that can be used in accident prevention, traffic management, resource allocation, and automobile industry compliance (Ericson 1994:152). Ericson's understanding of police as knowledge brokers in this example helps illuminate the range of institutions that make use of information that police distribute. It also directs attention to how information that police circulate makes it possible for actors in diverse settings to do their work, and instigates various activities to manage risk in disparate domains such as criminal law, medical care, city planning, and automobile engineering. Work activities to respond to risk in a wide range of settings is largely coordinated by the information that police distribute.

Ericson argues that the police's role as knowledge brokers to other institutions is a central part of the contemporary "risk society" (Beck 1992b, 1992a; Giddens 1990, 1991). He understands the "risk society" to be one "characterized by institutions organized in relation to fear, risk assessment and the provision of security. These institutions – for example, insurance companies, social security agencies and regulatory agencies – refigure the community into communications about risk in every conceivable aspect of life" (Ericson 1994:163). As the range of institutions that depend on the information that police distribute expands in a risk society, police activity ceases to correspond to a particular territorial setting, and police are able to move through myriad settings as security experts (Ericson 1994:160). This sort of expansion of police functions into new settings is commonly referred to as the police "mission creep" or "mission drift" (Wood 2014). For example, sociologists have expressed concerns about how police now address "security concerns" in expansive settings such as schools (Beger, Randall 2002; csMonahan and Torres, Rodolfo 2010; Theriot, Matthew 2009) public transportation systems (Cote-Lussier 2012), mental health care, public housing and public parks (Camp, Jordan and Heatherton 2016:9).

This chapter situates the mainstream press as a site that propels the police mission creep in the context of HIV criminalization. Throughout my fieldwork, reporters consistently described ways that they recontextualize information that derives from the professional perspective of police (Linell 1998:150–51). This type of newswork centers on activities that select parts of a police text (such as a sexual assault alert) and use them as resources in creating news texts about HIV non-disclosure cases. For example, recall how Laura's newswork to produce a news story about an HIV non-disclosure case transformed a police text into a news text by endorsing parts of the police text that connected with articles that her news organization had published in the past, and selecting segments of the police text that related to journalistic guidelines that define the "public interest."

The news article text that is paired with the police news release text in figures 3.1 and 3.2 display other steps that reporters take to recontextualize a sexual assault alerts as news articles. For example, reporters (or news editors) will produce a headline for the article, add a caption to the police's mugshot, and assemble the bullet-point details from the sexual assault alert into a narrative about what police have said and done. These activities to recontextualize police messages about "sexual assault alerts" as news are significant because they make the press an avenue for police to distribute information to a wide audience of news readers.

Ericson's conception of the police as knowledge brokers describes a context in which the police mandate expands as police serve as expert advisors who provide information for risk management to an increasing range of institutions. However, the newswork practices made visible in this chapter, in which reporters activate police texts (such as sexual assault alerts) and recontextualize them as news texts, amplify the ruling relations of police, because news mediums make it possible for the police's constructions of public safety threats to appear in multiple local sites at a given time. In this context, the police do not simply act as knowledge brokers, expert advisors, and security mangers to the sort of professional settings that Ericson describes (such as insurance companies, social security agencies, and regulatory agencies), instead, news media deliver police messages about risk and security to the everyday worlds of those who read, click on, scroll through, share, and tweet news stories. This means that information that police circulate not only coordinates how those who work in a range of settings respond to risk, police texts also shape how news audiences understand, interpret, and respond to constructions of public safety threats in their everyday lives.

Conceptualizing police news releases as documents that coordinate the social relations of HIV criminalization, adds to understandings of how texts connect people's everyday activities to broader relations of rule (Smith 2001). In this chapter I have sought to add to critical studies that show that the recontextualization of knowledge is an important feature of the social organization of HIV criminalization. Research in this area has considered how public health knowledge (in the form of counseling records and public health nurses' documents) enters into criminal law proceedings and is recontextualized as the basis of criminal law decision making and punishment (Sanders 2015). Studies of the social organization of HIV criminalization that attend to the recontextualization of knowledge across the boundaries of HIV prevention, treatment, and support and criminal law are valuable, because they call attention to the range of actors whose professional activities are shaped by the social relations that HIV criminalization organizes (Dodds et al. 2015; French 2015).

While studies of the social organization of HIV criminalization have called attention to processes of recontextualization across public health and criminal law, my account of how criminal justice knowledge is recontextualized as news highlights another significant porous boundary. The permeable way that criminal justice knowledge moves into news discourse is particularly important to attend to in the age of the "news cyclone" (Klinenberg, 56). Given the erratic and seemingly unending pace of online news production and consumption it is vital for news readers to identify, assess, and hold accountable sources of information about complex, weighty issues, such as HIV criminalization.

3.9. Conclusion

In the second chapter, I surfaced the ways that news reports about HIV criminalization are structured by a stable and consistent genre of crime reporting. Journalists' accounts of their newswork practices displayed how the production of salacious, sensational crime stories about HIV criminalization is underpinned by the relations of convergence journalism. The extent to which the crime story genre is deeply embedded in news accounts of HIV criminalization is reinforced by the institutional ethnographic findings of this third chapter. A close look at how police new releases come to be active in the news shows that these police texts do more than simply alert reporters to HIV non-disclosure cases. These documents equip reporters with the raw materials that they require to craft crime genre stories and facilitate the recontextualization of information and forms of reasoning from police to the news.

Detaching police narratives from public discourse about HIV should be a significant priority for HIV advocates. Research shows that in criminal HIV non-disclosure cases, the publication of police press releases and subsequent media coverage cause a variety of harms to the accused, LGBTQ groups, broader communities of people living with HIV, and racialized communities, and (Kirkup 2015:148; O'Byrne 2011). In response, advocates have called upon police to treat an accused person's HIV status as confidential and to decline issuing a press release in cases of alleged HIV non-disclosure. At the same time, advocates have also encouraged journalists to stop publishing the names and pictures of individuals charged with offenses related to failing to disclose their HIV-positive status (Bell 2017; Kirkup 2015:155).

Efforts to stem the publication of police press releases about HIV non-disclosure cases are particularly urgent given that information that is published about an individual online can exist as digital objects for indefinite periods of time. For example, in the jurisdiction in which David works, digital police press releases remain catalogued and publicly available on the police forces' website after one has served a sentence and even if the criminal charges are subsequently dropped. As David explained:

> our position is if what we said was accurate at the time it was published it stays there, if the charges were subsequently dropped, I mean that's a matter for the courts and the attorney general's ministry, we don't have the resources or anything to be able to maintain that. But if it was accurate at the time we published that you were charged with these offenses then we won't take it down.

In this chapter I have focused on news stories that rely heavily on police news releases. News stories that are based upon police news releases are typically published at the beginning of a criminal HIV non-disclosure cases. In some instances, more news stories are published once a case proceeds to trial and news coverage about a criminal HIV non-disclosure case extends over weeks and months. These situations offer activists an opportunity to intervene on news coverage and to attempt to alter media messages about HIV and the criminal law. For example, in the next chapter, activists describe how they work to interrupt the coordination of police communications work and newswork by producing documents that contend with police news releases and provide reporters with alternative materials upon which to craft news stories about HIV criminalization.

CHAPTER FOUR:

4. ORGANIZED INTERVENTIONS INTO MAINSTREAM NEWS DISCOURSE ON HIV CRIMINALIZATION

Thus far, my pursuit of understanding how the stable, standard genre of crime story about HIV criminalization endures has taken me to two empirical sites. In the second chapter, I introduced readers to the people who make news. Accounts from beat reporters, news editors, and freelance journalists illustrated ways that news production in an era of converged journalism is coordinated by relations of commercialization and generalist reporting. Reporters described the frenzied pace of their work within converged news agencies, and the constant pressure that they face to produce news content that will attract a large online audience. In such a work environment, it is perhaps unsurprising that reporters recounted that in some cases, news production work is based largely on copy and pasting digital source texts into news articles. In the second chapter, I argued that these social conditions of contemporary news production contribute to the production of sensational accounts of topics such as HIV criminalization.

The third chapter furthered my analysis of the relations of news production by showing that a main reason that crime genre stories are a deeply engrained way of reporting on HIV non-disclosure, is because reporters' work is closely coordinated with the work of police communications divisions. My interviews with journalists and someone who works in a police corporate communications division revealed that reporters' use of police press releases accelerates the flow of the police's definitions of crime, danger, risk, and security into public discourse. I concluded the third chapter by pointing to ways that the publication of police press releases harms people who live with HIV who face charges, LGBTQ groups, racialized communities, and communities of people affected by HIV. In such a context, it is imperative for

HIV advocates to prioritize the effort to separate police messages from public discourse about HIV.

In this chapter, I introduce readers to HIV advocates who take on the seismic task of intervening in mainstream news discourse, and interrupting crime genre reporting about criminal HIV non-disclosure cases. The HIV advocates I interviewed do this work from different locations – as lawyers working for large non-governmental organizations, as Executive Directors of smaller AIDS service organizations (ASOs), and as organizers of activist collectives. However, they share a common endeavour to shift the way that HIV criminalization, and people living with HIV, are represented in mainstream news. In place of the standard crime story genre that objectifies people living with HIV, portrays HIV non-disclosure as a straightforward, uncomplicated type of criminal offense, and sets readers up to view people who face criminal charges only as blame-worthy criminals, these advocates work to bring about well-informed news stories that prominently feature their concerns and critiques about HIV criminalization.

This institutional ethnographic study of how HIV advocates intervene in mainstream news discourse is arranged into two parts. First, I present a news article in which advocates effectively interrupt standard crime genre reporting of a criminal HIV non-disclosure case. This news text brings into view the types of knowledge, context, and critique that HIV advocates can insert into mainstream news discourse about HIV criminalization. Participants' descriptions of their difficult encounters with the mainstream press in this first section also help readers to appreciate what a tremendous feat it is to disrupt the way that mainstream news outlets have consistently reported on this issue.

In the second part of this chapter I draw on interviews with advocates who are active in efforts to change how HIV non-disclosure is covered in the mainstream press in order to argue that news coverage is not univocal. Social movements are a significant source of counter discourse, and shape public knowledge by inserting their messages and critiques of HIV criminalization into news texts. In this chapter I look closely at three types of work activities that participants described as they recounted efforts to shift media discourse on HIV non-disclosure: work as spokespeople, work to produce texts, and work to cultivate relationships with reporters.

Conversations that I had with fourteen HIV advocates who engage with news media in different ways, and from different locations, helped me to recognize that advocates' interactions with the press are highly complex accomplishments in social organization. Occasions when an HIV advocate interacts with a reporter as a spokesperson, or publishes an opinion editorial article, or points a reporter towards a newsworthy story, might seem like a simple interaction between a representative of an HIV organization and a news agency. However, I argue that participants' descriptions of their work in this chapter show that during their interactions with the press, advocates are actually coordinating diverse types of knowledge and expertise and aligning them with the relevancies of reporters. Advocates facilitate the production of news stories that feature their critiques of HIV criminalization by strategically providing reporters with material that they require to produce news stories, in formats that fit reporters' fast-paced news production routines. For example, accounts in this chapter show that advocates speak in interviews in ways that make their message easily quotable, produce texts that can be efficiently transferred into news texts, and support reporters' news selection activities by calling their attention to newsworthy events.

4.1. My Research and Activism on HIV Criminalization and the Mainstream Press

It is important to foreground that I am part of the group that I study in this chapter. Following the work of George Smith , I understand myself as an activist ethnographer who seeks out ways of doing research that start from the local, everyday settings of my everyday work (G. Smith 1990). Because this dissertation project is an exercise in extending the knowledge that I and fellow advocates have of the ruling relations of HIV criminalization, I want to situate myself in this research and advocacy work before moving forward.

Since 2014, much of my research and advocacy work has been connected to community-based efforts to re-shape how HIV criminalization is reported on in the mainstream press. Some of my work has aimed to produce public knowledge about the stigmatizing and objectifying way that HIV non-disclosure is represented in Canadian newspapers. This work included the publication of a report, *"Callous, Cold and Deliberately Duplicitous": Racialization, Immigration and the Representation of HIV Criminalization in Canadian Mainstream Newspapers* (Mykhalovskiy et al. 2016). As part of this project, I helped to construct a database of 1680 English-language Canadian newspaper articles about criminal HIV non-disclosure cases in Canada published between 1989 and 2015 (Mykhalovskiy et al. 2016). This database served as the basis for our quantitative analysis of trends in mainstream newspaper coverage, and our ongoing qualitative studies of key writing strategies used to represent HIV non-disclosure in the news.

In addition to taking part in research that aimed to produce knowledge about the content of news coverage of HIV criminalization, I have also contributed to collaborative efforts to change *how* journalists produce news stories about HIV criminalization. This initiative includes the co-authored production of a short report, *Criminalization in Canada: Key Trends and Patterns,* that tried to anticipate the sort of information reporters require to produce news stories about HIV criminalization that feature advocates' concerns and critiques. For example, the report featured data that problematized the way that the criminal law is often used in situations that pose little or no risk of HIV transmission (Hastings et al. 2017).[12]

One of the most valuable aspects of working on these projects, was that they provided a way to contribute to the broader response to HIV criminalization in Canada. I completed these research initiatives while working with activist groups such as the Canadian Coalition to Reform HIV Criminalization and the Ontario Working Group on Criminal Law and HIV Exposure. In addition, I collaborated on research projects with legal experts at organizations such as the Canadian HIV/AIDS Legal Network and the HIV/AIDS Legal Clinic of Ontario, as well as researchers located at universities across the country. I have also been fortunate to share research findings at HIV research conferences, activist seminars and community meetings. All of these opportunities provided occasions to be part of discussions about how to strategically engage with media as part of the broader struggle to resist and reform HIV criminalization in Canada.

I met many of the people who I interviewed for this chapter through my community-based activist work. Over the last number of years, I have sat with these HIV advocates in organizing meetings, I have attended conferences with them, I have consulted them about research projects, and of course, as is the case with a lot community-based advocacy work, I have corresponded with them over countless email chains. I deeply appreciate that participants took time away from their demanding work schedules as lawyers, activists, academics, and directors of ASOs to sit and talk with me about how they do media intervention work.

The conversations that I had with HIV advocates about how they alter mainstream news discourse brought me to diverse sites. I took the subway to sit across the desk of legal experts who work in NGOs and law offices in the heart of major cities, I drove to a small town to meet with the director of a local ASO, and I spoke with representatives of activist groups at their kitchen tables and in my living room. Together, their accounts extended my understanding of how a consistent and coherent response to stigmatizing and objectifying news coverage is accomplished. Before we can understand how the response to the mainstream press is socially coordinated, it is necessary to attend to ways that scholars typically understand the relationship between organized social movements and the news.

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[12] These projects are discussed in greater detail in the second part of the chapter.

4.2. Studies of Organized Political Movements and the Mainstream Press

Scholarship that analyzes the relationship between social movements and the mainstream press can be traced back to early British and US studies that helped form the sociology of journalism in the 1960s (McCurdy 2012:245). According to communications scholar Patrick McCurdy, this area of journalism studies is defined by two main trajectories of research. The first trajectory, consists of analyses of news content that attend to how the press portrays social movements and represents activists, political organizations, and advocacy campaigns (Cottle 2006; Halloran, Elliot, and Murdock 1970; Murdock 1981). A valuable contribution of this line of study is that researchers have identified consistent patterns of news coverage that regularly express disapproval towards protests and dissent (Lee 2014:2727). For example, “protest paradigm scholars” have called attention to ways that news coverage simplifies and sensationalizes news coverage of social movement protest, focuses on the violent and disruptive aspects of the protest actions, describes protests using the script of crime news, neglects substantive issues, and privileges sources that represent or support the government (Chan and Lee 1984; Lee 2014; McLeod and Hertog 1998). A limitation of research studies that concentrate on how news texts represent social movements, is that they often overlook the perspectives of activists (McCurdy

2008). In this dissertation, I not only want to show that news reports of HIV criminalization are regularly written as crime stories, I also want to explore particular ways HIV advocates organize a response to this pattern of news coverage and contribute to changes in how the issue of HIV criminalization is covered in the mainstream press.

To do so, I build on the work of scholars who have examined the strategies that social movements employ to take control of the way that their organizations and the issues they address are represented in the news. Studies that attend to how social movement organizations gain standing in the mainstream press have identified a range of tactics that groups employ, such as "issuing press releases, holding press conferences, and providing journalists with a steady stream of research and information about their issue, organizational activities, and goals" (Ferree et al. 2002; Gamson 2004; Ryan et al. 2001). An important contribution of studies that call attention to movements' media interventions strategies, is that they complicate binary understandings of media producers and media consumers as mutually exclusive categories, and promote a more relational way of thinking about news media (Livingstone 1998; McCurdy 2011). As the experiences of HIV advocates featured in this chapter illustrate, those working to oppose HIV criminalization are not only critical news media audiences, they are also highly strategic media producers. In this chapter, I draw on HIV advocates' accounts of their media work to promote ways of thinking about news as what Per-Anders Forstrop refers to as "a sort of dynamic dialogue extended over time, including different genres, arenas and actors" (Forstorp 1998:295). By showing how advocates mobilize their counter discourse in the news, I hope to enhance understandings of how news discourse is put together more broadly.

4.3. Intervening in Crime Story Reports of HIV Criminalization

Before moving to look more closely at how advocates' response to the mainstream press is socially coordinated, it is important to bring forward that news reports about HIV criminalization have been consistently disconcerting for years. Recall that in the first chapter I identified standard features of the crime story genre that typically structure news reports of HIV criminalization and showed how news coverage produces HIV non-disclosure as a straightforward criminal offense.

Legal advocates, activists, and ASO workers who I interviewed for this chapter, consistently described that it is remarkably challenging to disrupt such a stable and consistent genre of reporting. For example, John has been working with HIV activist groups for over twenty years. He recounted the condemning tone of news articles that were published at the time that one organization, The Ontario Working Group on Criminal Law and HIV Exposure (CLHE), was formed in 2007.

> Early on we were aware of media coverage that was problematic, focusing on specific cases and demonizing people and not getting at the issues that we were concerned about, particularly around, in the early years, around the science of transmission, around public health implications of using the criminal law, and so on. There was this moment, fairly early on, CLHE decided to have a public meeting, it was a meeting for people to discuss the issue and it was meant for people living with HIV primarily, and their supporters…There was over 100 people there and one of the things we didn't do is that we didn't determine in advance that it was closed to the media nor did we ask people who were in attendance if they were representatives of the media. As it happened, Margaret Wente was in the audience and she subsequently wrote a damaging, quite a long and damaging article about disclosure coming out of that meeting where she represented people living with HIV and the meeting at CLHE as a bunch of, you know, irresponsible people who want to spread HIV. So that was a real kind of wakeup call in terms of not having a lot of control over how the issue is represented and as a small organization, volunteer organization we had very little power to intervene in how the media was framing the issue.

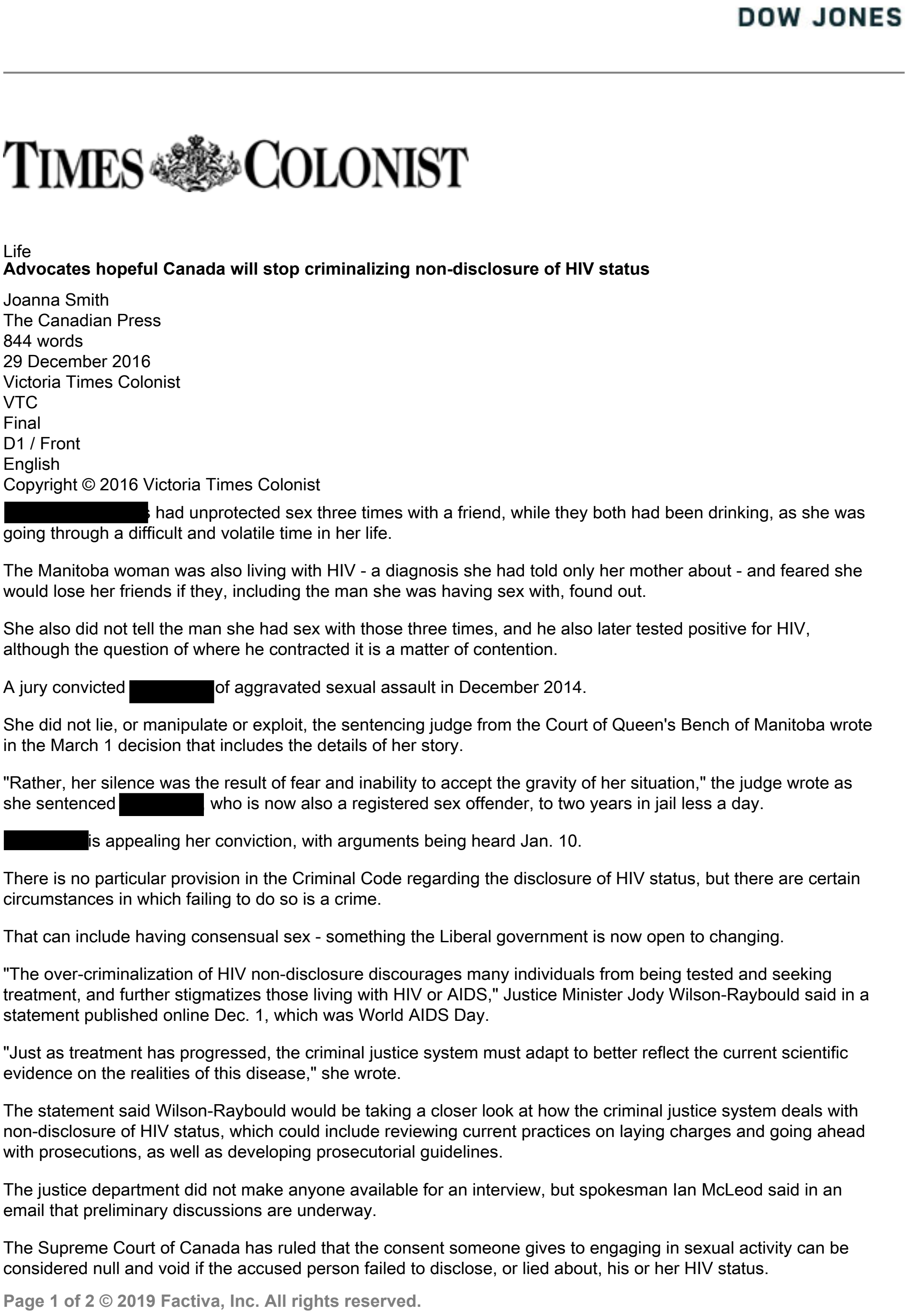
The speaker's comments make it possible to appreciate how harmful crime stories about HIV criminalization can be to efforts to reform HIV criminalization. As John points out, the content of news articles has been a grave concern for activists because of the way that reportage demonizes people living with HIV, and ignores activists' critiques of criminalization. Such critiques often highlight that the law is out of step with current scientific research on HIV transmission, and illustrate the negative public health and legal consequences of HIV criminalization. Rather than address the complexity of HIV criminalization, news stories like the one John references typically favor sensational representations of HIV non-disclosure.

The types of concerns that John raises are clearly evident in the news article by Margaret Wente that he refers to. For instance, Wente's article about CLHE's public meeting, contends that the group engages in "the glorification of (highly risky) bareback sex"; believes that everybody else should change except them"; and that "Toronto's AIDS establishment…seem stuck in a swamp of victimology and denial" (Wente 2008). These aspects of the standard crime story genre that are present in Wente's article are noteworthy, because on this occasion, the author was not reporting on a particular criminal case. Therefore, the CLHE meeting was actually an opportunity for the author to write with a relative freedom from the constraints of the crime story genre, and to produce a more nuanced and deeply researched news article. Nevertheless, the article features many of the well-worn, superficial and sensational aspects of crime reporting about HIV non-disclosure. As John mentions, small volunteer organizations may feel as though they have little power to mobilize narratives that counter this sensational press coverage, because they lack the resources, media-relations expertise, or capacity to do so.

Unfortunately, at the time of writing, news reports about HIV criminalization continue to be structured by features of the standard crime story genre. For instance, troubling aspects of crime reporting were prevalent in coverage of two criminal HIV non-disclosure cases in November 2018. News reports of these cases circulated the content of police news releases, including photos and personal information of people living with HIV who face criminal charges related to non-disclosure. Reportage of these cases also reproduced stigmatizing and moralizing discourses in familiar ways. For example, they referred to people who live with HIV and face criminal charges related to HIV non-disclosures as morally culpable, “cruel and cavalier” (Richardson 2018). Nevertheless, it is important to acknowledge significant strides that HIV advocates have made in their ongoing efforts to alter how the issue of HIV criminalization is represented in the mainstream press. For example, a longtime activist named Steven described:

> What I find is that nowadays, unless it’s one like the latest arrest, they [the news articles] usually have at least a line to say, advocates have been protesting this, or something like that, so there is some sort of recognition that there is a discussion about this, rather than “oh crazy person with HIV trying to infect people.” and so that’s a kind of improvement. Some of the articles are in that way relatively balanced, whereas at least you’re there, where if you look back to the older stuff, in the first decade of the 2000s, there wasn’t even an attempt [to include activists’ perspectives in news articles].

Steven’s comments start to make visible what an effective intervention into the mainstream press might look like. For example, he recognizes that contemporary articles acknowledge activists’ presence and feature their messages more often than they did in the early 2000s. He also suggests that current reportage is less likely to represent HIV non-disclosure as a straightforward offense committed by objectified, “crazy” people living with HIV. Articles that diverge from the standard genre of crime story in this way are significant, because they equip news readers with information that they can use to make sense of the issue of HIV non-disclosure - information that is not regularly available to them in typical stories about HIV and the criminal law. For example, consider the ways that the following news article deviates from the standard crime report about a HIV non-disclosure case, shown in Figure 4.1.



DOW JONES

TIMES COLONIST

Life
Advocates hopeful Canada will stop criminalizing non-disclosure of HIV status

Joanna Smith
The Canadian Press
844 words
29 December 2016
Victoria Times Colonist
VTC
Final
D1 / Front
English
Copyright © 2016 Victoria Times Colonist

[redacted] had unprotected sex three times with a friend, while they both had been drinking, as she was going through a difficult and volatile time in her life.

The Manitoba woman was also living with HIV - a diagnosis she had told only her mother about - and feared she would lose her friends if they, including the man she was having sex with, found out.

She also did not tell the man she had sex with those three times, and he also later tested positive for HIV, although the question of where he contracted it is a matter of contention.

A jury convicted [redacted] of aggravated sexual assault in December 2014.

She did not lie, or manipulate or exploit, the sentencing judge from the Court of Queen's Bench of Manitoba wrote in the March 1 decision that includes the details of her story.

"Rather, her silence was the result of fear and inability to accept the gravity of her situation," the judge wrote as she sentenced [redacted] who is now also a registered sex offender, to two years in jail less a day.

[redacted] is appealing her conviction, with arguments being heard Jan. 10.

There is no particular provision in the Criminal Code regarding the disclosure of HIV status, but there are certain circumstances in which failing to do so is a crime.

That can include having consensual sex - something the Liberal government is now open to changing.

"The over-criminalization of HIV non-disclosure discourages many individuals from being tested and seeking treatment, and further stigmatizes those living with HIV or AIDS," Justice Minister Jody Wilson-Raybould said in a statement published online Dec. 1, which was World AIDS Day.

"Just as treatment has progressed, the criminal justice system must adapt to better reflect the current scientific evidence on the realities of this disease," she wrote.

The statement said Wilson-Raybould would be taking a closer look at how the criminal justice system deals with non-disclosure of HIV status, which could include reviewing current practices on laying charges and going ahead with prosecutions, as well as developing prosecutorial guidelines.

The justice department did not make anyone available for an interview, but spokesman Ian McLeod said in an email that preliminary discussions are underway.

The Supreme Court of Canada has ruled that the consent someone gives to engaging in sexual activity can be considered null and void if the accused person failed to disclose, or lied about, his or her HIV status.

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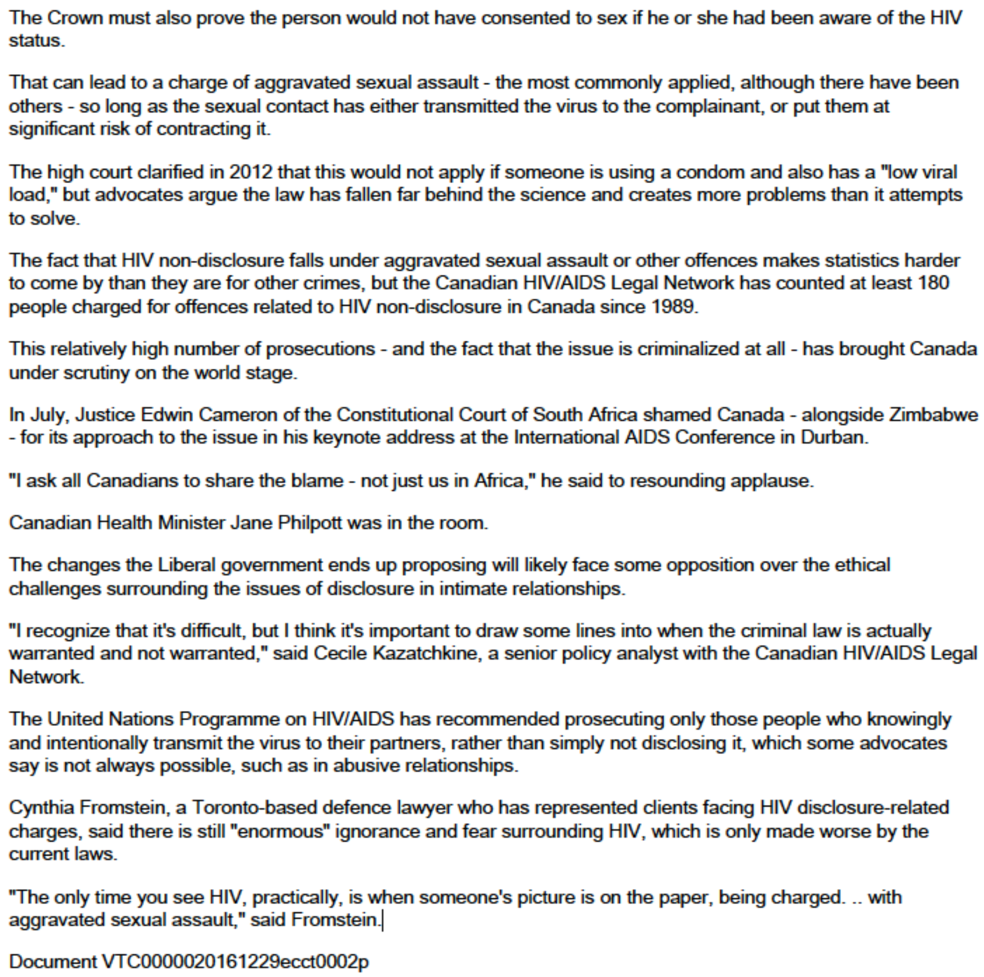

The Crown must also prove the person would not have consented to sex if he or she had been aware of the HIV status.

That can lead to a charge of aggravated sexual assault - the most commonly applied, although there have been others - so long as the sexual contact has either transmitted the virus to the complainant, or put them at significant risk of contracting it.

The high court clarified in 2012 that this would not apply if someone is using a condom and also has a "low viral load," but advocates argue the law has fallen far behind the science and creates more problems than it attempts to solve.

The fact that HIV non-disclosure falls under aggravated sexual assault or other offences makes statistics harder to come by than they are for other crimes, but the Canadian HIV/AIDS Legal Network has counted at least 180 people charged for offences related to HIV non-disclosure in Canada since 1989.

This relatively high number of prosecutions - and the fact that the issue is criminalized at all - has brought Canada under scrutiny on the world stage.

In July, Justice Edwin Cameron of the Constitutional Court of South Africa shamed Canada - alongside Zimbabwe - for its approach to the issue in his keynote address at the International AIDS Conference in Durban.

"I ask all Canadians to share the blame - not just us in Africa," he said to resounding applause.

Canadian Health Minister Jane Philpott was in the room.

The changes the Liberal government ends up proposing will likely face some opposition over the ethical challenges surrounding the issues of disclosure in intimate relationships.

"I recognize that it's difficult, but I think it's important to draw some lines into when the criminal law is actually warranted and not warranted," said Cecile Kazatchkine, a senior policy analyst with the Canadian HIV/AIDS Legal Network.

The United Nations Programme on HIV/AIDS has recommended prosecuting only those people who knowingly and intentionally transmit the virus to their partners, rather than simply not disclosing it, which some advocates say is not always possible, such as in abusive relationships.

Cynthia Fromstein, a Toronto-based defence lawyer who has represented clients facing HIV disclosure-related charges, said there is still "enormous" ignorance and fear surrounding HIV, which is only made worse by the current laws.

"The only time you see HIV, practically, is when someone's picture is on the paper, being charged. .. with aggravated sexual assault," said Fromstein.

Document VTC0000020161229ecct0002p

Figure 4.1. News report of HIV criminal non-disclosure case that deviates from the standard crime report.

Between M.S's arrest in 2013 and the eventual rejection of her appeal to have her sexual assault conviction overturned in 2017, there were nineteen news articles published about this HIV non-disclosure case. Of these nineteen articles, sixteen follow the standard pattern of criminal justice time: One article is published when M.S is initially charged (No Author 2013); when she "lost her fight to get her case thrown out due to delay" (Turner 2014); following the opening statements of her criminal trial (Mcintyre 2014b); at the time of the trial's closing arguments (No Author 2014); and when she is found guilty (Mcintyre 2014a). Ten news articles are published throughout M.S sentencing hearing. These news articles rely exclusively on criminal justice sources, including a police interview video played at trial, court rulings, and what the Crown, her defence lawyer, and witnesses called to testify (such as the defendant and a medical expert) say in court. Another news article is published when M.S's guilty verdict is upheld (May 2017).

In addition to criminal justice time reporting about M.S'S case, the corpus of news stories also features articles that center advocates' voices and prominently feature their critiques of HIV criminalization.[13] Two opinion-editorial articles were published by legal experts who draw on documents and statements from the Canadian HIV/AIDS Legal Network and the Canadian Coalition to reform HIV criminalization in order to problematize the use of the criminal law to respond to instances of non-disclosure. The other article that brings advocates' voices forward is the article included above, by Joanna Smith (Smith 2016).

In some ways, this news article written by Joanna Smith, does resemble the standard crime story genre that I have presented throughout this dissertation. For example, the report situates the person facing criminal charges in a standard sequence of events through which criminal cases proceed. It also uses the language of the criminal justice system to write about her. The information about the person facing charges in the first part of the article is derived from a judge' ruling. Given that mainstream news has, for decades, consistently treated HIV non-disclosure cases (even the most complex cases) as straightforward crime stories, one might expect that the person facing charges would be portrayed as a morally blameworthy, reckless criminal in this news article. There are however, meaningful ways that this piece deviates from the standard structure of news reports about HIV criminal cases. For example, the article includes important context that set readers up to acknowledge the complexity of HIV non-disclosure. In this instance, readers learn that the person facing charges was experiencing a difficult and volatile period in her life and that she feared that her HIV disclosure would lead to social isolation. By including these pertinent details, the reporter produces HIV disclosure as a complex and potentially arduous practice – a significant departure from typical crime reports that portray HIV non-disclosure simply as a reckless criminal act.

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[13] It is challenging to make comparisons about how often advocates' perspectives on HIV criminalization are included in news coverage of HIV criminal cases, because since the late 1980s, each case has been covered at different times and in different contexts of the HIV epidemic. Each case also proceeds through the criminal legal system for different durations of time and in particular ways. However, it would seem as though the 16% (3/19) of news articles that feature advocates' perspectives in M.S's case is consistent with advocates' presence in news coverage of other cases. For example, advocates voices are featured in 10% (8/82) of news stories about C.S and 30% (20/65) of articles about C.M.

Another important feature of this news story, is that critics of HIV criminalization have a strong presence throughout the article and express statements that shift the typical story line about HIV criminalization. It is particularly significant that the perspective of advocates is expressed in the headline of the article, "Advocates hopeful Canada will stop criminalizing non-disclosure of HIV status", because according to Van Dijk, headlines function to define the most relevant information of the news item. He argues that because headlines "are often the only information read or memorized, they play an important role in the further information processing and possible effects of news" (Van Dijk 1988:188–89).

The report also includes quotations from former Justice Minister Jody Wilson-Raybould and legal experts that echo concerns about HIV criminalization that people living with HIV, HIV activists, and researchers have been expressing for years. These critiques have to do with how the laws used to prosecute HIV non-disclosure are out of step with current scientific evidence regarding HIV transmission, hinder public health efforts to address HIV, and enhance HIV stigma. For the purposes of the present study, it is especially noteworthy that the article includes a quotation that problematizes the way the news media typically report on HIV criminal cases, as lawyer Cynthia Fromstein states, “the only time you see HIV, practically, is when someone’s picture is on the paper, being charged… with aggravated sexual assault” (Smith 2016). The presence of this quote in the article signals an awareness of how news reportage of HIV criminalization exacerbates HIV stigma.

It would be difficult for those who read Joanna Smith’s article in the morning paper, scrolled to it online, or shared it on social media, to imagine the entire complex of activities that advocates carry out to help facilitate the production of this type of news text that prominently features their critiques of HIV criminalization. In the next section of this chapter, I look closely at how advocates produce and sustain a consistent critique of HIV criminalization in the press.

4.4. The Work of Media Interventions

In my interviews with people involved in efforts to intervene in media representations of HIV criminalization, I sought to learn about the work they do, the ways they interact with the press, and how their activities connect the knowledge and expertise of HIV advocates with the relevancies of news production. During our conversations, participants regularly described the work they do when being interviewed by reporters, when producing texts that are intended to circulate in news media, and when fostering relationships with reporters. I related to advocates’ descriptions of these types of work as windows into how their sustained presence in the press is made possible, the types of knowledge and expertise that need to be in place in order to produce media interventions, and how their work is positioned within organized responses to HIV criminalization.

4.4.1. Intervening in the Mainstream Press as Spokespeople

One of the primary ways that advocates' critiques of HIV criminalization gain traction in the mainstream press is through the work of those who take on the role of spokespeople and respond to reporters' requests to be news sources as interviewees. It is not surprising that advocates regularly described the practice of talking to reporters as a powerful way to shape news content about HIV criminalization. It is well established in studies of journalism practice that because journalists rarely observe news events directly, they rely on authoritative sources in order to construct written descriptions of events (Berkowitz 1987; Berkowitz and Beach 1993; Broersma, den Herder, and Schohaus 2013; Brown et al. 1987; Chermak 1995, 1997; Fishman 1999b; Gans 1979; Tuchman 1973). The news interview, in particular, has been described as "the fundamental act" of contemporary journalism (Craig 2010:75; Gans 1979:138; Schudson 1994:565). The essential role that interviews play in news production processes was visible in my study of news work in the second chapter. For example, recall that a harried daily news reporter named Alex explained that the very first step in his news work process involved "looking for sources of people who are experts on the matter who can talk."

Since the classic newsroom ethnographies from the 1970s and 1980s positioned the relationship between sources and journalists as a key part of the routinization of news work, most recent studies of the source-media relationship have focused on the content of news texts, as opposed to ethnographic analyses of journalism practice (Broersma et al. 2013:389; Fishman 1999a; Tuchman 1973). Communication scholars have built on the work of news researchers by studying news articles and identifying which individuals and groups are included in the news, and which are not. Issues of bias, power, influence, and representation are the focus of these studies (Berkowitz 2009; Broersma et al. 2013). At the same time, research in discourse analysis has focused on the interaction between interviewers and interviewees in news texts: "The large majority of these studies purely analyze the conversation between the interviewer and the interviewee through the lens of language, usually in terms of question design and answer formatting" (Broersma et al. 2013: 390). In this section, I respond to an important gap in the existing literature on source-media relations, namely, the failure to look at source-media relations from the perspectives of sources themselves (Schlesinger 1990:61). By centering advocates' accounts of their work as sources, I add to understandings of *how* advocates make use of interviews as an avenue to alter problematic patterns in news content and shape media messages.

The article by Joanna Smith provides a glimpse of how spokespeople can go to work to bring forward advocates' concerns about HIV criminalization when they are recognized by reporters (such as Alex in chapter two) as "the experts on the matter who can talk." An important feature of her article is that it is largely structured upon quotations from expert sources. For example, the reporter quotes a judge, the Justice Minister, a spokesperson from the Justice Department, a Justice from the Constitutional Court of South Africa, a senior policy analysist at a NGO, and a lawyer. Joanna Smith's report reinforces the findings of journalism scholars who recognize that within news discourse, there is a hierarchy of sources – directors of major organizations, politicians, police officers, and experts are typically quoted in news stories most often, and recognized by journalists as reliable observers and opinion formulators (Van Dijk 1987:87). It is not as though people who advocate to reform HIV criminalization simply telephone major news organizations to share their perspectives on the issue. Interviews in this section show that HIV advocates come into contact with reporters by producing themselves as certain types of experts who hold a specialized type of professional knowledge.

In this section, I draw primarily on interviews with advocates who work at the Canadian HIV/AIDS Legal Network (LN). These conversations enabled me to explore how people working in a non-governmental organization insert their critiques of HIV criminalization into mainstream news discourse by connecting their professional knowledge and expertise to reporters' news work practices. The work of the LN offers an example of one advocacy organization that has produced itself as a ready and reliable news source for reporters. Most of the reporters I spoke with understood the LN as an important voice to include in news reports about HIV criminalization. For example, reporters I interviewed described the LN in terms such as: the "usual characters," the "main organization," the "standard expert voice," and the "legal expertise that is really helpful" to contact when reporting on this topic.

It would be a mistake, however, to see the LN as the only voice that is quoted in news reports about HIV criminalization. Over the course of this project I spoke to representatives of activist groups, directors of ASOs, academic researchers, and people with lived experience of HIV and/or criminalization who had been quoted in news stories, and supported others in their efforts to be spokespeople. I focus on the work of the LN here, because my conversations with Richard Elliot, the organization's Executive Director, and Janet Butler McPhee, the Communications Director, were integral for my understanding of the particular way that spokespeople connect their knowledge and expertise to the routines of news production in an effort to have their critiques of HIV criminalization circulate in news articles.

Before moving to my conversations with the Executive Director and the Communications Director, it is important to offer some insight into structure and work of the Canadian HIV/AIDS Legal Network. The Legal Network is a specific type of non-governmental organization dedicated to promoting and protecting the legal rights of people living with HIV. The organization employs twelve staff members, many of whom are lawyers who conduct policy research and analysis. Staff members at the LN also work in the realms of communications, finance, and program support. The LN's main activities center on efforts to repeal or reform laws and policies that unjustly criminalize or discriminate against people living with HIV and other communities and populations particularly affected by HIV; to enact laws and policies that protect people living with HIV; and to support populations affected by HIV to understand and demand their human rights.

A unique feature of the LN that distinguishes it from smaller legal advocacy organizations, volunteer-led activist groups, and AIDS service organizations that also advocate for the reform of HIV criminalization, is that it is equipped with resources and specialized expertise to respond to media interview requests. The following remarks from Richard, the Executive Director, help to bring into view what is required in order for HIV organizations to have a sustained presence in mainstream news:

> [The LN is] not just intervening in courts, but intervening in the court of public opinion, so engaging with media, trying to get media attention to the issue [of HIV criminalization] that we hope will be favorable. But also, responding to media inquiries that come in response to a particular prosecution going forward and becoming public knowledge. So, then we also get called for some sort of reaction on the latest case…If you look back twenty years ago, or even further to the beginning of the epidemic, the coverage was awful and that is less frequent now. And I think we've helped frame the terms of the discussion through some fairly relentless commentary in the media... The concerns about criminal law are much more present now in the media coverage than they were ten or fifteen years ago.

Richard's comments start to suggest some of the ways that the LN has produced itself as a ready and reliable source of expert spokespeople on the topic of HIV criminalization. The organization is uniquely positioned to engage with the press, not only because they employ a Communications Director on staff, but also because they have had a sustained presence in the press for more than two decades. Over that time, they have developed strategies for interacting with the press in ways that bring forward critiques of HIV criminalization on the basis of legal and human rights concerns. An important part of this strategy involves resisting the standard crime genre story that reporters are often prepared to write. As Richard describes:

> We…get a call or the email out of the blue, saying, "hey, I want some comment on case x" that's about to be reported or has just been reported [by police]…or sometimes we already know that something's coming and so we can anticipate that we'll get some media requests, like case x is going to an appeal…We generally try to avoid commenting on cases…and try to shift the focus of our remarks to the issue about why we have concerns about over-criminalization and public health concerns, human rights concerns…why we have these concerns about police doing this or why we need to actually narrow the scope of the criminal because a whole slew of cases are caught up in the criminal justice system that shouldn't be.

The Executive Director's remarks display an acute understanding of the intricacies of news media interviews. His comments acknowledge that interactions with reporters are a complicated and distinct type of communication event that differ from ordinary conversations. Communications scholar Geoffrey Craig identifies that ordinary conversation is defined by certain features, such as, a sense of equal status between participants, equal rights to speak, degrees of reciprocity, and assumptions about equal contributions to the conversation. Meanwhile, news media interviews are a particular type of institutional dialogue that is more goal oriented, and involves obvious status differences between participants with unequal access to information and knowledge, and unequal degrees of participation (Craig 2010:79) .

Richard's reflection on his experiences fielding calls from reporters suggests that it is next to impossible to completely impede reporting about HIV criminalization that is occasioned by criminal cases. There is no way for HIV advocates, such as Richard, to stop reporters from covering cases that go to court, and therefore, the bulk of reporting on this topic is inscribed with criminal legal discourse. Perhaps the only way to fully interrupt news stories that are patterned by the standard criminal justice processing of a case, is to attempt to change the laws that are used to prosecute HIV non-disclosure, or to try to implement prosecutorial guidelines that would reduce the number of cases that move through the criminal justice system in the first place, and thereby, limit the number of reductionist and superficial news stories that accompany criminal HIV non-disclosure cases.

What Richard's comments show, is another way that advocates work to limit crime genre stories about HIV criminalization that circulate in the press, that does not involve changing the criminal law itself. This strategy takes the form of disrupting the institutional relevancies and language that structure crime genre stories, and shifting the focus of the conversations away from a particular individual and his or her case, and towards broader structural issues related to HIV criminalization. Richard's comments above put into view the divergent goals of the reporter who requests a comment on a criminal HIV non-disclosure case, and the advocate-spokesperson at the LN. While the reporter is seeking a comment about a standard development in the criminal justice system's processing of a case, Richard's goal is to resist contributing to a criminal justice narrative and to shift the conversation to advocates' concerns about HIV criminalization on the grounds of human rights and legal concerns. In order to shift reporters' attention to these critiques, advocates at the LN leverage their position as professionals who possess expert knowledge of policy analysis, advocacy, and litigation related to HIV, and access to the information that reporters require to craft news stories about HIV criminalization.

Janet, the LN's Communications Director described that she understands the work of being a spokesperson as akin to "a dance, the idea that at different points in the conversation, people will lead and follow, your challenge is to not have the journalists lead all the time." In order to help me better understand how she choreographs this dance with reporters, Janet walked me through how she responds to reporters who call the LN looking for comments about a criminal HIV non-disclosure case, and shifts the conversations to her organization's critiques of HIV criminalization:

> If I got a call like that, I never answer questions right away, I usually, I make an excuse, "I've got to be somewhere in ten minutes, tell me what you're asking about and I'm sure I can find someone to speak to you, but you have to give me ten minutes because I'm doing something else." I tend to take down the information and then you know, my first reaction is to go to the researchers, and we come up with a plan. If it's a case like that, we would tend to, the good thing about legal cases is that you often have an out and you can say, "we don't know the case or the facts, so we can't speak to the facts of the case." So that gives you cover: "what I can tell you is some context, some more background on what you'll need to write about this.' And usually they're quite happy with that, and usually that will help in terms of what the story ultimately looks like."

The Communications Director's quote represents her work to interrupt crime genre stories about HIV criminalization. An important feature of her response is that it is largely an exercise in trying to introduce the analyses, research, and critiques that advocates at the LN have produced about HIV criminalization to a reporter, despite the fact that the reporter has not requested this information. If Janet's interaction with the reporter was a conventional conversation based on degrees of equal participation and reciprocity, she may feel inclined to respond to the particular questions the reporter asks (Craig 2010). What is striking about the Communications Director's account, is the way that she leverages the conventions of the news media interview, and her position as an expert source with access to specialized knowledge and information.

In an effort to insert LN'S perspective into news reporting, Janet answers a reporter's phone call, makes an excuse to avoid responding to questions about a criminal case, gathers information, meets with researchers, plans how to reply to the reporter's questions, and responds to reporters by providing the relevant context she and others at LN believe should be included in news reports about HIV criminalization. What these activities accomplish is the coordination of research and analytic work at the LN with the reporter's need to include quotes from expert sources in news articles about HIV criminalization. As Janet describes, "saying just, 'no comment', it makes it look worse than it is. Our goal in this is, even if we can't say exactly what they want us to say, is to say something that will help them. So that's my approach, my approach is I'm trying to help the media." The robust research and analytic work of the LN provide Janet with background information and context that make it possible for her to maintain the organization's status as a ready and reliable expert source on the issue of HIV criminalization, and at the same time, bring forward critiques of HIV criminalization on the basis of legal and human rights concerns.

Thus far we have seen how those at the LN leverage their status as expert spokespeople, in an effort to interrupt crime genre reporting of HIV criminalization. My interviews suggest that another important way that the LN has established itself as a ready and reliable source for reporters is by supporting people who have lived experiences of HIV and/or criminalization to draw on their expertise in order to take up the position of spokespeople in the press. Reporters, legal experts, and community-based activists who I interviewed often lamented that there are far too few people with lived experiences of HIV and/or criminalization with an active presence in mainstream news discourse about HIV and the criminal law. The Executive Director of the LN explained:

> media often ask for that too, "give me the human story, give me the individual who can speak this" and I get why they want that but we often have not been able to point them in someone's direction, with the exception of a handful of people who become our regular commentators. We have been trying over time to expand that role of people openly living with HIV who feel equipped to be spokespeople, because it can also be pretty daunting, not just the issue, but media can be pretty daunting, and if you've got a difficult issue like criminalization, which I would say is our most difficult issue, always has been, it's even more daunting.

Reporters I interviewed also regularly referenced the importance of including quotations from people living with HIV in stories about HIV criminalization. A reporter named Rob understood personal narratives from people who live with HIV as a powerful journalistic device that help to make the issue of HIV criminalization a newsworthy topic. As Rob described:

> When people are bogged down with x amount of people have been criminalized, 181…it's not a big number, let's not kid ourselves, that's not a lot of people. So, if you really want to talk about the hardship and the struggle that they've been through…the situation those people are in before, and what happens to them inside, and what happens to them outside after, if they get out, it's you know, it changes it…So, the personal narrative really sets it apart.

Other reporters described that speaking with people who have lived experience is an integral part of researching a news story. For instance, a journalist named Matthew explained that personal accounts "just bring the story home a little bit more." Another journalist, named Lindsay, related to spokespeople as essential resources for better understanding issues she is reporting on:

> Talking to people that are the most concerned, no matter what I'm writing about, is the most important part of a piece [news story]. Even though, in the end, in the article it's [quotes from spokespeople] are a very very small part of the article, when you write as a journalist, if you don't have the background, if you haven't spoken to people who are the most concerned, to me it's really hard to write…to make it legitimate as a journalist, you just have to talk to people who live what you're talking about.

These remarks suggest that reporters require quotations from people with lived experience of HIV and/or criminalization in order to interrupt crime genre reports of HIV non-disclosure that typically objectify people living with HIV and write over the complexity of their experiences. It can, however, be a daunting exercise for one to share such personal experiences in the press. As Richard explained:

> … people need to have a good grasp of the law and the legal system, because if you don't have a grounding in that and you get the question from the journalist and you answer incorrectly, then you're not necessarily being an effective advocate if you're misstating the law or you're, you're not sure how a certain thing came

> about… if it's a live interview, especially on broadcast media, you don't really have a chance to sort that out, you've made the mistake and now it's done, there's no do-over. We want people to feel like they know what the basics of the law is and because the law is still uncertain on some points and because there may be some room to maneuver on certain points like the viral load question where we're seeing different decisions emerging from different courts and we're trying to push it in a certain direction… In terms of how much of your own story are you willing to share? How much of it is it strategic to share? Or is it a matter of how you would deflect that question and take it back to your key message.

In this segment, the speaker identifies an astonishing range of skills that activists require in order to carry out work as spokespeople who can talk with reporters about this issue. First, spokespeople require a firm understanding of the criminal law as it pertains to HIV non-disclosure. As Richard indicates, this legal context is complex and continues to shift. One's capacity to speak to the intricacies of HIV criminalization also requires an understanding of medical science terminology, such as "the viral load question." In addition to these challenging characteristics of working as a spokesperson, people with lived experiences of HIV and/or criminalization must also strategically select and share aspects of their deeply personal story in a way that advances efforts to reform HIV criminalization. All the while, the pressure and stakes attached to activists' encounters with the media are high, as spokespersons' work often occurs live, on air, and one's message is recorded and reprinted for the mass public to consume.

To support the presence of new spokespeople who have lived experiences of HIV and/or criminalization, the LN hosts media training workshops that are designed to equip participants with the tools that they require to be spokespeople against unjust HIV criminalization. These workshops are important to acknowledge, because they are another means by which the LN links the relevancies of news production with a type of expert knowledge about HIV criminalization. Reporters continually expressed to the LN that it would be productive to interview spokespeople with lived experience, and the organization responded by working to support people who can speak from that position and to connect them to reporters. As Janet explained, "the next time journalists need a diversity of spokespeople I can be like, 'hey, we just did this training...'"

The central goal of the media training that the LN has developed is to build the practical skills of people living with HIV who are seeking ways to become public advocates against HIV criminalization. Following our interview, Janet shared with me the slide deck that she uses in training sessions. Much of the training focuses on strategies that advocates can use to craft and deliver their message in a news interview. For example, participants are encouraged to build their story in three parts: beginning with a brief summary of their experience, then placing the story in a larger context of concerns about HIV criminalization, and ending with a call to action. People with lived experiences of HIV and/or criminalization have taken up the conversational approach set out in the workshops, such as being brief and concise and staying on message. For instance, one spokesperson, named Steven with lived experience of HIV and/or criminalization explained to me that during interviews he is always sure to:

> Not talk too long. Simple sentences with subject, predicate and object. Don't try and be very nuanced, keep it really simple. Because as soon as you start to get into compound sentences and paragraphs and nuance, it's really easy for part of it to be lifted out, because that's the way they operate. Quotes can't be too long, and if the meaning of sentence three is dependent on sentence two and sentence two is dependent on sentence one, and you only get sentence three [included in the news article], game over. So, it has to be very simple, very short, and grammatically very straightforward.

The speaker's remarks are interesting for two reasons. First, because they provide valuable insight into the specific speech mechanics that advocates learn to adopt in an effort to have their message quoted coherently in news texts. In this example, the speaker describes that as he speaks to reporters, he anticipates how segments of his message will be isolated as quotations to be placed in a broader news text. His comments illustrate that one's work as a spokesperson not only necessitates knowledge of the context of HIV criminalization, it also requires a specialized way of structuring and delivering one's message in a way that aligns with reporters' news writing practices.

Other activists that I interviewed who had experiences as spokespeople described similar tactics for ensuring their message lands in news articles. Tony for example, explained, "I feel broad strokes don't paint as pretty a picture…I tend to be a flowery talker, so one of the things that I know to do is to reel this in when I do media stuff." Likewise, Anne recounted,

> the whole process of editing and how they take the parts that they can use, not the parts that you actually wanted to get across…you have to wonder if it's almost better to craft one or two statements and just leave it…it is a challenge [to communicate] in a very small space [that news articles provide].

For these advocates, speaking as a spokesperson is largely an exercise in restricting and truncating their speech so that their intended message will flow into the final version of a news story.

A second significant feature of Steven's comments are that they show the organizing links that shape how one comes to be a spokesperson in the first place. The work that the LN does to mobilize its media expertise and train spokespeople is an important indicator that one's work as a spokesperson takes place within a broad network of coordinated activity that includes HIV advocacy organizations, lawyers, communications specialists, activists and people with lived experiences of HIV who possess particular forms of specialized knowledge and expertise.

Calling attention to specific tactics that activist spokespeople employ in news interviews helps to fill important gaps in the social science research on the political communication of social movements. Most studies of how social movements use media do not devote close attention to particular strategies that activists employ in their interaction with the mainstream press. Instead, most studies focus on how activists produce radical, alternative media (Atton

2002b; Carroll and Hackett 2006; J. Downing 2001). Social movement studies have also been criticized for providing “only fragmented insights about interactions between social movement actors and the media” (Downing 2008; Mattoni 2012:13). When it comes to the topic of social movements and the media, writes Alice Mattoni, “a ‘divorce’ still exists between media studies scholars and those belonging to the field of sociology…with social movement scholars still paying only ‘tangential attention to media dynamics’” (Downing 2008: 41 in Mattoni 2012: 13). By homing in on particular ways that activists strategically structure their speech in order to align with reporters’ news writing process (specifically reporters’ work of selecting short segment of speech as quotations) this chapter offers a more thorough understanding of activists’ actual media practices(Couldry 2004; Hobart 2009).

It is important to acknowledge interactions between social movement actors and mainstream media professionals because these types of activist media practices are one way that social movements “create their own spaces of communication and mediation in the media environment” (Mattoni 2012: 20). Because media constitute an important aspect of the public sphere, these media practices can be understood as a significant way for movements to shape public perspectives and broaden the reach of their messages. Scholars studying the functioning of public space[14] suggest that media play a crucial role in shaping dialogue in society and constitute an important aspect of public sphere (Habermas 1989; Mattoni 2012:14). Communications researchers agree that throughout history, control of public space by ideological and political authorities has been a key source of social power (Castells 2009a:301–2; Curran 2002). By inserting their messages into the mainstream press via the news interview advocates work to disrupt the control that authorities, such as police, have over communication about HIV criminalization in the media.

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[14] For Habermas, the public sphere refers to “a network for communicating information and points of view” (Habermas 1996).

Manuel Castells (2009) argues that by using mainstream media to convey their messages, social movements increase their chances of enacting social change (302). However, Castells also warns that social movement actors' position as "alternative messengers come with servitude: they must adapt to the language of the media and to the forms of interaction in the communication networks" (2009:302). While activists' accounts of their work in news interviews exemplify how they truncate their language to fit the forms and conventions of the news interview, the next sections of this chapter offer insight into how activists also expand the scope of their messages by producing news texts themselves.

Before moving on to discuss other types of media work that activists do in addition to work as spokespeople, it is worth emphasizing the tremendous emotional labour that spokesperson work entails – especially for spokespeople with lived experiences of HIV and/or criminalization. Some advocates with lived experiences related to the opportunity to do spokesperson work as an enriching experience. For example, in the years since Kyle spent time in prison on criminal charges related to HIV non-disclosure he has shared his story in the press in an effort to raise public awareness about the harsh penalties people living with HIV can face. He explained:

> As an activist, a lot of people will come to me as, you know, word of mouth. If you want to talk to someone who has lived experience and is willing to share his story…you should find me. I'll talk to anyone, I don't have a problem sharing my story with anybody. The more I get to share my story, the more I get to heal.

As reporters' accounts illustrate, longer-form, more nuanced news stories about HIV criminalization are unlikely to be published without the work of spokespeople with lived experience, like Kyle. At the same time, it is also important to recognize that being a spokesperson on this issue can be a weighty experience. For example, Tanya is a person living with HIV who works with an AIDS service organization. She recounted that after an interview she did ran in the *Daily Report* she removed all of them from a newspaper box near her home:

> We have a store right by my house, the corner store, and they have the *Daily Report*, I actually took all the papers from the box and took them home with me. Because it's my neighbourhood, who knows what people see in it and they could start talking, so I just took all the *Daily Reports.*

This story iterates that HIV organizations' media work should extend beyond media training workshops that help advocates insert their voices into the press to also include support in the days and weeks following the publication of their experiences.

4.4.2. Text Production Work

As I argued in the previous section, advocates' work as spokespeople intervenes in the mainstream press by coordinating forms of professional knowledge and expertise with the relevancies of news production. An important feature of advocates' work as spokespeople, is that it often occurs in response to reporters' requests for comments or interviews. However, understanding advocates' efforts to intervene in the mainstream press primarily as responding to reporters' requests overlooks the proactive character of media interventions. As I stress in this section, advocates do not simply wait passively for reporters to contact them, they also proactively produce texts that are intended to enter into and reorient mainstream news discourse. In this part of the chapter, I distinguish between texts that advocates produce to circulate as news texts in and of themselves (such as opinion-editorial articles and letters to the editor) and texts that advocates produce as resources for journalists in an effort to shape their reporting on HIV criminalization (such as factsheets).

4.4.3. Advocates' Production of News Texts

Readers will recognize by now that there are tremendous challenges associated with advocates' efforts to shift the content of news reports about HIV criminalization. The work practices and routines of reporters who produce typical crime stories about HIV criminalization are deeply entrenched. Furthermore, the accounts of HIV advocates in the previous section show that challenging mainstream news texts as a spokesperson is a highly complex exercise that requires one to simplify and condense critiques of HIV criminalization. With this in mind, it is not surprising that advocates sometimes elect to bypass reporters altogether, and produce their own news texts instead. One of the most visible ways that advocates produce news texts is by writing opinion editorial articles. As Janet from the Legal Network explains:

> An op-ed is a good venue for criminalization because criminalization in media relations terms is not a sound bite issue…it's an issue that's a human rights issue, it's super important, but when you're getting edited down to like a two-sentence bite, it can easily be taken out of context, and that's happened to us…So an op-ed allows us to fully develop the case so it makes a really good product for this issue in particular.

Janet's remarks call attention to some of the ways that opinion editorials work as productive vehicles for communicating activists' concerns about HIV criminalization. For one, whereas activists who respond to reporters' questions as spokespeople must learn to speak in a highly-structured way and anticipate how reporters will select short segments of their message as quotations in a news article, opinion editorials provide space for activists to more fully convey the scope and tone of their messages. Activists can speak to the complexity and nuance of their perspectives on criminalization much more fully in the 900 to 1200 words that opinion editorials make available than they can when one or two sentences from their interviews with reporters are inserted into news articles. Perhaps even more importantly, opinion editorials provide a way for HIV advocates to be the sole speaker in a news text. This allows them to exercise much greater control over their message than occasions when they are interviewed as spokespeople, only to have reporters position their voices alongside authorities such as police, public health officers, and Crown attorneys.

I came to better appreciate the way that opinion-editorial articles can meaningfully re-shape news discourse about HIV criminalization during my interview with Diane. Diane is the Executive Director of a small ASO in a town I'll call Greenville. In the summer of 2017, a young man in Greenville was arrested and charged with multiple counts of aggregated sexual assault. Greenville Police alleged that he had unprotected sex without disclosing his HIV-positive status. Diane learned of the criminal charge when local media agencies circulated a police news release that included the young man's photo, age, details about when the incidents occurred, reference to the online dating sites he used, and encouraged anyone who believed they may have "been exposed" to seek medical attention. Almost right away, Diane began to see the stigmatizing effects of crime genre reporting play out on social media. As she described,

> posting the picture…in all these places is inflammatory and likely not helpful in this situation and it's sparking a lot of debate on social media…there's this stuff happening in media, social media, where all those early, awful, awful things that came up, and someone had posted, they posted things like people living with HIV should have it branded on their forehead so we all know.

The media coverage of this case, and the ensuing vitriol that spread on social media, call to mind the most sensational and stigmatizing types of representations of HIV. What is striking about the case in Greenville, however, is the way that Diane produced opinion-editorial texts that interrupted the crime genre narrative, and even reformed how knowledge about HIV non-disclosure is produced and disseminated in Greenville.

In an effort to learn more about how Diane responded to the infamous news coverage of the Greenville case, I arranged to drive to the town and meet with her at the ASO. I made the day trip on a sunny afternoon in early September. Admittedly, my knowledge of Greenville was limited, I had only been there before as a kid to play in baseball tournaments. I have little or no sense of direction, and so I always allow myself more travel time than google maps predicts I will require in order to accommodate the time I will inevitably waste driving around lost. On this particular occasion however, I reached my destination on more or less my first attempt and had time to stop for a coffee and a muffin at a local coffee shop. As I strolled the streets and looked into shop windows, it was difficult to imagine that the quaint town had been the site of such a sensational and stigmatizing news story just months before.

I made my way to ASO. The agency reminded me of the small ASO that I worked at when I first began working in the field of HIV as an education outreach coordinator in 2010. I was greeted warmly by a volunteer who was working at the front desk, and I sat in the waiting area as people passed by to see support workers, to take part in volunteer-run programs, and to collect harm reduction supplies. Diane began our conversation by explaining some of the particular challenges that ASO currently faces:

> Our work has focused on people living with HIV, people affected by HIV, people at risk of HIV, and in particular using injection drugs…We're a small organization, we've never been more than ten staff with a huge area [to serve]…The work now, the number of people who are living with HIV who come to our ASO for service is small compared to the number of people who use injection drugs because we run the needle exchange harm reduction program. Now naloxone and over-dose prevention training, and that's eating us alive and turning us into a crisis-based organization, so we actually don't have the infrastructure to do the work that we want to be able to do. We want to be able to respond more effectively to the queer community. We do a tremendous amount of training, anti-homophobia, positive space training, in the four counties, and then we lost federal funding so we lost capacity to do some of that.

The Executive Director's comments show that the ASO is literally and figuratively located a great distance from the urban, downtown offices of the LN. The LN has a relatively secure funding base and is staffed by legal experts who conduct highly analytical work. Their presence in news media is largely made possible by public relations experts on staff who have time and resources to coordinate media strategies that draw upon and mobilize the research activities of the NGO. Meanwhile, Diane describes that the work of the small staff and volunteers at the ASO is mostly about responding to crisis. The challenging work that they do is exacerbated by a lack of infrastructure and cuts to their funding. In such a context, they do not have the capacity to carry out all of the initiatives that they recognize are necessary to meet the needs of the community that they serve, and of course, do not have ample resources or specialized media expertise to devote to public relations activities.

Although the ASO was already over-extended in many ways when the news story started to circulate in 2017, Diane initiated a response almost right away. Her first step was to contact local media agencies and request that they pull the police news release from their news websites. Most news agencies declined because the news story was considered a matter of public safety. As Diane explains, "we were told by radio and TV that they couldn't pull the news release down because it was a public safety message from the Chief of Police and so they're bound at a policy level to [publish them]." This response from media organizations is interesting because it helps to show the extent to which news content is coordinated by texts and information that police publish. In an effort to decouple police messages about public safety from popular understandings of HIV non-disclosure, Diane and the ASO produced news texts that were intended to amplify advocates' critiques and concerns about HIV criminalization.

The purpose of the news texts that Diane and staff at the ASO produced was to represent HIV as a public health concern, as opposed to a criminal justice issue. She explained "where we saw our particular role was, it wasn't to talk about that particular case, it was to broaden the conversation, bring it back to [the problems with] criminalization." After media organizations refused to remove the police press release from their sites, the ASO "asked Greenville police if they would, we let them know we were working on a statement, and they agreed to post it on their site, directly below the Chief's public safety warning."

In addition to the addendum to the news articles, the ASO also published a lengthier opinion-editorial article. Much like the addendum, the editorial also brought forward concerns about how the criminal law responds to non-disclosure and called for all legal and policy responses to HIV to be based on the best available evidence and in line with the objectives of HIV prevention, care, treatment, and respect for human rights.

The articles that Diane's organization crafted help to show how a stable and consistent response to stigmatizing news coverage is put together. Although Diane is not a researcher or legal expert at a legal advocacy organization, the work of community-based HIV legal advocacy organizations makes it possible for Diane to write in the way that she did. Community-based legal advocacy organizations, such as the LN, publish documents that synthesize key critiques of HIV criminalization, such as calls for legal responses to be brought in-line with scientific evidence about HIV transmission; and reminders that most people living with HIV disclose their status, and that safer sex is a shared responsibility (Canadian HIV/AIDS Legal Network 2014, 2017). In addition to publishing documents, legal experts also regularly deliver workshops at ASOs across the province. For example, during our interview, Diane described that one of her sources for learning about how to engage with media on the issue of HIV criminalization was a presentation that Ryan Peck, the director of the the HIV/AIDS Legal Clinic of Ontario, had delivered in Greenville. When I spoke to Ryan, he explained, "we end up speaking all around the province about this…we do lots of workshops, like hundreds and hundreds. So, over the last ten or eleven years…I've probably ran 350, 400 speaking engagements, a lot of them on this issue [of HIV criminalization]." This type of training is an important part of the broad organized response to stigmatizing news stories and help to make interventions such as Diane's possible.

The news texts that the ASO produced are discursively significant, in that they countered the crime genre reports that spurred stigma and hostility toward people living with HIV. Perhaps even more significantly, the news texts that the ASO authored were also the basis for dialogue with police that brought about material changes to how knowledge about HIV is produced in Greenville. As Diane described, following the publication of their messages the ASO asked Greenville Police:

> if you're going to lay more charges, or if you ever charge someone with aggravated sexual assault for not disclosing their HIV status, can you give us a couple of hours before you go ahead with your public warning?" They granted that [request]…so that's fantastic…I think that police here had a significant learning and I think it would be safe for me to say that if another, if a similar situation would arise in Greenville again, the current staff at Greenville Police would handle it differently.

I like to think of this quote as a way to acknowledge how the response to crime genre reports of HIV criminalization is put together. Diane's account of the ASO's media intervention shows that HIV advocates' presence in the news media does not always take the form of reporters from major newspapers with national circulation, calling upon public relations experts who work for widely recognized NGOs in downtown offices. Influential media interventions are also the product of work done by HIV service providers who are highly attentive and responsive to ways that knowledge about HIV criminalization is produced and circulated, and coordinate responses to media off the side of their desk, while also providing front-line responses to HIV.

At the same time, the type of intervention Janet described in the previous section, and the response that Diane illustrates in this section can both be understood as efforts to coordinate the knowledge of HIV advocates with the relevancies of news media production. As Diane described, one of the reasons that the opinion-editorial made sense as a format is because, “we realized that in a small community that the media need to be our partners and that we can feed them information and work with them in a way that gives them what they’re looking for.” In this case, the texts she wrote summarize critiques of HIV criminalization that are well known among HIV advocates and fit them into the format of an opinion-editorial article so that they can circulate as a news text. What her activities accomplish, is the coordination of advocates’ knowledge about HIV criminalization with the routines and structure of news production.

4.4.4. Creating Texts for News Production

Diane’s account of her work shows how advocates vie to interrupt crime genre reports about HIV criminal cases by producing news texts that are inscribed with their concerns and critiques of HIV criminalization. In this section, I want to illustrate another type of text production work that targets the mainstream news. Here, I reflect on my experiences as a researcher who has published documents that are not news texts in and of themselves, but are intended to influence how journalists report on HIV non-disclosure. I came to understand how my research activities on these projects are hooked into a network of professional knowledge and the expertise of those who work to reform HIV criminalization during my interview with a reporter named James.

James works as the law and justice reporter for a large newspaper called *The Daily Post*. I met with James in an effort to learn more about how he had constructed a recent news article about HIV non-disclosure in Canada. The article was not a standard crime story about HIV criminalization. Instead, it placed advocates’ concerns at the forefront, included quotations from someone with lived experience of HIV criminalization, and provided readers with important context about how the criminal law is used to respond to HIV non-disclosure in Canada. His article exemplifies the sort of contextualized, thoughtful, nuanced reporting that HIV advocates have been calling for. As we sat across from each other on well-worn, but comfortable couches near his desk in a corner of the newsroom, James described that a particular factsheet published by the Canadian HIV/AIDS Legal Network had been helpful for his news writing. As a co-author of that report, it was exciting for me to hear that James had taken it up in his news work:

> I just find it really helpful, certainly a lot of information…I put into my own story, obviously sourcing where it came from…So, it's really easy to look at that and it gives you a great idea of what the issues are right now and who's being affected in terms of ethnicity, sexual orientation, because some of it's broken down like that which is really helpful…it's based on actual, hard data, hard numbers.

As James recounted the data in the report and the structure of the document to me, I did not get the sense that he knew that I had co-authored it (along with an academic researcher and a lawyer who works at the Canadian HIV/AIDS Legal Network). It was a somewhat strange experience to have him explain to me that "at least 184 people in 200 cases have been charged in relation to HIV non-disclosure since 1989" as a straightforward statement of fact. As the reporter recounted the statistic, it was as if our work as researchers, and the research process that we carried out to produce that statement had been forgotten. Reflecting on the interview now, I understand that this sort of "forgetting" of the originating researchers and research activities is significant because it signals that research findings have attained factual status (Latour and Woolgar 1986; D. E. Smith 1990).

When one reads a factual statement in James' news article (such as "at least 184 people in 200 cases have been charged in relation to HIV non-disclosure since 1989"), the reader of the news text is not prompted to consider our lengthy meetings at legal offices surrounded by stacks of folders brimming with legal documents, or the hours we spent constructing databases to record and sort information about cases, or the time I spent entering data into Excel files on the computer in my home office, or how my patient partner spent weekend afternoons at our dining room table teaching me how to construct tables to display our data, or of the multiple drafts, edits, and versions that the authors produced prior to publishing – for the news reader "what remains is only the text, which aims at being read as "what actually happened/what is" (Smith 1990:79). I reflect on how co-authors and I produced a "factual account" of HIV criminalization, because the story of how data moved from digital and hardcopy folders held by a number of professional HIV advocates, to my home office, to a report we published, to the desk of James and other reporters, to news texts that we read, and then back to me during my interview with James, illustrate how HIV advocates' intervention in the mainstream press is put together.

At the time I started to work on the factsheet with the Canadian HIV/AIDS Legal Network, I had recently co-authored and published an analysis of the unequal way that HIV criminal non-disclosure cases have been covered in mainstream newspapers, *"Callous, Cold and Deliberately Duplicitous": Racialization, Immigration and the Representation of HIV Criminalization in Canadian Mainstream Newspapers.* The media study was funded by a grant from the Canadian Institutes of Health Research (CIHR) Centre for Social Research in HIV Prevention. This funding initiative encourages a particular type of research partnership between community leaders and academic researchers, and supports "research that will lead to practical and useful outcomes that will directly benefit the community" (Canadian Institutes of Health Research 2018). In this instance, our project was an attempt to produce a type of scholarship that would contribute to an evidentiary response to the concerns expressed by African, Caribbean, and Black (ACB) activists, people living with HIV, and ASOs, that ACB people living with HIV are negatively portrayed and overrepresented in Canadian newspaper stories about HIV non-disclosure (Mykhalovskiy et al 2016: 5).

One of the important outcomes of the media analysis, was that it publicized the skewed pattern of news stories, and the stigmatizing tone of crime story reporting about HIV criminal non-disclosure cases. In some instances, our analysis of the news discourse of HIV criminalization became the focus of news stories themselves with headlines such as: "Media Accused of Racism in Reporting HIV-related Crime" (Keung 2016); "Canadian News Coverage of HIV Assaults Proven to be Racist" (Easton 2016); and "New Report Suggests Racism in Canadian Newspaper Articles About HIV" (Goh 2017). Having helped to establish a stable empirical foundation to bolster activists' claims that Canadian newspapers are a source of profoundly stigmatizing representations of people living with HIV, I was starting to think about how to move from producing analyses of news content to producing research that could help to re-shape news content.

Around that time, I was approached by a policy analyst from the Canadian HIV/AIDS Legal Network, who asked if I would be interested in co-authoring a factsheet that would update information on the outcomes of HIV non-disclosure cases, and test advocates inclination that the Supreme Court of Canada's *Mabior* decision in 2012 had harshened the legal obligation to disclose one's HIV-positive status. I was keen to contribute to the production of a report that could add to an informed public dialogue on HIV criminalization, but I mostly related to this research project as a way to intervene in reporter's news work processes. As the analyst from the Legal Network explained, the document was to be structued upon the data that reporters requested from the organization most often:

> I mean journalists, they want numbers, they want, every time you do an interview, they ask how many people have been charged? How many cases involve transmission? How many cases resulted in conviction? They want those numbers.

Our sense was that if statistical data that illustrated the concerning patterns and trends of HIV criminalization were made visible and easily accessible to reporters, it could provide the basis upon which they could produce news stories that diverged from typical crime stories. Scholars of governmentality might explain our efforts to represent the social phenomenon of HIV criminalization in statistical terms as an exercise in "describing a world such that it is amenable to having certain things done to it" (Miller and Rose 1990:7). Typically studies of governmentality call attention to ways that quantitative methods and statistical representation make the governance of social life possible (Latour 1987; Miller and Rose 1990; Porter 1995). As Miller and Rose write,

> Describing a world such that it is amenable to having certain things done to it involves inscribing reality into the calculations through a range of material and rather mundane techniques (Rose 1988; Latour 1987A)…This form enables the pertinent features of the domain – types of goods, investments, ages of person, health, criminality, etc. to literally be re-presented in the place where decisions are to be made about them (the manager's office, the war room, the case conference and so forth). (Miller and Rose 1990: 7).

Analyses of governmentality consider the ways that quantitative methods permit reasoned, highly rule-bound, or officially sanctioned modes of measurement (Porter 1995:5-6). However, our aim in producing the statistical factsheet (comprised of quantification and visual displays of numerical information about HIV criminalization) was to make the issue of HIV criminalization visible to reporters in a way that moved activists' critiques of HIV criminalization into the newsroom, and subsequently into news texts. Ultimately, our goal was to represent HIV criminalization as a problem in need of urgent legal reform and to encourage widespread social and political mobilization.

I understand the research process of producing the numbers that reporters want, as an intricate exercise in coordinating a range of expert knowledge about HIV criminalization. This process started with the Legal Network reaching out and partnering with myself and another academic – and then our research work activities were about accessing and gathering various types of knowledge that professionals working in the field of HIV advocacy had produced or had access to. This included adding information to a database of criminal trials related to HIV non-disclosure cases that an academic researcher and a lawyer had last updated in 2012. We also met with lawyers (who referenced their legal files and documents, and sometimes consulted with other lawyers and HIV service providers), and reviewed news articles. Once the data was collected, we collaborated on activities to produce texts and publish our findings. We constructed tables that illustrated our key findings, wrote analytic descriptions of the patterns we observed in our data, and (following numerous drafts, edits, meetings, and emails amongst the authors) published reports that produced a factual account of the overly broad way that the criminal law is used to respond to HIV non-disclosure in Canada.

This wide range of research and writing activities were coordinated by an effort to produce factual accounts of HIV criminalization and to publish them in an accessible format, "the factsheet", that corresponded to reporters' fast-paced and text-based work routines. As one HIV legal advocate who we consulted on the project described:

> We know they're [reporters are] totally time stretched and so it's hard for them to devote the time to do the really careful thinking and diving in depth into the issue, because they just don't have the time, which is a terrible situation to be in but, if we can give them like, "here's a factsheet that in two pages gives you, the number of prosecutions, some commentary about the problems with what leads to the prosecutions, and some specific things that we say should be done to address that problem, like prosecutorial guidelines for example or a moratorium until guidelines are developed," those are easy pieces for them for, "okay, that's

> what advocates are saying about this, and I know now that there have been 185 cases and half of them have been in Ontario, those are easy facts for me to just copy and paste into an article."

Producing texts that are inscribed with advocates critiques and concerns expressed as what James recognized as "hard data, hard numbers" makes critiques and concerns about HIV criminalization available to reporters in a form that they can efficiently transfer into a news article. Statistical data is known to have purchase in news discourse and operates in news stories as a way to establish truth and facticity. As Teun van Dijk writes:

> …the rhetoric of news discourse forcefully suggests truthfulness by the implied exactness of precise numbers. This is one of the reasons why news discourse abounds with numerical indications of many kinds…Few rhetorical ploys more convincingly suggest truthfulness than these number games…Again, it is not so much the precision of the numbers that is relevant but rather the fact that numbers are given at all…They are predominantly meant as signals of precision and hence truthfulness (Van Dijk 1988:87–88).

In the months following the publication of our report we saw data from the factsheet appear in news texts. In some news articles, data from our report interrupted straightforward crime reporting by providing important context about HIV criminalization, expressed as plainspoken statements of fact.[15] We were especially encouraged by news stories that drew on data from the report as a way to produce HIV criminalization as a pressing social justice concern, and to bring forward particular critiques of how the criminal law is used to respond HIV non-disclosure in Canada. For example, news articles included data from the factsheet in order to highlight that the criminal law is out of step with current science on HIV transmission,[16] and that criminal justice sentences in cases of HIV non-disclosure are exceptionally punitive.[17] These news articles suggest that our efforts to coordinate knowledge and the expertise of HIV advocates that was spread across universities, NGOs, and legal offices into a single factsheet that fit the relevancies of news production processes, has been an effective way to support the publication of news stories that diverge from crime stories and foreground HIV advocates critiques of criminalization.

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[15] For example: "the Canadian HIV/AIDS Legal Network has counted at least 180 people charged for offences related to HIV non-disclosure in Canada since 1989" (Turner 2017); "At least 180 people charged for HIV non-disclosure since 1989, Canadian HIV/AIDS Legal Network says" (Canadian Press 2017); "Ontario leads in the number of people charged with HIV status non-disclosure and 180 people have been charged across the country, Jonathan Valelly of Queers Crash the Beat said at the protest" (Beeston 2017).

[16] "There have been 210 cases since 1989 in Canada in which the HIV status of the person charged was a central issue, according to the Canadian HIV/AIDS Legal Network. In most of

The traction that numerical data from our report gained in news reports exemplifies a particular way that social movements can create a counter discourse. In particular, it illustrates the importance of numbers in grounding a factual discourse that can shape people's understanding of injustices that are linked to HIV criminalization. As Mary Poovey writes, numbers connote "transparency and impartiality that have made them so perfectly suited to the epistemological work performed by the modern fact" (Poovey 1998:5). In this instance, the factual counter discourse that we mobilized was made possible by a particular type of collaborative research that the HIV community has been promoting for decades (Trussler and Marchand 2005). Funding mechanisms encourage and support connections between university-based researchers (such as myself and co-author Eric Mykhalovskiy) and those who work at HIV organizations (such as co-author Cecile Kazatchkine from the Canadian HIV Legal Network) that are designed to inform responses to HIV.

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those cases, there was little or no chance of the virus being transmitted because of condom use, low viral load or low-risk activities such as oral sex. Yet the majority resulted in convictions" (Picard 2018).

[17] "According to the Canadian HIV/AIDS Legal Network, the conviction rate for HIV non-disclosure is higher than the conviction rate for sexual assault in Canada, at 70 per cent and 24 per cent, respectively. This suggests that the courts are interpreting the mere possibility of transmitting HIV as more dangerous than sexual assault — despite the fact HIV is no longer a death sentence and that in most of these cases, HIV wasn't transmitted" (Bogosavljevic and Kilty 2017).

4.4.5. Relational Work

The final type of work activity that advocates regularly described during interviews, had to do with their efforts to build relationships with reporters in order to facilitate their concerns about HIV criminalization making it into news reports. This sort of work often occurred early in the criminal justice processing of a criminal HIV non-disclosure case. As Richard described, one of the LN's first steps is to:

> reach out to some news reporters who will cover the issue, because they might have covered it in the past for their local media, or just because they have covered it in the past for their local media, we think if it's not on their radar, if we put on their radar they might actually write something useful.

Richard's comments are interesting because they reinforce the idea that news stories about HIV criminalization that include the concerns of critiques of HIV advocates, such as those who work at the LN, do not "just happen." Instead, they are the product of advocates' efforts to anticipate newsworthy events related to HIV non-disclosure, to have a sense of which reporters are most likely to write favorable reports of the event, and to maintain relationships with those reporters that allow advocates to connect them to these newsworthy items. Janet Butler McPhee, the Communications Director, described her efforts to reach out to reporters and encourage them to write about HIV criminalization as a type of extended media relations work:

> …well people think of media relations as hitting send on a press release, but I think the real importance of media relations is understanding [reporters are] also trying to do a job and they're trying to do it well. And their job isn't' necessarily to advocate for your cause…but they're under time pressures too, they want a great story…So it's not just calling them when you need something from them. I just I met with one of the reporters I know, I was just like, "hey, what's your interest?" and I met with the Daily Gazette at the same time…both basically taking notes on what each other needed, and then the reporter explained, "you know we tend to have a lot of trouble filling the Sunday online spot…getting content is really hard because people want it to appear on Monday morning's paper in print." So, I thought, "oh if I can find some things,

> ideas that could move the story further" … *News Centre* ended up writing a piece that got picked up about criminalization…And that was because we orchestrated that.

In a previous section of this chapter, we learned that Janet conceptualizes news interviews as a style of dance. Here, we can see that the Communications Director's rhythm with reporters also takes the form of "orchestrating" the production of news stories that are structured upon the LN's critiques and concerns about HIV criminalization. Janet accomplishes this by coming to understand the gaps in news organizations' production processes and routines, and identifying ways to fill those openings with content about advocates' efforts to reform HIV criminalization. This style of relational work that Janet describes helps to insert the LN's concerns about HIV and the criminal law into public discourse. At the same time, reporters benefit from gaining access to a newsworthy story, and from the support of advocates (like Janet) who help facilitate quick, efficient and consistent news production. One reporter I interviewed described how Janet supported her reporting on HIV criminalization:

> She asked me out for coffee and we just had a chat about what they do, what I do, how we can sort of help each other out. They had mentioned, and I had actually, it was so below the radar and so lacking in hoopla and bells and whistles that I had missed the statement from the Minister on World AIDS Day mentioning that she'd be working on fixing the problem [of HIV criminalization], I was really intrigued by that. I guess it was either that week or the next week when I had some time that I had said to my editor, "you know this has happened now a couple of weeks ago but no one's really written about it yet, in the mainstream press anyway." I think it's a big deal, I know a lot of people care about it, so she said go for it. That's how I wrote my first story on this issue.

In this instance, Janet called the reporter's attention to an important landmark in activists' efforts to reform HIV criminalization. The statement from former Justice Minister and Attorney General Jody Wilson-Raybould on World AIDS Day, 2017 was widely recognized as a significant breakthrough because the Minister echoed perspectives that advocates had voiced for years, including concerns about ways that over-criminalization discourages people from being tested for HIV. If not for the relationship that Janet formed with the journalist, this important milestone in advocates' efforts might have gone unreported and unnoticed. However, Janet was able to help the reporter recognize that this issue is "…a big deal" and that "a lot of people care about it."

I understand Janet's account of her work to cultivate relationships with reporters as another example of how advocates try to shape news coverage of HIV criminalization by coordinating their knowledge and expertise with news production processes and routines. It would be understandable for one who reads Janet's account of her rapport with the press (or Diane's account of crafting opinion editorial articles, or my reflections on how co-authors and I produced factual accounts for reporters to draw on) to conclude that advocates can efficiently insert their messages into the mainstream news through a variety of straightforward work activities. However, by beginning analysis with the experiences of HIV advocates who are positioned in other types of HIV advocacy organizations, we learn that while the possibility of coordinating advocacy work with the relevancies of journalism exists, it is not equally available to everyone.

In different locations of the everyday world of HIV advocacy, there is a noticeable lack of connection between reporters and HIV advocates. I came to understand this disparity during an interview with Naomi. Naomi is the Executive Director of a community health center, that specializes in providing primary health care for racialized people living with HIV. Other HIV advocates who I interviewed work with organizations that are racialized as mainly (though not entirely) white and are involved in issues around racialization and anti-racism by supporting refugees and people who have migrated living with HIV; supporting legal reforms to protect the health and safety of LGBTQ people in Caribbean countries; and collaborating with Indigenous communities to respond to HIV. Naomi is the only interviewee who works for an organization that represents racialized people exclusively.

As the director of organization, she is responsible for managing the staff, securing funding, overseeing the organization's finances, as well as, being "the front-face of the organization, I'm the person out in public or in the media speaking on behalf of the organization and promoting our agenda." In some ways, Naomi faces challenges that are similar to those that Diane confronts at the ASO. Both of their organizations provide front-line HIV services with limited resources, and both Executive Directors work to engage with the media without the resources or media expertise that are available to larger NGOs.

Naomi explained that her approach to engaging with media is informed by the deeply troubling way that the press has covered HIV criminalization, and in particular, HIV criminal cases that involve African, Caribbean, and Black defendants throughout her 25 years working in this field of HIV. She described:

> I started in this work, 25 years ago so I kind of caught the beginning of that media coverage for African populations in particular. So, the C.S case for me is where it starts. It's just how that got sensationalized and there hasn't been a disruption to that narrative. It just feeds into anti-Black racism, anti-immigrant sentiments, all of that. So, all I've seen is how racialized women, Indigenous women get caught up in that narrative. Right? So, they just get the female version of that narrative. How racialized women often get sexualized, over-sexualized, and described as going to put the Canadian public in danger.

Naomi's remarks articulate the types of concerns that HIV advocates, particularly African, Caribbean and Black advocates, have long been expressing about news coverage of HIV criminalization. The Executive Director's comments trace a lineage of deeply troubling news coverage that spans her entire career. The case of C.S that she mentions, began in 1991 and was the first HIV non-disclosure case to receive widespread press coverage. A defining characteristic of news reports about C.S was how they relied on age old tropes of dangerous Black masculinity and emphasized his immigration to Canada from Uganda in order to represent him as a dangerous, racialized other (Mykhalovskiy et al. Forthcoming). As Naomi identifies, this type of sensational, racializing narrative of HIV criminalization started with coverage of the C.S case in 1991, and has largely remained stable in the decades since.

The Executive Director explained that the deeply entrenched crime genre narrative about HIV criminalization informs the way that she engages (or does not engage) with the mainstream press. She described her interaction with reporters as "very, very controlled." For Naomi, this means:

> …not doing print [interviews] unless we're going to get the transcript back so that we can, you know, all those kinds of things that maybe other people don't, they have a different experience with the media and they trust it and they see it as way to promote their organization. And for us, we don't use the media to promote our organization…We don't give commentary on live issues. So, you won't see like, something happens and, then you know how they, "can you comment on this thing," right? We don't do that. There's a lot of fear because the thing is our reputation with our communities that we serve is crucial, and we're talking about criminalization and the media has probably added the most to the stigma that the black community has experienced. So, you don't also want to be seen as siding with a medium that has not been good to this particular community.

In this quotation, the speaker starts to bring into view how race organizes the social relations of mainstream media. Naomi's remarks show that the long lineage of racist and stigmatizing news coverage mean that community-based organizations are highly reluctant to connect with the press, seek out media attention, or respond to requests for interviews. Because these social relations position the her organization in relation to media in this way, Naomi does particular types of media work. Along with the typical challenges that come with attempting to disrupt the stable and consistent crime genre narrative (that have been displayed in this chapter) Naomi also describes that she has to work to establish trust, and in some cases, disconnect from mainstream media in order to protect and maintain the reputation that her organization has with racialized women living with HIV. While other advocates I spoke with in this chapter described their efforts to align their organization's work with the press, Naomi explained that her organization has largely abandoned the standard repertoire of media relations activities:

> I think we gave up a long time ago trying to do press releases, I remember spending a lot of time sending out press releases on you know, these great stories, or things you're working on, or programs you're developing, there's no bite. But when there's something controversial where we need to alert the rest of Canada of this bizarre practice or this barbaric practice or this threat to our Canadianess, then the phone is ringing off the hook… I mean it's just a lot of frustration of trying to get messages out. I remember one major outlet saying to us, it was our anniversary so we're like oh this is fantastic, this organization has been around twenty years, people are going to come cover this event. And the newscaster saying, "unless someone gets killed or is dead at that event, we're not coming." And I'm like really? And she's like, "no, that's what we want to know from your community. That's what will get you on the news." She was being very honest, it was somebody that I know, she's a major broadcaster and she was just being very honest, that's the reality of the situation.

This disquieting account from Naomi illustrates how race operates institutionally in ways that create tensions between an ASO that represents African, Caribbean, and Black people and the mainstream media. Because the press continues to be an exceedingly marginalizing space for Naomi as she tries to publicize her organization's activities, the organization has largely jettisoned the mainstream news altogether:

> But yeah, I think that's when we realized, wait a minute, we can disrupt this story ourselves. We can produce our own messaging and our own material, we didn't have social media back then, but now that we do, not relying on mainstream media to get positive, what you can do now is disrupt their messages with your alternative messages.

The speaker’s comments are interesting because they show that interventions in standard crime genre stories about HIV criminalization are not always about connecting the work of advocates with the work of journalists. In some situations, such as the one that Naomi describes, advocates purposefully disconnect from the mainstream press. In this case, the community organization rarely seeks the attention of news outlets and prefers to utilize social media and other digital spaces in order to produce a counter discourse (Feltwell et al. 2017:350). For example, the Executive Director explained that a documentary that the organization produced rejects common racializing tropes and stereotypes that circulate in standard, sensational crime stories of HIV criminalization. In place of the short crime reports that objectify people living with HIV, the documentary offers a long form look at “women for a year of their lives, like sharing their lives for a year, what it really feels like to live with HIV, no one had seen that before.” The documentary offers a perspective of the lives of racialized women who live with HIV that is not typically available to readers of mainstream news, and it has been a tremendously successful endeavor. Naomi explained that more than 15 000 copies have been distributed worldwide, and it continues to be an important online resource for the organization.

Media texts, such as the documentary and social media activity can be understood as a powerful form of opposition to a mainstream press that has consistently disparaged, marginalized, and ignored, the experiences of racialized women living with HIV. By producing their own media messages online, via social media, and through documentary films, the organization joins a long lineage of HIV activists who have produced their own media content in order to speak for themselves, and combat the messages of those who speak for and about them. When communities who are normally spoken for, and spoken about, speak for themselves, they create a counter discourse, which is an act of resistance to power oppressing them (Feltwell et al. 2017:350; Foucault 1970; Moussa and Scapp 1996).

More specifically, the organization's media work might be understood as an important example of "Black counter discourse" that activists produce to assert an alternative perspective that challenges dominant discourse, center Black experiences, focus on issues most salient to black audiences, and critique white-dominated institutions (Browne, Deckard, and Rodriguez 2016:521; Fraser 1990; Pough 2004). While studies of social movement interactions with mainstream media referenced in this chapter (on page 151-153) recognize how activists strategically insert their messages into public space via the mainstream press, critical race scholars remind us that access to such a public space is not equal and is shaped by intersections of race, class, gender, and sexuality (Pough 2004: 16). Although social media far from remedies this issue of universal accessibility to the public sphere, there is an emerging field of research that understands social media as a public sphere where Black activists effectively intervene in public discourse (Carney 2016; Gallagher et al. 2018). The counter discourse that Naomi's organization produces offers another important example of how Black activists skillfully assert power over public discourse by creating a public space to express their experiences and viewpoints (Carney 2016:198).

It is important to recognize the ways that the Naomi's organization skillfully mobilizes the organization's expert knowledge in order to engage with media in a way that fits the needs of the communities that they serve. It is, of course, a tremendous triumph to oppose the long lineage of deeply troubling representations of HIV criminal non-disclosure cases that include African, Caribbean, and Black people, and people who are newcomers to Canada. And the organization's ability to produce its own media initiatives, such as the documentary, is certainly worthy of celebration, especially considering that they do this media work not as a public relations firm or a research based non-governmental organization, but as a frontline HIV service agency, navigating the day-to-day challenges that work entails.

While acknowledging and applauding the counter narrative that Naomi's organization produces, it is important not to view their struggle with media as a sentimental triumph. Given the ongoing overrepresentation of African, Caribbean and Black defendants in newspaper coverage of HIV non-disclosure criminal cases, organizations that represent these communities have an important and unique role to play in developing and mobilizing forms of counter-discourse. However, as the experiences of advocates in this chapter bring into view, producing a consistent and coherent discourse to oppose HIV criminalization is complex, resource-intensive work. And so, the efforts of ASOs and other organizations that are part of ACB communities and work with ACB people, deserve and require collective, widespread support from across organizations that oppose HIV criminalization.

4.5. Conclusion

The experiences of variously situated HIV advocates in this chapter show that sustained responses to the forces that have fueled the HIV epidemic (such as stigmatizing news media messages) require diverse types of knowledge and expertise. In the context of responses to news media, this includes large professional NGOs, people with lived experiences of HIV, small community AIDS service organizations that are highly attentive and responsive to how the criminal law is used and spoken about in their jurisdictions, and academic researchers.

In this chapter, advocates' accounts of their work as spokespeople, as authors of news texts, and as coordinators of relationships with journalists, show that they are not only critical audiences, they also shape news content in meaningful ways. I argue that participants' accounts in this chapter show that news stories are coordinated not only by social actors who work in newsrooms, or the authoritative sources that journalists routinely draw upon. News reports are also shaped by the activities of advocates who work “behind the scenes” to try to insert counter discourses into news texts.

CHAPTER FIVE:

5. THINKING RELATIONALLY ABOUT INSTITUTIONAL ETHNOGRAPHY, NEWS MEDIA, AND ACTIVIST RESEARCH

As the previous three chapters demonstrate, the conventions of institutional ethnographic writing emphasize empirically-based analytic descriptions of social organization. Thus far, this dissertation has centered on an effort to extend the analytic work of IE by describing and analyzing how the everyday lives of the people I interviewed are embedded in extended social relations. This type of institutional ethnographic research produces a kind of knowledge that makes visible "just how our everyday worlds are being put together within social relations beyond the scope of our experience" (Smith 2005:32).

In this chapter, I depart from analytic narratives of my fieldwork and reflect on some of the analytic questions that arose in conducting this research. In particular, these questions relate to issues about how to think relationally within IE, issues about the relationship between health and crime news, and matters related to activism and ethnography. Overall, this chapter endeavors to situate this dissertation within the ongoing sociological dialogues that have inspired my work.

5.1. Institutional Ethnography and the Study of Social Relations

One of the main questions that arose in completing this research has to do with how institutional ethnographers conceive of social relations. In this first section of the chapter, I reflect on institutional ethnographers' approach to investigating social relations and consider ways that we might expand the scope of institutional ethnographic research beyond an analysis of ruling relations within individual institutions. My reflection is organized into three parts. I begin by recapping the methodological approaches that institutional ethnographers employ to uncover ruling relations. Next, I present institutional ethnographic studies that typify how IE focuses on investigating what people do within a single institution - within a specific functional complex such as health care. I conclude by encouraging institutional ethnographic studies of ways that different institutions overlap.

5.1.1. Methodological Approaches to Studying Social Relations in IE

One way to explicate how social relations are understood in IE is to look closely at institutional ethnographers' methodological approach. George Smith describes, "a social relation is not a thing to be looked for in carrying out research, rather, it is what is used to do the looking" (Smith 2002:45). Thus, social relations do not refer to particular relationships between parent and child, employer and employee, or instructor and student. Instead, in IE, the concept of social relations "directs attention to and takes up analytically how what people are doing in a particular site is hooked into sequences of action implicating and coordinating multiple local sites where others are active" (Smith 2002: 45).

Institutional ethnographers use observation, interviews, in-situ documents and other sources of data when exploring how people's activities are coordinated across multiple sites. As is common for IE, this dissertation is primarily based on interviews with research participants about their everyday work practices. I analyzed interview transcripts in order to identify how people's everyday activities are hooked into activities that others are doing elsewhere. Another common way that institutional ethnographers explore social relations is by studying texts that enter into people's everyday practices and examining how they coordinate people's activities (Smith 2001:160). Dorothy Smith understands texts as "key devices in hooking people's activities in particular local settings and at particular times into the transcending organization of ruling relations" (Smith 2001:164). Texts and documents are understood as mechanisms that facilitate ruling relations because they make it possible for the same set of words, numbers, or images to appear in multiple local sites (Smith 2001:160).

What is significant about the institutional ethnographic approach to studying interview transcripts, as well as other texts as documents, is that analysis positions the researcher to uncover translocal relations of ruling. The research begins with the routine experiences of the research participant in the bounded space of their everyday activities, and analysis is projected beyond the local site to show how people's everyday activities are embedded in translocally coordinated relations of rule.

Dorothy Smith understands ruling relations to be

> That extraordinary yet ordinary complex of relations that are textually mediated, that connect us across space and time and organize our everyday lives – the corporations, government bureaucracies, academic and professional discourses, mass media, and the complex of relations that connect them (2005: 10).

Elsewhere, Smith adds that ruling relations:

> Coordinate people's activities across and beyond local sites of everyday experience. We know them variously as bureaucracy, discourse (in the Foucauldian sense), management, mass media, institutions, and so on and so on…they are extra- or trans-local and based in texts of various kinds (print, computer, film, television, and so on). Such concepts as information, knowledge, 'culture', science, and the like are rethought as relations among people that rely on materiality of the text and its increasingly complex technologies. Institutions are specific functional foci within the complex of ruling relations (2002: 45).

It is important to notice that Smith's concept of ruling relations relies on the notion of institutions, and that institutions are defined as functional complexes.[18] Institutions, such as education, law, and health care are distinguished from one another on the basis of the function that they perform. Here, we can begin to recognize how the notion of institutions provokes questions about the scope of institutional ethnographic studies of ruling relations. For instance, we might ask: Is institutional ethnographic research limited to investigating ruling relations within a particular institution (such as health care)? Can IE accommodate an analysis across different institutions? I argue that IE can be used to explore the intersection of functional complexes. The spirit of IE analysis positions the researcher to show how different institutions, such as law and health care, overlap and intersect with one another. Smith suggests that "we might imagine institutions as nodes or knots in the [ruling] relations…coordinating multiple strands of action into a functional complex" (Smith 1987: 160). If we extend Smith's metaphor of nodes and knots to consider relations not only within an individual functional complex but across them, we have a route into resolving the tendency for institutional ethnographers to overlook how different institutions are related one with another.

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[18] Smith writes: "By 'functional complexes" is meant nothing more than the observables of complexes of organizations and discourses that are focused on functions such as education, science, law, health care, government, corporate profitability, and so on" (2002: 68).

5.1.2. Institutional Ethnographic Studies of Single Functional Complexes

As a matter of practice, most institutional ethnographic studies focus on investigating the coordination of people's activities within a specific functional complex such as health care. Institutional ethnographers tend to have a fairly restricted sense of the "strands of action" that are coordinated into a functional complex. To demonstrate the relatively narrow scope of the notion of social relations within IE, consider the two following institutional ethnographic studies of health care.

First, in Rankin and Campbell's (2009) study of how professional nursing work is being reshaped by managerial technologies, their analytic focus remains fixed on the functional complex of health care. To carry out their study of nurses' work practices, Rankin and Campbell observed nurses' work, conducted interviews with nurses, and collected texts that nurses used or referred to in their day-to-day work (Rankin and Campbell 2009:4). Their research questioned "how the text was being read within the local context of nurses' work…'how does it work? Where does this text come from and where does it go next? What is this text doing?" (5). Importantly, what the study shows is that managerial technologies subordinate nurses' professional knowledge and enroll nurses in a practice of nursing care that is consistent with discourses of efficiency (14).

Rankin and Campbell acknowledge that the restructuring of nurses' work is coordinated from several different organizational levels, including hospital executives and the Ministry of Health. Ultimately however, their research "is explicitly designed to empirically track what is going into the broad restructuring of hospital care" (14) and is intended to provide nurses with ways to "talk back" to objectified forms of health care knowledge through which hospital efficiency is managed (2). While the study presents valuable insight into hospital organization, one can envision that Rankin and Campbell may have also broadened their study to uncover how nurses' everyday experiences within hospitals are coordinated within ruling relations that extend beyond health care. For example, they might have investigated the work practices of those who work in the sector of private enterprise that manufacture the technologies (such as computer software programs) that hospitals rely on to produce provincial averages. They might have also examined the sources of scientific expertise that produce the forms of statistical reasoning that underly the very operation of benchmarking exercises in which hospitals take part. Ultimately, however, Rankin and Campbell situate their gaze within health care and identify the practical value of their project to lie in offering nurses a way to respond to hospital efficiency measures that coordinate nurses' everyday work.

Other IE studies of healthcare delivery also remain fixed on health care as a functional complex. For example, Rowland et al. describe how they employ IE in two studies of neonatal intensive care units (NICUs) in order to understand and develop recommendations for health system reform (Rowland, Manogaran, and Bourgeault 2019:143). Unlike Smith's description of IE as a study of "extra- or trans-local" ruling relations (Smith 2002: 45), Rowland and colleagues seem to instrumentalize IE as a device for evaluating or re-designing health care systems. As the authors describe, "this particular methodological design [of IE] is a good fit for process improvement initiatives in healthcare, as it identifies specific organizational and institutional practices that can be adapted to improve patient experiences" (Rowland et al. 2019:144). In a similar way to Rankin and Campbell, Rowland and colleagues recognize that "the ruling relations that exist in these NICUs could come from broader departments of neonatology, the overall hospital level, or the provincial health system," but their ethnographic gaze remains exclusively fixed on healthcare as a specific functional complex. Their analysis does not investigate how healthcare connects with other functional complexes in the form of other social services, private enterprise, or science. For Rowland et al. IE seems to be less about the way that peoples' activities are coordinated across space and time and, in particular across institutions, than it is a practical way to help health leaders "understand the social architecture that exists in their unit, department, or system to identify the structures that facilitate or hinder positive patient experiences" (Rowland 2019: 146).

5.1.3. IE and the Study of Overlapping Functional Complexes

While researchers who are informed by Smith's work tend to produce studies that focus on a specific functional complex, institutional ethnographic research can uncover how different institutions are fundamentally tied together. In fact, Viviane Namaste has criticized institutional ethnographers' tendency to remain fixed on individual institutions, and calls for research that shows how different institutional complexes are connected with one another:

> analysis that restricts itself to one institution can be limited to the extent that it does not understand the links or the lack of connection among different institutions, as well as the attending consequences for the institutional ordering of experience (167).

In focusing on connections between institutions, Namaste resists a sort of individualizing quality of the standard conception of social relations in IE. Namaste's study of how transgender people navigate the bureaucratic process of changing one's legal identity on government documents moves beyond an analysis of a single institution and shows how the process of attaining government documents is lived through a variety of institutions, such as gender identity clinics, health care, and immigration systems. Namaste underlines, "given this…practitioners of institutional ethnography ought to devote some attention to the development of methodologies that allow us to understand the relations between different institutions" (Namaste 2006:170–71).

In this dissertation, instead of producing an account of news discourse that concentrates exclusively on the organizational and institutional practices of news production, I have attempted to formulate a mode of critical inquiry that shows trans-local ruling relations by empirically investigating multiple institutions. As an institutional ethnographer, this meant not only reading interview transcripts to uncover "what people say about the work they do that connects them to the work others are doing elsewhere and elsewhen" (Smith 2002:31) but actually going to and investigating the work that other people do elsewhere within a range of institutional sites. I related to transcripts of interviews with journalists as directions for where to go and who to talk with next. This led me to interview police communications officers to learn about policing, HIV legal experts to learn about the criminal law, and service providers at ASOs to learn about social supports services for people living with HIV. Investigating this range of work activities in this range of institutional settings helps bring into view an entire complex of activities that makes the standard crime genre news story of HIV criminalization possible.

In order to extend the form of relational thinking in IE that Namaste calls for, institutional ethnographers might take direction from studies of the medico-legal borderland, and from broader work in relational sociology. For example, Stefan Timmermans and Jonathan Gabe evoke the metaphor of a borderland to call attention to connections between medicine, health, and law. Borderlands might be understood as a site of struggle between two parties vying for hegemony in an attempt to gain advantage and influence over the other. Instead, Timmermans and Gabe conceptualize the borderland as a space of intersection that requires tolerance for ambiguity and the challenging of established dualisms (Timmermans and Gabe 2002:507). The medico-legal borderland in particular, highlights how contemporary jurisprudence and health care intersect at a densely populated, and often overlook borderland (507). As the authors describe:

> The borderland between crime and health care is populated and guarded by a number of professionals engaging in processes that contain both the criminalisation of contested medical interventions and the medicalisation of criminal danger. The medico-legal borderland has clinics, prisons, medical boards, courts, occupational and public health offices, regulatory government agencies, crisis intervention centres and street policing. The conjunction of legal and medical concerns thus occurs in specialised settings, such as the morgue of the forensic pathologist, where every action is defined in terms of a hybrid of legal and medical principles, or in places typically associated either with medicine or law enforcement such as jails or hospitals. What is typical of all these sites is that alliances are created that link medical knowledge with knowledge about criminal deviance for the purpose of social control (507).

What is interesting about this passage, is the way that it diverges from standard institutional ethnographic understandings of social relations. Timmermans and Gabe's discussion is not restricted to the formal elements of a given functional complex, such as health care. Rather, their perspective extends to multiple institutional sites. This passage describes the medico-legal borderland as a space in which aspects of crime and health intersect but cannot be simply reduced as straightforward binaries (McClelland 2013). Here, we can start to see how conceptualizing social relations as a process in which features of disparate institutions intersect and adjoin as hybrids can support institutional ethnographers' thinking about how different institutions connect with one another. We know that IE can help enlarge the scope of people's understanding about how their everyday activities hook into the work that others do elsewhere. However, theorizations of the medico-legal borderland push institutional ethnographers to conceptualize social relations not only as a way to look at how an individual's work in one setting is connected to the work of an individual in another setting, but as social relations that cut across institutions and form entirely new hybrid identities, environments, and forms of ruling. For the present study, this means thinking about the relationship between the press and police not only in terms of how the activities of reporters in newsrooms are sequenced with the work of police communication officers in police stations, but to also consider how the institutions of news media and police mutually construct one another.

The work of relational sociologists is helpful for locating language to describe what it means to conceptualize news media and police as knotted together in this way. First, it is important to note that relational sociology is not a unified theory or approach, however, "the main point is that relational sociology reminds us that when we talk about 'societies,' 'social structures,' 'cultures,' or 'social things'…whatever we study and however we do it, the mode of production of social phenomena is based on relations between interactants" (Depelteau 2018:3; Emirbayer 1997:285).

Relational sociologists might refer to the connection between the mainstream press and police communications as an "assemblage" in the Deleuzian sense. French philosopher Gilles Deleuze defines an assemblage as:

> a multiplicity which is made up of many heterogeneous terms and which establishes liaisons, relations between them across ages, sexes and reigns – different natures. Thus, the assemblage's only unity is that of co-functioning: it is a symbiosis, a 'sympathy'. It is never filiations which are important but alliances, alloys; these are not successions, lines of descent, but contagions, epidemics, the wind (Deleuze and Parnet 1977:69).

An assemblage is a useful analytic tool for understanding the blending and intersecting of news media and police practices because "assemblages are relational, they are heterogeneous entities linked together to form a new whole" (Muller 2015:28). The notion of an assemblage calls attention to how the blending of news media and police communications' practices, routines, and technologies form a distinct alloy. Recognizing the fusion of news media and police communications as a type of hybrid entity helps to get at the distinct, systematic means by which public knowledge about HIV criminalization is produced and circulated in the contemporary moment. This level of understanding can be lost when social relations are more narrowly understood as the sequenced work of an individual reporter and an individual police communications officer. In this sense, assemblages are also productive in that "they produce new territorial organizations, new behaviours, new expressions, new actors, and news realities" (Muller 2015:29). Recognizing a news media/police assemblage directs the critical sociologist's vision to a range of new actors, new forms of ruling, and new consequences attached to digital data technologies that shape the contemporary context of HIV criminalization in Canada.

Scholarship on the medico-legal borderland can be useful for directing the attention of institutional ethnographers to ways that different institutions intersect with one another. Placing studies of the medico-legal borderland and broader relational sociology literature into conversation with IE can also be a useful way to reduce the somewhat insular character of institutional ethnographic research. Practitioners of institutional ethnography often define the methodology by distinguishing it from more mainstream or established approaches to sociology. Characterizing IE as an "alternative sociology" can be a productive way to underline the importance of developing inquiry from people's actual, everyday experiences instead of theoretical concepts and categories and advancing a materialist ontology of the social. At the same time, emphasizing the uniqueness and particularities of IE research can produce IE as an inward-looking and self-sufficient sociology that is wary of other approaches to sociological inquiry (Mykhalovskiy et al. forthcoming). My hope is that by placing IE into conversation with other fields of sociology, this chapter demonstrates the analytic potential of flexible and adaptive IE research.

5.2. Studies of Health and Crime in Mainstream News Discourse

Having reflected on how I approach the study of ruling relations in this dissertation, I turn now to situate research findings in sociological studies of health and crime news. My central argument is that sociological studies of health news have too narrowly defined health news as information about diseases, medical treatments, or advancements in medical science. As a consequence, there is a need for sociological inquiry into how the mainstream news covers instances in which health topics intersect with other issues, such as criminalization and forms of coercive public health regulation.

This section is organized into three parts. I begin by locating this dissertation at the nexus of sociological literature on health news and crime news. I then move to examine how sociologists have made sense of the way news media cover topics that span the realms of health and crime. Finally, given the changing landscape of HIV criminalization in Canada, I put forward a provisional research agenda for sociological studies of media coverage of public health regulation.

5.2.1. Sociological Studies of Health News

Throughout this dissertation, I have treated news reports of HIV criminalization as crime stories. There are important reasons to relate to news articles about HIV criminalization as crime stories. As I have illustrated, news stories on this topic are consistently structured on the institutional logic, relevancies, and routine events of the criminal justice system. News discourse on HIV criminalization also regularly objectifies people living with HIV as threatening criminals by describing them only in relation to the crime one is charged with. This is especially true in news coverage of criminal HIV non-disclosure cases that involve defendants who are racialized and came to Canada as migrants or refugees. News reports of these cases often reinforce connections between race and crime by drawing on problematic representations of the "dangerous" and "monstrous masculinity" of ACB men (Persson and Newman 2008a).

Crime stories about HIV criminalization are a particularly interesting type of crime story in which a certain health status – living with HIV – is framed through the activity of non-disclosure as a kind of criminal identity. For the most part, researchers who study health news have not examined how representations of health merge with crime reporting in this way. Most studies of health news seem to remain narrowly focused on health news as: (i) a source of information that constructs and influences people's experiences of illness, (ii) an intermediary that translates complex medical science innovations, (iii), a source of messages that can powerfully shape people's perceptions of risk in contemporary society.

First, research shows that mainstream media play a significant role in constructing and influencing the illness experience and informing people's expectations of health care (Seale 2002). Researchers agree that health news is a significant source of health knowledge that informs lay audiences' understandings of health issues (Arulchelvan 2016:172; Brodie et al. 2003; Geana, Kimminau, and Greiner 2011; Gupta and Sinha 2010; Hesse et al. 2005; Tu 2011; Walsh-Childers 2017:353). Scholars go so far as to suggest that for most people, media messages about health are their *most* important and consistent source of health information (Coleman, Thorson, and Wilkins 2011; Schwitzer et al. 2005). For example, Niederdeppe and colleagues illustrate the effects that news coverage can have on health behaviours by showing a significant positive correlation between the volume of cancer news coverage and reported cancer information seeking (Niederdeppe, Frosch, and Hornik 2008; Walsh-Childers 2017:371).

A second trajectory of research on health and news media calls attention to the critical role that the mainstream press plays as an intermediary that translates complex, medical science innovations for news readers. As Kim Walsh-Childers suggests, "most people first hear about new developments in health through a news story" (Walsh-Childers 2017:368). Studies have called attention to the sometimes-fraught relationship between medical science and the press. For example, Clive Seale describes that scientists regularly complain that media reports of scientific discoveries sensationalize their findings, thus introducing inaccuracies (Seale 2003:518). As Seale explains, in the press "there is no room for a drug that is good in some respects but bad in others. This tendency to generate dramatic effect through extrematised oppositions is an aspect of what some have called 'tabloidisation'" (Seale 2003: 520).

Finally, this dissertation most directly contributes to a trajectory of sociological research that emphasizes that health news messages can shape public perceptions of risk in contemporary society (Kirkman 2001; Rogers, Hassell, and Nicolaas 1999; Williams and Calnan 1996). The sensationalist character of reporting is known to amplify public fear and confusion about medical issues and to enhance the stigmatization of social groups associated with health conditions (Lupton 1994; Seale 2003; Stabile 1997; Watney 1997; Weir and Mykhalovskiy 2010; R. Weldon 2001). Of course, as this dissertation has shown, when news media objectify people living with HIV as blameworthy criminals, forms of health stigma are intensified even further.

These trajectories of research on health news are productive because they help to illustrate the tremendous influence of health news discourse. These studies invite critical reflections on the ways that health news instructs news readers to relate to their health and the health of others. However, they do not consider how health discourse often merges with other forms of discourse in the press. Crime stories about HIV criminalization are a particular example of how the crime genre is used in reporting about a health status. It is well established that for decades, mainstream news discourse has reinforced public anxieties about people living with HIV (especially gay men, sex workers, people who use drugs, people who have recently immigrated, and racialized people) and HIV transmission (Lupton 1994, 1999; McKay et al. 2011; Patton 1986; Persson and Newman, 2008; Watney 1987; Miller, 2005; Oppenheimer, 1988;). In the case of news stories about HIV criminalization, these public health anxieties are framed within a criminal justice discourse. In order to make sense of how messages about complex issues such as HIV criminalization circulate in the press, we require an understanding of how issues of health and crime come together in the news.

In an effort to advance understandings of how messages about health and crime merge in the press, I want to look more closely at scholarship that models ways of thinking about the relationship between health news and crime news. One useful site to look to, is research that examines how the press represents drug use as a health issue and as a criminal justice issue.

Like HIV criminalization, the issue of drug use is a site where knowledge, reasoning, expertise, and responses from the realms of health and crime intersect. The press could conceivably portray drug use as a matter of public health and focus on addiction as a health condition, the importance of harm reduction programs, or the social determinants of health. However, perhaps unsurprisingly, studies of news media content about drug use consistently find that this issue is most often portrayed as a criminal justice issue (McGinty et al. 2016). For example, a recent study of press coverage of Canada's opioid crisis between 2000 and 2017 found that there has been a slow transition in the press from discussing opioid use as an issue that has to do with clinical pain, toward a discussion of criminality (Webster, Rice, and Sud 2020). Studies show that news discourse that portrays drug use as a criminal activity emphasizes that people who use drugs deserve punishment, rather than support or care, and reinforce prohibitionist responses (Bell 1985; Blood and McCallum 2005; Hughes, C, Lancaster, and Spicer 2011; Teece and Makkai 2000; Watts 2003).

Studies of media coverage of drug use also confirm that news discourse regularly represents people who use drugs in negative and stereotypical ways, particularly as "criminal outsiders" who pose a threat to mainstream society (Elliot and Chapman 2000; Taylor 2008). Researchers show that the press relies on alarmist imagery that emphasizes risk, fear, and "crisis" (Blood, Williams, and MacCallum 2003; Hughes, C et al. 2011:286). Stuart Taylor argues that this type of representation of "drug scares" and "moral panics" reinforces and legitimizes the use of coercive measures of control (Fan 1996; Hughes, C et al. 2011:286; Taylor 2008:371).

Scholars express concern that media discourse that frames drug use as a criminal justice issue individualizes the problem and overwrites more systemic, public health responses (McGinty, 2016). Taylor, for example, suggests that framing drugs as a criminal issue instead of a public health matter over-simplifies the situation. He problematizes the way that news coverage reinforces the idea that the solution to problems associated with drug use lie in actions such as "drug testing on arrest and [introducing] specific sentences for heroin and crack cocaine using 'offenders'" rather than more systemic responses (Taylor 2008:374). Similarly, Webster and colleagues lament that in the press "very little if any discursive light is shone on the associations between opioid use, mental illness, alcohol use, and poverty" (2020:6). Instead, their study shows that news coverage of the opioid crisis emphasizes the activities of individual physicians or individual patients, "and leave us only with individual-level solutions" rather than broader public health responses (7).

In light of these trends in news coverage, some scholars have called on the mainstream press to re-frame crime stories about drug use as public health stories. As Emma McGinty and colleagues write: "Findings underscore the need for concerted effort to reframe opioid [use] as a treatable condition addressable via well-established public and behavioral health approaches" (2016: 405).

I include this overview of research on media coverage of drug use because these findings echo many of the common trends in studies of news coverage of HIV criminalization and start to suggest patterns in the way that hybrid health/crime issues are covered in the mainstream press. For example, news discourse portrays both issues (illicit drug use and HIV criminalization) mostly as sensational crime stories, people living with HIV and people who use drugs are produced as dangerous, threatening, "Others," and alternative non-criminal justice system responses to these issues are obfuscated. In light of these troubling trends in news coverage, researchers and advocates who work on both issues have called on the press to re-frame reporting as public health stories rather than crime stories.

5.2.2. Toward an Agenda of Research on Public Health and the Mainstream Press

Given these calls for crime stories to be re-framed as public health stories, it is worth pausing to consider how sociologists might contribute to understandings of the possible implications of such a discursive shift. Research into what it means for a topic to be written about in the news as a public health story is also timely given the current context of HIV criminalization in Canada. As described in the introductory chapter, recent directives from the Canadian Government mean that criminal prosecutions for HIV criminal non-disclosure will likely continue to decline and that HIV disclosure will increasingly be governed by public health authorities. Fewer criminal charges related to HIV non-disclosure means that there will be fewer crime genre stories published, and that when this topic does make its way into the press, news articles will likely often report on the activities of public health authorities.

Rather than draw on findings of this dissertation to call for HIV criminalization to be reported on as a public health story, I want to use this space to call for critical research on public health news stories, and to caution against promoting the production of public health news stories as a strategy for reducing stigma.

Calls for crime stories to be re-framed as public health stories seem to assume that public health news reporting will somehow be less stigmatizing or will diminish the forms of discrimination or “Othering” that pattern crime stories. However, people living with HIV have been hugely stigmatized and treated as villainous threats to public health within health news stories for decades. Contemporary health stories about HIV are likely to be a different register for producing stories that stigmatize people living with HIV.

Critical race scholars also remind us that establishing problematic connections between one's personal health with one's race or ethnicity is a very old pattern in Western societies (Reitmanova 2009: 185). Even if news reporting on HIV criminalization (or other issues) is re-framed as a public health news story, there is an ample body of literature that suggests that these news stories will remain catalysts for messages that produce racialized people and migrants as "Others" who pose a threat "to the highly regarded and healthy bodies of white Canadians" (Monson 2017:4; Murdocca 2003:24; Reitmanova 2009:187). For example, recent studies show that negative health discourses about migrants and racialized communities structure news coverage of public health matters such as the Ebola virus and SARS (Eichaelberger 2007; Greenberg 2000; Hier and Greenberg 2002; Murdocca 2003; Washer 2004). This body of critical race scholarship is important because it prompts us to keep in mind that news reporting on public health issues reproduces many of the same troubling racist and stigmatizing patterns of crime reporting. Given this trend, sociological studies of public health news ought to center race in their analyses and remain alert to ways that news reporting legitimizes the use of surveillance, regulation, and coercive regulation against racialized bodies.

Future research should build on findings from this dissertation in order to resist understanding public health news stories as an emancipatory discourse and learn more about how public health news stories are produced. The present study shows that crime genre stories are the product of the coordinated work practices of police communications work and newswork, however, the coordination of public health communications and newswork also warrants careful empirical sociological inquiry. For example, in the summer of 2018, people living with HIV, community-based HIV organizations, and activists were alarmed by news articles that circulated the name, image, HIV-positive status, and other personal information of an individual who faced a court order to take medication for HIV (Proctor 2018). Despite the fact that the news coverage of the case centers on public health approaches to HIV case management and largely treats HIV non-disclosure as a public health matter (the charge had to do with the person's alleged violation of the B.C Public Health Act related to not adhering to antiretroviral medication, and public health officials are quoted throughout the article) reportage reproduces decades-old patterns of sensational, stigmatizing news representation of this topic. Research that offers insight into how public health activities hook into news production practices would advance sociological understandings of public health surveillance and regulation in the age of digital news media.

5.3. Activist Research

In this final section, I highlight relevant features of my approach to activist research. To structure the discussion of the political implications of this institutional ethnography, I turn to the work of Didier Fassin, and his understanding of "the public afterlife of ethnography" (2017). Fassin suggests that ethnography typically is said to have two lives. The first, consists of fieldwork defined by the extended observation of a particular group. The second life entails the writing and analyzing of empirical findings and producing a final document – a book, an article, or a film (Fassin 2017: 314-315). In reflecting on these two lives, Fassin problematizes the way that "social scientists who practice ethnography often consider that their scientific work ends with its publication" and too often relate to interactions with the public as "a mere extension of this activity rather than a specific matter for research" (315). In order to prompt critical reflection on how ethnographic research findings enter public discourse, Fassin calls for researchers to "consider the public afterlife of ethnography as a genuine object of inquiry" (315).

Of course, Fassin is not the first social scientist to think deeply about the political implications of ethnographic research. Critical race and feminist scholars have written extensively about the ways that the publication of ethnographic research has reinforced, reproduced, and resisted relations of harm and injustice (Costa Vargas 2008; Fine 1994; Hale 2008; Nabudere 2008; Naples 2003; T. . Smith 1999). I take up Fassin's notion of the "afterlife" of ethnography here, because his model of inquiry helps to specify the possibilities of publicizing ethnography. He suggests "distinguishing three intellectual operations: translation, discussion, and expansion" (Fassin 2017:316).[19]

In order to reflect on what the "afterlife" of this dissertation might look like, I structure this section of the chapter upon two of the intellectual operations that Fassin identifies. As Fassin does in his discussion of the "afterlife" of ethnography, I examine "translation" and "discussion" through my personal experiences and by focusing on the encounters I have had thus far with various publics while completing this work. However, unlike Fassin, these encounters do not reach the scale of navigating the intricacies of sharing research findings on the front page of major news publication, in the way that Fassin does in the French paper *Libération*, or as the editor of an anthology of ethnographic works, as Fassin does in *If Truth be Told: The Politics of Public Ethnography.* Instead, my hope is that this discussion of public ethnography will offer useful and interesting insights into the challenges and possibilities of conducting politically engaged IE research in the context of a doctoral dissertation.

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[19] Fassin defines "expansion" as: … "the opening of novel and often unexpected perspectives on the social sciences as such through an epistemological or sociological questioning of the very process of research, whether it has to do with a critical inquiry into the ethnographic method, the sort of work that it can do and the limitations it encounters, or with an analysis of the process of publicization and what it uncovers of the functioning of the contemporary public sphere" (316-317). Having already engaged in a sociological questioning and critical inquiry of IE in the first section of this chapter, in the interest of space, I concentrate only on Fassin's notions of "translation" and "discussion" here.

5.3.1. Translation

The first operation that Fassin considers is translation. For Fassin, translation

> …comprises the successive transformation of a text that has a format corresponding to academic norms into various forms adapted to different audiences and media, whether for an interview, a talk for a human rights organization, advice to policymakers on a specific matter, a testimony shedding light on a case in court, or a contribution to an artistic exhibition or performance (316).

In this passage, Fassin expresses what seems to be a growing expectation that publicly engaged ethnographers will be active not only as authors of academic texts, but will also contribute to public discourse on social media, in news media texts, in public policy debates, and as producers of artistic works. To be sure, this type of public engagement can be a meaningful way to increase the relevance of one's ethnographic findings and to advance the political potential of one's work. While producing this dissertation I acutely felt an expectation to more actively engage in knowledge dissemination through social media. At times, the prospect of doing so felt burdensome and even intimidating.

Part of my reluctance to engage in this genre of online discourse stems from a broader desire to resist contributing to the volume of the attention economy of social media (Marwick and Lewis 2017). But admittedly, my disinclination also had to do with being apprehensive about entering the fray of social media dialogue and being seen as the academic researcher taking up discursive space or using research findings as a basis for self-promotion. Instead I elected to share findings, mostly through in-person meetings, with community-based organizations who expressed an interest in drawing on this IE in their work. Overall, as a graduate researcher attempting to balance teaching assistantships, research assistantships, precarious course instructor contracts, and completing applications for post-doctoral fellowships and tenure-stream jobs, it felt onerous to find the time or energy to also cultivate a presence on Facebook or Twitter, and to locate the intellectual and emotional labour that entails. Future pieces that reflect on the potential of publicly engaged ethnography might specifically examine what it means to produce ethnography for a digital, online public. My sense is that we would want to protect against a scenario in which ethnographic researchers find themselves writing for social media in the way that the reporters featured in this dissertation do – producing sensational, easily consumable, widely spreadable content at the expense of more complex, challenging, and nuanced projects.

Another interesting aspect of Fassin's description of "translation" is that it characterizes a standard understanding of public ethnography as an exercise in moving across or navigating the disparate relevancies of the public and the university. For example, ethnographers have recounted the challenges that come with translating academic ethnographic research findings for broader mainstream media audiences (Coleman 2017). Typically, academics and journalists seem skeptical of one another. As anthropologist Elizabeth Bird writes, "as we look at the relationship between social scientific and journalistic approaches… it is clear that journalistic accounts are still 'suspect in academic circles'" (Bird 2005:301; Shankman 2001:49). At the same time, during my fieldwork it became obvious that academic accounts are also highly "suspect" in journalistic circles. For example, as a reporter named Scott described his approach to newswork, he contrasted inaccessible academic writing and more "humanistic" journalism writing:

> It's a general sort of ethos in journalism…you want people to make a human connection with the story…there's a humanistic way of telling stories which is why they tend to, journalists don't tend to do

> well in academic writing situations and often vice versa. When we get an academic to write for us, I'm like ugh, is this going to be like not very accessible in terms of the way it's written?

Despite this mutual skepticism, I want to call for more research into ways that ethnography and journalism can be a collaborative project, rather than disparate domains that one must traverse across. A vision for how to bring ethnography and journalism together is evident in Janet Cramer and Michael McDevitt's conception of "ethnographic journalism." Cramer and McDevitt describe ethnographic journalism as "reporting as social immersion" and invite journalists to "use this powerful tool for observing and documenting social life" (Cramer and McDevitt 2004:127). The authors suggest that journalists who incorporate ethnographic methods into their reporting can more fully adopt ethnographers' reflexivity "about their social positions as observers of others" (134) and construct more "authentic and empathetic portrayals" of people they report on (148). Of course, at a practical level, this form of immersive reporting is exceedingly challenging to execute within the social relations of convergence journalism that define the everyday newswork of reporters whose experiences are included in this dissertation. However, Cramer and McDevitt evoke ethnographic journalism as an invitation "to consider whether ethnography provides a compelling reason to slow the frenetic pace of daily news coverage" (Cramer and McDevitt 2004:143).

Studies of ethnographic journalism might explore how university-based ethnographers can help bolster the work of journalists in the so-called post-truth era. News organizations are currently scrambling to find ways to enhance news readers' trust in news stories and to support readers' efforts to wade through fake news. For example, the *Trust Project* consists of a group of news organizations working to develop transparency standards to help readers easily assess the quality and credibility of journalism (The Trust Project 2017). Initiatives such as the *Trust Project*, aim to enhance readers understandings of news organizations' ethics and standards, journalists' backgrounds, and sense of how journalists do their work (Owen 2017). The core indicators of the *Trust Project* mirror some of the conventions of academic, ethnographic writing. For example, the initiative calls on reporters to complete investigative, in-depth stories that provide readers with "greater access to the sources behind the facts and assertions" and information about how they went about the process of producing a news article (Owen 2017). Given this overlap between journalistic and ethnographic writing, ethnographers may form collaborative partnerships with reporters in order to advance this form of deep, descriptive reporting.

5.3.2. Discussion

The second operation that Fassin identifies in the potential of public ethnography is "discussion." Fassin understands discussion to include "…the multiple exchanges generated by the publication, the author's response to questions, and reactions ranging from mere elucidation of unclear points to reformulation of previous statements and even revision after well-founded criticism" (316). Here, the dissemination of public ethnography is portrayed as a highly dialogical process in which the ethnographer is answerable to public audiences and may even revise the publication in accordance with an audience's critiques.

As an institutional ethnographer, what I find most striking about Fassin's conception of "discussion" is the significant way that it diverges from George Smith's notion of political activist as ethnographer. In his foundational essay, George Smith describes activist-oriented IE as a way to move beyond activists' "speculative accounts" of how the way people were treated came about. For example, in his work with the Right to Privacy Committee (a grassroots organization that was established to defend gay and bisexual men arrested in the mass raids of gay bathhouses by Toronto Police in 1981) and AIDS ACTION NOW! he describes that many activists used speculative accounts to explain the bathhouse raids as a result of police homophobia, and lack of HIV treatment access as a consequence of homophobia and bureaucratic red tape (G. Smith 1990). The problem with such speculative accounts, according to George Smith, is that they

> preclude understanding how the world actually works. While they often have a certain force in organizing political reactions to the activities of a ruling regime, these kinds of self-activating conceptions obfuscate how things are actually organized. They are not concrete in the sense of being based on a clear understanding of how it was, for example, that the bath raids happened, or how it actually was that there was a lack of access to experimental AIDS treatments…they preclude finding out empirically how the internal organization of a politico-administrative regime actually works. Because it does not have a concrete grip on how things function, this kind of theorizing is not much help in effectively challenging or changing the workings of a regime (634).

While Fassin seems to relate to the process of disseminating research findings as a sort of back and forth between ethnographers and public audiences, George Smith applied IE as a form of sociology that offers activists a "scientific basis" to ground their interventions in the actual operations of the regime. For George Smith, sharing IE findings with a public audience is not a dialogical exchange, it is about producing empirical knowledge for activists that conclusively and concretely shows how society works, and prescribes approaches for challenging ruling relations. As he describes: "grassroots organizing is better based on a sociology committed to describing how society actually works" (1990:647).

Over the course of my PhD, I have returned to George Smith's essay, "Political Activist as Ethnographer" countless times. The piece is the most significant statement of the activist potential of IE research because it so clearly illustrates how one can: (i) base research in the everyday lives of people, (ii) develop an understanding of how those everyday lives are socially organized, and (iii) use research findings to inform actual interventions into the workings of a ruling regime. While I have tried to model this dissertation on George Smith's work, when it comes to the question of disseminating findings as a part of a dialogical exchange or as scientific research, my approach is more in line with Fassin's conception of a "discussion."

First, my sense is that there are important limitations to evoking "science" in sociological arguments about social relations. For one, it may be that notions of "science" and scientific evidence carried more weight when George Smith published his essay thirty years ago than they do in the contemporary context. In current public and political discourses, masses of empirical, scientific evidence are not enough to dissuade those who contest the reality of the climate crisis facing the planet, or even the "flat earthers" who refute the spherical shape of the planet. If science cannot rescue these realities from being contradicted in public discourse, it is unlikely that labeling this dissertation as science will protect against challenge, critique, or skepticism.

There are certainly wide swaths of the population for whom science does, thankfully, remain a source of convincing knowledge. However, I have spoken with enough medical scientists and physicians at HIV conferences to be well aware that regardless of whether I refer to this dissertation as "scientific" or not, many will always relate to critical, qualitative, post-positivist research as the lighter, emotional relative of the "real" research that natural scientists do. Thus, it is likely a futile effort to try to position this work as a scientific project.

Rather than relate to the process of sharing findings from this dissertation as an exercise in translating science, I am more comfortable locating myself as an institutional ethnographer who is positioned to "enlarge the scope" of what activists can see from the contexts of their everyday lives (McCoy 2006:704). It is worth underlining here that I do not understand this project to be setting, defining, or determining the scope of HIV activists' understanding of how public knowledge about HIV criminalization is produced. Instead, I related to this project as a way to expand activists' vision in order to bring new settings, work practices, and expertise that coordinate the production of crime genre stories about HIV criminalization into view.

My approach to activist ethnography might be articulated more clearly through a concrete example of how I have shared findings from this dissertation. One of my first opportunities to speak publicly about what I have learned about how news media messages are produced came at a meeting of the Canadian Coalition to Reform HIV Criminalization in the spring of 2019. In my presentation I showed how reporters' newswork connects with police communications work and offered suggestions for media strategies that the coalition might incorporate into its efforts (these are included in the conclusion chapter of this dissertation). What I found most productive about the discussion that followed the presentation, is the way that advocates in the room connected points of my presentation to other initiatives that activists were already pursing. For example, participants identified how findings from this project might help to propel broader struggles for the "the right to be forgotten."

The right to be forgotten refers to the right of individuals to have information about themselves de-indexed from online search results (European Commission 2019). In 2014, the European Court of Human Rights found that data protection required search engines such as Google to delete "inadequate, irrelevant, or no longer relevant" search results on request (European Commission 2019). This is highly relevant to broader efforts to resist and reform HIV criminalization, because people living with HIV who have faced criminal charges related to HIV non-disclosure report that being eternally "googleable" in news stories about their criminal charges makes them vulnerable to harassment and discrimination and has posed major obstacles when trying to meet fundamental needs, such as seeking employment or trying to rent an apartment (McClelland 2019b). My dissertation was not useful to the Canadian Coalition because it offered irrefutable scientific evidence, it was valuable because it broadened the scope of ongoing discussions and initiatives among people living with HIV, people with lived experience of criminalization, HIV advocates, legal experts, and other researchers.

5.4. Conclusion

This final chapter has provided a space to reflect on some of the analytic questions that arose while researching this dissertation. One of the main questions that this IE invites has to do with how institutional ethnographers understand social relations. Here, I have argued that IE has in place a conception of ruling relations that facilitates empirical investigations across institutions. By incorporating studies of the medico-legal borderland and the work of relational sociologists, my hope is that this dissertation models flexible and adaptive IE research.

Second, this chapter has argued for an expansion of studies of health news. Given the consistently troubling trends in crime reporting, it is understandable that some have called for crime stories to be re-cast as public health stories. However, long histories of stigmatizing health news coverage of people living with HIV and racialized people, as well as recent coverage of public health acts, offer important reminders that health news stories can be as damaging as crime reports. Given the current context of HIV criminalization reforms in Canada, sociological studies that investigate how news reports of coercive public health activities are produced would be highly relevant.

Finally, in this chapter I have explained the collaborative and dialogical way that I try to approach activist research. I look forward to continuing to mobilize findings from this dissertation in coordination with various public and academic audiences.

CHAPTER 6

6. CONCLUSION

This dissertation has traced duel, overlapping narratives. One arc of this project is a study of how the contemporary news media ecosystem is put together. By applying institutional ethnographic research methods in newsrooms, I wanted to better understand how reporters organize their everyday newswork in order to keep step with the frantic pace of online news. The accounts that reporters, news editors, and web producers shared about producing news revealed that writing for digital news is premised mostly on work to activate online digital texts (often emails, digital newswire texts, tweets, social media posts, online news articles from other news organizations, YouTube videos) and process them into news texts as fast and as often as possible. A main argument of this dissertation is that the social organization of writing for digital news positions reporters to produce sensational news articles.

This dissertation is also a study of the social organization of knowledge about HIV criminalization. My research starts from the assumption that news texts do not simply represent the social world in a transparent or unfiltered way, but rather actively construct particular versions of reality. It is well documented that news media representations are most often crime genre stories that objectify people living with HIV. This type of news discourse helps to fuel HIV criminalization by amplifying HIV stigma and public fear about HIV transmission. This is particularly acute in news stories about racialized people that circulate racist stereotypes that connect Black men with criminality and sexual violence. Rather than relate to news discourse of HIV criminalization simply as a source of information, this project treats the mainstream press as a site of struggle. A main goal of this dissertation is to gain insight into how news stories about this topic are produced in order to bolster activists' efforts to alter how this issue is presented to the public.

In chapter two I began by looking closely at what journalists do to produce a news article. Interviews with newsmakers helped to show the enormous pressure that they face to consistently produce online news content that will attract "clicks," "likes," and "shares" from online news readers. I argued that because the social organization of digital news production facilitates the production of sensational accounts of news, it should perhaps not come as a surprise that reports of HIV criminalization are consistently structured as a genre of sensational crime stories. In the third chapter, I studied how reporters' everyday newswork is linked to the work of those whom they rely on as sources of news stories. When talking to reporters about the newswork activities that they executed to produce news stories about HIV criminalization, they regularly described that their news texts were heavily based on police news release documents. My central argument in chapter three is that police news release texts accommodate the flow of police information and reasoning into the mainstream press, and allow the police's construction of crime, public safety, risk, and security to be active in mainstream news accounts of HIV criminalization. Finally, my attention in chapter four is devoted to the work that HIV advocates do to intervene in mainstream news discourse and interrupt crime genre accounts of criminal HIV non-disclosure cases. Advocates' descriptions of their media work show that news discourse is not univocal, and display how social movements produce counter discourse by adding their messages and critiques of HIV criminalizaiton into news texts. This type of media work can re-shape public knowledge of HIV criminalization in important ways.

Before I move to discuss some of the major analytic themes of this dissertation and put forward a number of suggestions for research and activism in realms of digital news and HIV criminalization, I want to identify some of the limits to this study. There are a number of limitations that have to do with ethnographic access to empirical sites. For example, at the outset of my project, my hope was that I would be afforded opportunities to shadow a number of reporters for extended periods of time and follow them over the course of a number of complete workdays. This would allow me to ethnographically observe their newswork in action and enable me to foster a richer and more complete description of how reporters do the work of pitching stories to editors, deciding which stories to report on, contacting and interviewing sources, writing up news stories, sending news articles to web editors, and updating news articles. While I obviously was not hoping for new criminal charges related to HIV non-disclosure to be laid while I was conducting fieldwork, had one emerged while I was conducting this type of shadowing, I may have also gained important insights into how reporters cover HIV criminal non-disclosure cases from beginning to end. As it turns out, it was challenging to locate reporters who had time to be research participants amidst their hectic work schedules and often irregular hours. Those who did agree to participate in this study, understandably, could not commit to being available for longer than interviews that lasted about an hour. Furthermore, because of concerns about confidentiality and in the interest of convenience, reporters often preferred to meet outside of their workplace and to hold interviews at their local coffee spot. In light of these limitations related to ethnographic access that would have allowed me to observe more of reporters' newswork, I relied on reporters' detailed descriptions of their work and fieldnotes from occasions when I was able to hold interviews in newsrooms.

Another limitation that relates to ethnographic access has to do with interviewing police. The interface between reporters' newswork and the work of police communications departments is a central aspect of this dissertation, however, as I detail in chapter three, interviewing police officers or gaining any sort of ethnographic access to police work was an arduous exercise. Meanwhile, the one interview that I was able to secure with a member of a police force was a less than comfortable experience. This project would have benefited from a deeper empirical account of how police communications departments do their work. This type of institutional ethnographic research could bring into view how a police officer decides to bring a particular case to a communications department, the ways that communications departments make decisions about which cases to publish news releases about (or decides to not publish news releases), and what it looks like when communications department field questions from reporters who are crafting crime genre stories. While it is somewhat disappointing to think about what could have been had I been able to gain greater access to observe police communications work, I relate to the barriers that blocked my ethnographic access to police as an interesting research finding in and of itself. The relative protection from critical, empirical analysis that police authorities seem to enjoy speaks to one way that police uphold inequitable social relations.

Finally, there are limitations that have to do with the scope of this inquiry. The types of limitations that are present in this study are common among studies of mainstream news (Seale 2003). For one, this dissertation addresses the production of news stories about HIV criminalization and highlights the key patterns and trends in news discourse, but does not thoroughly examine audience reception to news articles on this topic (Seale 2003). Studies of audience reception are notoriously onerous to conduct, and often involve research participants reacting to news articles in fabricated settings that bear little resemblance to the ways that people engage with news in the everyday of the digital news era. However, empirical attention to how news articles about HIV criminalization resonate with readers may have offered meaningful insights into the social life of news on this topic.

A final limitation that relates to scope concerns the range of media discourses I consider in this dissertation. I focus my analytic attention on crime genre news accounts of HIV criminalization in this project because these are the types of news stories that HIV advocates are seriously concerned about. In email correspondence among HIV activists I work with and within meetings of HIV organizations I am a part of, participants express alarm when someone's mugshot appears in a major daily news publication and when articles are produced as short, de-contextualized crime stories. This means that this dissertation does not address other types of news discourse about HIV criminalization (editorials, long-form opinion pieces, interviews with and features of HIV advocates, expert commentaries on legal decisions) or other forms of media representation of HIV criminalization (activist zines, publications of AIDS service organizations, popular depictions of this issue in television shows etc.) in as much detail. This breadth of media on HIV criminalization is important and warrants further sociological analysis.

Before I end with some suggestions for next steps in research and advocacy on HIV criminalization in the news, it is worth pausing to reiterate a number of key themes that echo through the three empirical chapters.

6.1. Convergence Journalism as a Social Relation

It is important to recognize that convergence journalism is a social relation that has changed news production in tremendous ways. I align this institutional ethnographic account of newswork with the work of journalists and journalism scholars who have voiced serious concerns about the ways that convergence journalism threatens the integrity of journalism practices. One reason to push back against convergence journalism has to do with how it enhances the commercialization of news production. Convergence journalism, at its core, is a management strategy that news organizations employ to protect their bottom line in precarious economic times. In this dissertation, reporters recount that this management strategy pressures them to produce copious amounts of news content as quickly as possible. In order to keep pace with this demand, reporters explained that their newswork takes the form of processing an array of digital texts into multiple news formats. Reporters also regularly reflected on the pressure that they face to produce news stories that drive web traffic to a news story, and in so doing, attract advertising dollars for their news organization. These characteristics of convergence journalism make it more likely that reporters will produce sensational, attention grabbing accounts of current events at the expense of more nuanced, level-headed, long-form and more expensive journalistic endeavours. Reporters also feel the pressures associated with the market relations of convergence journalism when news organizations reduce staff sizes to save costs. Reporters described that leaner, converged newsrooms demand flexible, multi-skilled reporting and that they rarely have time to engage in original journalistic investigations, to gain expertise in a particular news topic, or add a great deal of nuance or context to a news report.

6.2. The Expansion of the Police Mission Creep

One way that this dissertation broadens the range of actors understood to be part of the social relations of convergence journalism, is by illustrating the extent to which reporters rely on digital news release texts that police communications departments produce. As reporters recounted the newswork of producing stories about HIV criminalization, they regularly described activities that recontextualize information that derives from the professional perspective of police in police news release documents. This recontextualization accommodates the flow of the police's construction of crime, danger, risk, and security into the mainstream news.

By relating to news release texts not simply as sources of information, but as coordinators of interprofessional relations between reporters and police, this study extends a line of sociological research that raises concerns about a broader police mission creep, or mission drift, in which police address “security concerns” in expansive settings. Police news releases do more than merely call reporters’ attention to HIV non-disclosure cases, they provide reporters with the raw materials that they require to craft crime genre stories and make it possible for police knowledge and reasoning to circulate in mainstream news articles that people read, click on, and share on social media everyday.

This dissertation adds to scholarship on the police mission creep by troubling the notion of an institution as a functional complex. While Dorothy Smith defines institutions as “a complex of relations…organized around a distinctive function” (2002: 43) this study shows that the functions of policing and newsmaking blur together. We cannot rely on the formal functions of institutions in order to delineate them or understand how they work. A fuller conception of how institutions coordinate ruling relations is achieved by attending to how institutional functions merge with one another and mutually construct each other.

People accused in HIV criminal non-disclosure cases, broader communities of people living with HIV and LGBTQ groups experience a variety of harms related to the publication of police press releases and the news media coverage that follows. For that reason, limiting the presence of police narratives in the press must be a main priority for HIV advocates and researchers. Recent government directives will likely limit the criminal justice system regulation of HIV non-disclosure and mean that this issue will increasingly fall under the purview of public health authorities. Nevertheless, advocates ought to remain alert to the types of sources reporters rely on to produce accounts of HIV non-disclosure and continue the work of interrupting reductionist, stigmatizing, securitized accounts of HIV and HIV disclosure.

6.3. Mobilizing Counter Discourse

A final key theme that resonates throughout this dissertation, is that mainstream news is not univocal. It is shaped in meaningful ways by advocates who counter crime genre accounts of HIV criminalization. Findings from this dissertation extend the work of sociologists who show that advocates intervene in mainstream news discourse by utilizing diverse tactics such as issuing press releases, publishing and providing journalists with relevant information about their issue, and cultivating relationships with reporters. At the same time, I wanted to do more than point to activists' media strategies, and also enlarge the scope of what activists can see from their everyday social worlds. One way that this institutional ethnographic study of social organization enhances understandings of activist media interventions, is by showing that activists' media practices are more than just straightforward interactions between one who represents an HIV organization and a journalist. Advocates in this study are engaged in highly strategic efforts to coordinate diverse forms of HIV knowledge and expertise with the routines and priorities of reporters.

One important take away from this study of activist interventions in media messaging, is that the production of a sustained and consistent counter discourse requires the coordination of a broad range of expertise. The interventions that activists mobilized in chapter four were made possible by the coordinated efforts of legal experts who work in NGOs and law offices, frontline staff at AIDS service organizations, activists who work as part of community-based collectives, and researchers. A coordinated and coherent response to the mainstream press is also made possible by initiatives such as media training programs that community-based organizations facilitate and research funding mechanisms that connect researchers and community-based advocates. My hope is that by illuminating the persistent, highly strategic, and purposeful character of advocates' media interventions, readers gain a greater appreciation for this type of activist work.

When reflecting on advocates' media interventions, it is also crucial to recognize that there is a noticeable lack of connection between mainstream media and some HIV advocates. As Naomi's account illustrates, race continues to organize the social relations of mainstream media – the long history of racist and stigmatizing news coverage of racialized people and newcomers to Canada means that organizations that represent these communities are understandably highly reluctant to connect with the press. Race operates institutionally in ways that create tensions between ASOs that represent ACB people and the mainstream press. It is incumbent upon researchers and advocates to support such ASOs in their efforts to produce counter discourses outside of the mainstream news media.

6.4. Final Thoughts

To end, I want to propose four priorities for advocacy and research in the realm of HIV criminalization and the mainstream news.

(I) In order to meaningfully alter the way that HIV is reported on in the mainstream press, the voices of people living with HIV must be at the forefront of advocacy interventions. When talking to reporters during fieldwork for this project, they expressed time and time again that in order to produce news stories that counter crime genre reports with longer form, nuanced descriptions of criminal legal regulation of HIV disclosure, they require personal narratives that help readers "put a face" to this issue. HIV advocacy organizations would be well served to continue offering media training programs to support people living with HIV to enter into media discourse. HIV organizations should also ensure that HIV advocates not only have opportunities to have their voices included as part of news texts that reporters write, but are also supported in the work of authoring their own media articles in the form of opinion-editorials and letters to the editor. These types of media interventions can help ensure that people living with HIV are helping to drive and define media discourse.

(II) HIV advocates looking to intervene in media discourse on HIV criminalization should be alert for opportunities to work *within* mainstream media. This means working within the structures of convergence journalism with an understanding that reporters' writing for digital news is often an exercise in copy and pasting other texts into news stories. Interventions that take on this approach may concentrate on producing texts (factsheets) that can compete with those published by criminal justice authorities that are often most readily available to reporters. This makes it more likely for advocates' voices to be included in news texts that hurried reporters produce.

(III) Advocates should balance efforts to work within the confines of news media with projects that work *against* the mainstream press by broadcasting their messaging through independent publishing, zines, social media campaigns, in-person community forums, and other outlets. Representatives of a number of HIV organizations I interviewed described that they have (for good reason) grown so frustrated with the long lineage of racist, stigmatizing discourses in the news that they've largely jettisoned the mainstream press altogether and concentrate on securing funding to produce their own media content. These media products can be highly successful and circulate widely.

(IV) Given the ongoing overrepresentation of African, Caribbean and Black defendants in newspaper coverage of HIV non-disclosure criminal cases, organizations that represent these communities have an important and unique role to play in developing and mobilizing forms of counter-discourse. Producing a consistent and coherent discourse to oppose HIV criminalization is challenging, resource-intensive work. And so, the efforts of ASOs and other organizations that are part of ACB communities and work with ACB people, deserve and require collective, widespread support.

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